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THE PROPOSED FEDERATION FOR INDIA : ITS DIFFICULTIES.

By Mr. C. VIJAYARAGHAVACHARIAR.

IT is matter for regret and even alarm that the scope and nature of the one essential recommendation of the Simon Commission has been misunderstood even by several among those who otherwise wholeheartedly condemn its report. I refer to its proposal of a federal system of Government for India.

First and foremost the Simon Commission in launching this kind of political mechanism alike for British India and the Indian States, acted without jurisdiction.

The Commission was appointed under the Parliamentary statute for the government of India for the exclusive purpose of examining and recommending whether the system of responsible government in British India established by that statute should be left alone or restricted or extended and for referring to any incidental matters affecting British India. It must be remembered that the Government of India Act was the result of repeated pledges authoritatively made; notably it was in view to the carrying out of the historic pronouncement of 1917. The expression "responsible government" in all these statements meant the parliamentary type of government invented and perfected in England and with which Englishmen are instinctively most familiar and not the federal type, the modern rival of the parliamentary type. The two types are antagonistic in nature. Let us not forget the famous observation of the Australian statesman who said at the time of the introduction of responsible government in that country by means of a federal system that either federalism would kill responsibility or responsibility would kill federalism. The remark is but too true. The evidence before the recent Royal Commission in Australia disclosed the very unsatisfactory working of the hybrid system. The Simon Commission without a word of discussion assumed that the two types were synony-

mous and proceeded to suggest federalism as the ultimate goal of constitutional mechanism for British India. Thus it had no power to think of this form of government for British India within the terms of its appointment.

As regards the question of including the Indian States within the scope of its inquiry, the Commission admittedly had no power. It was at a late stage, while contemplating its report, that the Commission hit upon the idea of tackling this subject as well. Sir John Simon but too well aware of the fact that the Commission would be acting contrary to law if it ventured to intertwine the political problems of British India by law entrusted to it for certain specific purposes, with the political problems of the innumerable Indian States, submitted the question to the Rt. Hon. the Premier. It is difficult to imagine why this course was adopted. For obviously the Premier and the Cabinet had no power to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Commission.

The Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister easily saw through the legal conundrum proposed to him by the astute President of the Commission and, following the precedents of some great judges, brushed aside the technical difficulties and, God save the mark, simply welcomed "the wider aspects of the subject" on behalf of His Majesty's Government and in consultation with "the leaders of the other parties."

The correspondence between the Chairman of the Commission and the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister on this subject is an instance of a most brilliant quibble in the diplomatic history of the United Kingdom.

It is impossible for the meanest constitutional student to imagine that the great lawyer-chairman and the distinguished scholar-Premier are ignorant of the elementary principle of jurisprudence that an inquiry commanded by a statute of the King-in-Parliament, for definite and declared purposes in terms of that statute can only be enlarged in scope and aim by a statute of the King-in-Parliament. "His Majesty's Government in consultation with the leaders of other parties" is a novel and dangerous constitutional substitute for the highest sovereign institution in the British Empire. But any stick is good enough to beat unhappy India with. This is sport for England of all parties regarding India but death to India.

Thus armed, Sir John Simon, with the consent or rather confidence of his very amiable colleagues who ask him no questions, proceeds to a dilettante discussion and decision of the new theme. Only the decision and recommendation are ultra vires.

II

The political draught for the consumption of the Indian States cannot be very well separated from the whole scheme of federalism for the two combined Indias, "Greater India". It embraces and affects three sets of regions, political and geographical, British India, the "Protected States" and "the Excluded Areas" made up of several scattered tracts of land known as "back-ward territories", deemed less advanced politically than the rest of the country.

It is worthy of note that the new idea of mixing the problem of the Indian States with the constitutional problem of British India was an after-thought, somehow conceived in the long course of the preparation of the Report in England. Of course the Commission invited no opinions from those most concerned and took no sort of evidence on this vital question. With the meagre report of the Butler States Committee for its assistance, its whole scheme is a bundle of a priori conclusions. Apart from the question of the illegality of its action, the Commission can by no means be said to have pronounced its edict ex-cathedra.

It must be remembered that the Indian States, 562 in number, vary, to an extraordinary and bewildering degree, in extent, sovereign power, and financial resources and hence in the nature of their subjection to

the control and supervision exercised over them by the British power by reason of treaties and usage. The Commission very judiciously avoids the impossible task of examining and declaring how this motely mass of strange sovereign States including many mimic sovereignties, can be made a federal system inter se and with the central British Indian power as federal Government. Not one of the known federal systems of the world can possibly help us in manufacturing this federalism.

To add to the perplexities of the situation the Commission, somewhat following the recommendation of the Butler States Committee, proposes that the Indian Government should be divested of its right of exercise of powers hitherto exercised over those States by it and its predecessor, the East India Company. And the reason assigned for this course is also very strange and original. The powers possessed by the Government of British India by virtue of treaties and traditional usages, are, it is claimed, powers of a trustee and agent of His Majesty the King-Emperor as Lord Paramount of the Ruling Princes and that it is natural that they should be exercised in future when that Government becomes responsible to the people of British India, by the Viceroy of India, to the exclusion of the Indian Government which should be federal central Government.

The proposal necessarily involves an uniquely triangular division of the sovereignty of each of the Indian States. The Commission does not venture to state the respective paramountcy powers of the Viceroy and the federal powers of the British Indian Central Government as against each State. Neither does it think of an agency to discriminate and decide possible conflicting questions between those two masters of the Indian States.

Thus under this fantastic scheme unknown to political philosophy or history or utopia, each Indian State is to have two political husbands each with the prerogative of beating her once a week and of kicking her to death on special occasions with no power or obligation on the part of either of the partners to protect the wife against the assaults of his fellow and rival. A strange case of political polyandry !

The process of reasoning adopted for reaching this curious decision is neither historical nor in harmony with the demands of justice to the people of British India or of the States or the Ruling Princes. We all know that the words, "Suzerain" and 'Feudatory', 'Lord Paramount' and 'Vassal' are terms of the feudalism of the middle ages in Western Europe, no longer representing present day ideas of political and social structure there or anywhere else in the world. Why and how they are applicable to express the relations established between the Indian States and British power in India or England the Commission does not say. And it could not have succeeded if it had made the attempt. The East India Company first made commercial treaties and gradually as it grew, a political and sovereign merchant itself, it enterd into international treaties with some potentates on a footing of perfect equality. Finally, when the mercantile sovereign became the most powerful, strongest and supreme power in India, he began to act like a powerful body alike as against his own subjects and his old allies. The usages that sprang up under the auspices of enormous might were all the result of the wish-is-father-to-the-thought theory and quite unilateral decisions.

Nextly it is not in accordance with the theory of even a legal fiction to claim that the King of England personally or as the king-in-Parliament representing the people of England succeeded to the rights of the East India Company lawfully by free and voluntary surrender. If the East India Company conquered India, England conquered the East India Company. Started as a mercantile company with rights of monopoly under a charter of Queen Elizabeth in exercise of her prerogative power, the constitutionality of the prerogative was attacked in Parliament when the memorable message of the wise Sovereign to the Commons promised cancellation of all her

grants of monopoly. The charter of the East India Company however escaped cancellation as several other grants of monopoly escaped.

When later on Parliament began to interfere with the affairs of the East India Company, the attempts were always protested against by the Company including its counsel, Lord Mansfield and great statesmen like Edmund Burke, as illegal and high-handed. Their arguments remain unanswered. Lord Mansfield protested that if the people of England had any right as against the possessions of the Company in consequence of the grant of monopoly, it was amply paid for. Burke declared that Parliament exercised its power and not any right over the affairs and possessions of the Company, while Lord Clive lamented that the Parliament was attempting to get into the possessions of the East India Company, not by capture but to "take it by storm for the sake of booty." Well said and said by a most competent authority. After the Mutiny the India of the East India Company was taken by storm and the merchant king was extinguished. It is thus absurd to speak of the East India Company as the agent and trustee of the Crown in India. It is equally absurd to say that the powers exercised over the Indian States, however arbitrary, were those of feudal lord paramount regarding the vassal.

The status and position in India reached by the East India Company finally may be most aptly compared to the same of William, Prince of Orange when he became King of England on the invitation of her people. If the East India Company owed its idea of sovereignty to Dupleix and to self-defence, it owed its success and permanent establishment of its sovereignty to the people and princes of India in consequence of the evils of the decline and fall of the Mogul Empire. It was no more trustee and agent of the people of the United Kingdom than William III was trustee of the people of Holland in respect of the kingdom of England.

It is clear beyond honest controversy that the East India Company was not Lord Paramount of the Indian States whether personally or as an institution in the sense of King plus Cabinet plus Parliament (mostly), and therefore the Crown of England, which is admitted not to have higher powers and privileges, no matter how it succeeded to the rights of the chartered East India Company, cannot claim any such feudal rights. It is a marvel that any Ruling Prince of India with his eyes open to historic truth in respect of this disquieting claim for the Crown of England and conscious too of the very serious implications and consequences of such claim should think of advocating this triangular adjustment of their sovereignty, a well-conceived constitutional camouflage for keeping them and their subjects in eternal helplessness. At all events the people of the Indian States may well exclaim, "Merciful God save us from our triple sovereigns, Rajahs and Nawabs and their Lord Paramount and Federal Power. What have we done!"

III

Nextly it would take much space to explore and point out the practical difficulties if not the impossibility of working out the suggested constitutional plan. I have already said that these States vary to an incredible degree in every direction, in sovereign powers and material resources. It would not be in public interests to increase the powers of many of them and it would not be possible assuming it is desirable, to reduce the powers of the several others to one common level. Thus the one essential quality of federal units namely uniformity in powers and uniformity in surrender of powers to the Central Government to be made up of such surrendered powers is not an ingredient of this constitutional nostrum. Thus the Central Federal Government of British India as such will have to exercise as many sets of powers as there are States, 562 in number, a most unique phenomenon, not to mention the financial impossibility of the task The

strangeness of the picture and the impossibility of functioning are increased by another aspect of the proposed plan. The Commission like the Butler Committee speaks of "Groups of States" among the federal units. It is not explained on what principles such groups are to be constituted and maintained to become as many federal units. They (Committee and Commission) possibly mean some sort of sub-federalism parallel to " sub-infeudation" of the extinct feudal system. The unfolding of the plan to form this political cell must furnish a very interesting study of which both those distinguished corporations have cruelly deprived the public. Students of de facto political state of things in India can only come to one conclusion as to her future salvation, political and economical, in so far as the unique phenomena of 562 states of strange kind of sovereignty are concerned. Such of the states as are only nominally states and financially incapable of shouldering the responsibilities of Government should be immediately absorbed into British India. As regards the rest too such absorption should be for ever in view. The method in either case is the exercise of the rights of self-determination if not sovereignty by the people of the states concerned. It is impossible to envisage any other course known to political philosophy or code of morals.

The proposal to break up British India, now unitary and ever in the past unitary even when it was larger in area, as Emperor Asoka's was, is impossible to conceive or to achieve. The Commission admits that the task is without historical precedent but does not envisage the method of accomplishing the novel constitutional feat. It rightly says that the present provinces are all haphazard ones and that for the suggested plan the entire country has to be redivided and readjusted. This of course is easily done by law if not even departmentally. The previous consent of the people concerned in the creation of a new province while not legally indispensable if the division is merely for administrative purposes, can be obtained by a sort of plebiscite. Let us assume that there would be from thirty to forty provinces, each on a linguistic basis in the main, what is the next step in the constitutional process in view to make these provinces semi-sovereign federal units, federalising inter se and with the Indian States or " Groups of States " whatever that may mean and with the Dominion Government hence-forth to be transformed into the central Federal Government ? Imagination fails to picture it. The provinces would all be administrative ones because we know of no method of cutting a unitary country into sovereign fragments. Federalism, true and well recognised federalism, is the product of free and voluntary compact among independent and sovereign states, each surrendering a definite and agreed portion of its sovereignty exactly like the rest for the purpose of thereby creating a new and central sovereign government for certain common purposes of all of them. It follows that it is for these originating sovereign units to determine and agree whether the residuary powers, not forming items of the specific powers assigned to the new central government and retained by themselves respectively, should be vested in the central government or belong to the original owners thereof. Any other principle or plan of the system would neither be in harmony with history nor workable and durable. The Commission has not addressed itself to the vital question of the method of accomplishing its own plan, as of course it need not have. Because the federalism it has recommended is not for immediate establishment but for a very remote vague future to be evolved by time. The Commission is unconscious of the prominent historic fact that a federalism is made and not born and is a half-way house towards unitarianism which is born and not made at will and which cannot be unmade either at will. Neither does it examine the important question what the sponsors and makers of the federalism will have to do if any of the Indian States or the Provinces of British India decline to be party to the new plan as

they have a right to decline. The matter need not be pursued further.

IV

It is remarkable that the Commission does not so much as allude to the formidable list of great and distinguished writers and statesmen who examining the two systems, federal and unitarian in the light of experience, have pronounced the former at best to be half-way house towards the latter. It does not allude to the two great historic facts, namely, that Alexander Hamilton, the most distinguished of the "fathers" of the federal constitution of the United States of America, had to abandon his idea of a perfect amalgamation of the thirteen colonies, that had successfully rebelled, into a unitary government owing to "grinding necessity" due to the unconquerable separatist instincts and jealousies of those states, and to the other that the maker of modern Italy, Mazzini, adjured his countrymen against thinking of federalism as calculated to "cancel the great mission of Italy in the world". Neither has it chosen to allude to the verdict of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation in India that the Government should be unitary. No wonder that it has not thought it necessary to examine and meet the universally admitted aspect of federalism that it involves duplication of public and political offices and functions involving needlessly additional expenditure and economic starvation. Poor India! What has she done that she should not be permitted to exercise her god-given right of ordaining her own political mechanism so as to enable her to save every available rupee and well start herself in her path towards her economic recovery and prosperity, and towards better sanitary conditions and public health and progressive increase of the now diminishing average life.

To add to the strange and clumsy nature of the proposed federation, the Commission has hit upon the device of the Central Federal Government itself administering the third set of the regions, namely the "excluded areas" consisting of the "backward tracts." So the central Government occupies a dual position as unitary and as federal.

The one reason assigned by the Commission for proposing this unprecedented and perilous mechanism for India is that it is too large for a unitary and parliamentary system. If so, may we ask how for over 150 years the Government of British India with great powers of control and supervision too over the numerous Indian States has been carried on? Not only the Commission does not explain and vindicate by recourse to facts and experience this strange position, which is a reflection upon Great Britain not only as to its own system of government but also as to its system for the Government of India which is an "image" of its own constitutional mechanism, but diplomatically enough it does not so much as allude to the historic verdict of the Royal Commission upon Decentralisation in India, the unanimous pronouncement that India should continue unitary.

This is not the only remarkable omission. The Commission does not disclose a vivid memory in respect of the principles and tendencies obtaining in well recognised federal countries. On the one hand it is observed by eminent political philosophers and statesmen like Sir Henry Maine and President Woodrow Wilson that the sure tendency and evolution of federalism in constitution is centripetal, towards unitarianism and that the best of such is but a half-way house on its path towards complete unity. On the other hand, such a tendency is least perceivable in small countries, such as Switzerland, for the very obvious reason that in small federal countries the people have reserved for themselves the power of directly exercising some of the important functions of sovereignty alike in legislation and departmental measures and even in getting rid of unpopular representatives in their legislatures. These reserved functions are known as referendum, initiative and recall. But this weapon of the political sovereign often interfering and controlling

its legal sovereign, the executive of the country, useful as it is, is impossible for a large country and can only be used best in city states as in ancient Greece and only in very small countries in modern times like Switzerland. Hence the one reason assigned by the Commission for its recommendation of federalism for India is just the reason for the very opposite conclusion that it should remain a unitary country, assuming it to be possible to make it federal which it is not. If then good federal systems are bound to march towards ultimate unitarianism, the more rapidly the larger the country, the Commission has not taken the public into confidence as to what exactly is its object in suggesting that the unitary India should now be broken up into federal fragments with the inevitable centripetal force to make it unitary again, if this vital aspect was present to its mind at all.

To conclude, the altogether new and phenomenal plan of political mechanism for unhappy India is nothing less than a philosophical camouflage, intended as a sop to the suffering patriots of India and to be evolved too in the remote future not looming in the horizon to the most penetrating eye. It would be simply impossible to claim for it the merit of an ideal conceived in an unbending spirit of judicial integrity and independence of character. In terms of political science and experience and authority, it is a "physical and metaphysical impossibility", no not even a political utopia. The adoption of this scheme would send India into her political and economical death. And this calamity is the more sure when we remember the Commission's another original and sordid plan of depriving India of the means of external defence and internal peace and order, namely, the organization and government of its own army. Let us not forget the experience and the lessons of history. Let us ever remember what M. Poincare has said and emphasised as the essence of national freedom and national greatness, that before all, France became a soldier, before she became free, and that it was the nation in arms that saved her against the conspiracy of the whole Europe threatening her with invasion and dismemberment.

THE VISWESWARAYYA-NATARAJAN SCHEME : A STUDY.

By Mr. K.R. R. SASTRY.

ONE unmistakable result of the plenary session of the Round Table Conference is the unanimous decision to form an *All-India Federation*. As my esteemed friend, Mr. K. T. Paul, has put it, the "moral mirracle" of the Princes' realisation of their position as Indians first, has contributed to this greatest common measure of agreement.

Though no doubt a far-off Federation was contemplated by the Simon Report and in its wake by the Government of India's despatch, the unanimous resolve of the Round Table Conference Delegation to form an immediate Federation comprising British India and "Indian India" has decided once for all the fundamental character of the new constitution. This does not mean that there are not still a few sceptics among us who scent some lurking danger in the willing association of Princes. They argue that the reactionaries will try to make capital out of the essentially conservative instincts of the picturesque Princes. Far from accelerating the pace of the country's

progress towards full Dominion Status, the Princes would throw in their dead-weight to thwart the ideas of British Indian statesmen. But London discussions consider the immediate association of the Princes as a sure contribution to the stability of the Indian Federal constitution.

These misgivings apart, the Visweswarayya-Natarajan Scheme is a valuable document lending itself to be straightaway discussed by the Federal Committee in London. The Labour Prime-Minister of England at the conclusion of the plenary session pointed out that the constitution to be framed should "work" and it should also "evolve". The Visweswarayya-Natarajan Scheme is a great improvement on all its predecessors in that "provision is to be made in the Dominion of India Act for affairs to be so shaped that complete Dominion Status is *automatically* (italics-mine) attained within a period not exceeding ten years." That it should never again be contemplated to travel to London at enormous expense and great misunderstanding to prove the fitness of India to man her army, navy, and aerial forces, is the underlying idea.

The plea for a strong responsible Government at the centre is another common measure of agreement arrived at in London. The new Government "Central or Provincial" should be a responsible Government. As Dr. Sapru has pointed out, in the course of a masterly speech, a weak Central Government and a responsible provincial Government cannot run smoothly for even a "week". Machiavellian tactics will be resorted to in London to drive yet another wedge between the Princes and British India in this respect; but it is hoped that the Princes will stick to their guns knowing as they do to their great chagrin their relations with the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India. The biggest among the States has had to be cowed down by the Sovereign Power at Delhi.

No less practical has been the recognition that in "the transition stage various limitations and safeguards will be necessary", but as the Draft Constitution puts it, "all such limitations should automatically disappear within a period not exceeding ten years". A Governor-General representing the King-Emperor, a Senate, and a House of Representatives will be essential in any such federal structure.

On the basis of one member for every million of inhabitants, 320 members are suggested for the House of Representatives. The Senate, a more sober body is to have 100 members. The vexed question of the proportion of Princes' Representatives in either body finds a very scientific evolution on the population-basis. Thus, about 23 per cent. of the seats in both Chambers is to be reserved for the representatives from Indian States. It is presumed that the peoples of the States will have their representatives in the Federal Chambers.

The difficult and delicate question of the relations of the Princes and British India is solved through a "statutory provision for maintaining schedules of all-India subjects *i.e.*, subjects common to both Provinces and States. There will also be a separate list of subjects which relate exclusively to the Provinces. The Indian States' Representatives in both Houses will participate in dealing with such subjects as are scheduled as All-India subjects.

A strict Parliamentary Executive is contemplated at the centre with the Governor-General as a Constitutional Head and the Lower House will possess the power over taxation and appropriations. The only way of demarcating the constituency for these two bodies is through literacy and property qualifications. The members of each House are to receive a regular salary of about Rs. 500 a month with a freepass on Railways. This will be a sure-incentive to get competent representatives and senators.

The minimum number for the Cabinet is fixed at fifteen. Following the examples of the United States and Canada, the salary of

Ministers is fixed between Rs. 3000 to 4000 per month. Why the salary of the Governor-General should be Rs. 250, 800 a year—the highest paid office in the world—is neither clear nor sound. The principal Federal Subjects are also defined accurately.

A Supreme Court is to be established and students of American constitution will realise the essential need for such a course to decide "all cases of law and equity arising under the constitution and the laws of the future Dominion of India and the treaties and contracts made under its authority." That there should be as far as possible one system of law and justice for the whole country "is a solvent of many minor troubles".

The scheme under discussion chooses naturally to prefer the Canadian model to the Australian one in that the residuary legatee of the constitution should for the present be with the Federal Government. A clear definition of the powers of the Federal and Provincial Governments is no less essential.

An unicameral legislature and a Cabinet of six to twelve Ministers is recommended for the provinces. The Governor or Lieutenant-Governor is to be appointed by the Governor-General in Council. There should be no nomination to the nine major provinces. The number of members is to be increased to 200 or 250 ; and every Provincial Legislature should after six or eight years be at liberty to recast its representative system if it chooses to do so. A ministry is to be formed with a Chief Minister and joint responsibility is to be insisted upon. The universally condemned Simon ingenuity of officials as Ministers is dragged out once again to be beaten to death. The list of Provincial subjects in the Government of India Act of 1919 is generally approved as fairly comprehensive.

The safe guarding of British interests and minority interests is naturally provided for and the alarm of repudiation of debts is given a quietus, as has already been assured in London by responsible speakers. Of the fifteen Ministers of the Federal Cabinet at least three should hold portfolios regarding Indian States' Affairs.

The shrewd statesmen, that the authors of the Scheme are, they suggest that the new Government of India should have full control over financial and economic policies; due provision has to be made for liabilities to be met by way of "Home charge" and other payments to be made in England but the finances of the Federal Government should be entirely separated from the India Office. The Government of India should be unhampered in its choice of officers and agencies to build up its new policies.

A Dominion Preparations Commission should be appointed for three to five years for the purpose of studying Dominion models and preparing the country and administration in accordance with those models.

The Viswesvarayya-Natarajan scheme embodying the minimum demands of India is thus a comprehensive structure embodying all approved good features of federalism. There is scope in it for evolution and ample safeguards and reservations have been provided for the transitional period of ten years. The best brains of India have produced it and the Round Table Conference would have justified its work if it would prepare such a Dominion of India Bill for presentation to Parliament.

THE FORCED APPRECIATION OF THE RUPEE *

THE Hon'ble Sir George Schuster during his first Budget Speech asked :—"Can it be seriously proposed as a practical course that after working on a basis of 1s. 6d. for several years—a basis actually fixed by Statute in 1927—that this Government could deliberately decide to devalorise their currency by 11 per cent. ? I shun all forms of overstatement, but I can hardly conceive of any more disastrous course."

The history of Indian Currency since 1893 furnishes at least three occasions when the Government of India have not only considered it a *practical course* but have deliberately *decided to alter* the gold value of the rupee ; it was altered from 11d. to 16d. between 1893 and 1899 ; again it was altered from 16d. to 24d. in 1920 ; the anticlimax was reached when the 2s. rupee came down with a crash to 1s. 0 3/4d. gold in 1921 and was then gradually worked upto 18d. gold in April 1925 and was fixed at that level by Statute in March 1927. To the question asked, as stated above, by the Finance Member, therefore, the reply is a definite and decisive affirmative based on three historical precedents established by the Government of India themselves.

But apart from the precedents there are many substantial and cogent grounds for rescinding the decisions taken in March 1927. The Finance Member knows—indeed he admitted the fact—that many people entitled to speak with authority and experience were wholly and decisively against the new ratio ; and these latter represented not only an overwhelming majority of the elected representatives in the Assembly but also the large bulk of the enlightened public opinion of the country. Everything that has transpired since 1927 has more than confirmed the gloomiest apprehensions then expressed about the injurious effects of the new ratio. Trade has been experiencing a protracted slump ; industries have gone further down and the spectre of unemployment has been threatening ruin to thousands upon thousands of qualified, capable and willing persons, not to speak of the many lakhs who are already out of work. Neither, therefore, on the ground of *fait accompli* nor on that of the known results of the new ratio can Government be justified in retaining it on the Statute Book any longer.

The line of march adopted on this point by Government also does not indicate that they expected the question of the ratio as finally closed after March 1927. The exchange value of the rupee was one of the several important and radical questions to be considered by the Royal Commission on Currency appointed in 1925. The recommendations of that commission should not, and they were not intended to be taken piecemeal. The various sections of its report are parts of a common whole, and it is not possible to tackle any one part of it *ad hoc* without materially disturbing the balance and harmony of the entire scheme of reconstruction. Indian public opinion has with striking unanimity demanded the earliest introduction of a full gold standard with gold in actual circulation as soon as practicable and when that is done it would be easily practicable to stabilise the rupee at the more equitable and more natural ratio of 16d. gold.

One of the arguments advanced against reverting to 1s. 4d. is that it would cause injustice to thousands of individuals, who had entered into previous contracts, among whom perhaps the most important are the

* Adapted from a representation submitted to the Governor-General, by the Native Share and Stock Brothers' Association of Bombay.

workers, manual or otherwise, whose wages and pay have been fixed on a different basis, and it would strike a blow at the credit of India in the eyes of the world from which it could hardly recover. For what guarantee would other countries have that a word once broken would not be broken again? By re-adjusting the gold value of the rupee Government would be only rectifying the breaches of faith with the people of India, which the Government have perpetrated during the last generation. Every alteration in the value of the unit of account in the past has been a breach of faith with the people of India and has worked invariably to the benefit of the foreigner. If the foreigner had to receive payment from India he obtained it without any loss to himself in his own or in the common international currency of commerce. If he stood to make payment in India he would pay his debt for a fewer number of rupees than he had bargained for. India has honoured to the full her obligations in the past; moreover, no matter what the ratio of the rupee may be, the foreign creditor of India will receive payments for his dues in goods and services so that in no event would he stand to lose anything. So far therefore as the alleged breaches of contract have been put forward as lowering India's credit with the foreigner they can be clearly demonstrated to be baseless.

It was the Government of India themselves who made the first departure from the traditional silver standard of this country by closing the mints to the free coinage of the Rupee in 1893. This extraordinary measure was to be the first step towards the establishment of a gold standard in this country. It was again the Government of India, who, six years later after another full inquiry by a competent commission, solemnly pledged themselves to a gold standard and fixed the ratio at 16d. sterling, which was then regarded as absolutely the same thing as gold. It was again the Government of India who in 1920 against all protests and without any just cause, altered the ratio from 16d. to 2s. gold. The memories of the frenzied efforts that followed in the vain attempt to maintain this impossible ratio, of the heavy loss sustained in consequence by the Government in the several reserves, of the yet heavier loss sustained by the country's trade and industry are too bitter and painful for us willingly to revive. In every one of the instances the Government of India have broken faith with the people of India at the instance of the Secretary of State. If one wishes to make himself more familiar with these sad incidents of the deplorable past one has only to read up the minute of dissent to the report of the last Royal Commission on Indian Currency penned by Sir Purshottamdas Thakoredas. But the case does not rest entirely on the lack of familiarity shown by the Finance Member with the history of Indian currency; nor on the merely negative demolition of his reasoning. Before, however, meeting in detail the specific arguments in favour of the new ratio we consider it necessary to point out that the plea of a breach of faith came with but little grace from the Government of India.

With three definite precedents in the history of Indian Currency before him it did not lie in the mouth of the Finance Member to raise the bogey of a breach of faith with the foreign trader or capitalist in the event of the rupee being restored to 16d. Moreover, we feel confirmed in this belief by the action of several European countries in the recent past. Even if the catastrophic change in the value of its currency established by the Government of Germany be treated as exceptional, the devalorisation of their currency by France, Belgium, Italy and others to, in some cases, one-fifth their pre-war values has not been questioned anywhere as a breach of faith with the foreigner. If, then, the action of these European countries judged by the Western code of commercial ethics-which is believed to be the highest in the world—cannot be condemned as wrong, why should similar action by India on a

more modest scale, though based perhaps on more cogent grounds of justice and reason, be denounced as not in accord with the unquestioned practice of the civilised world.

As for the fear entertained by the Finance Member in para 93 of his speech already adverted to, namely that, if this talk about reducing the ratio is taken seriously it can only produce a feeling of uncertainty and insecurity and, amongst other unfortunate results, it must tend to induce those who can do so, to invest their money abroad.

We need only say is that it is wholly inconsistent with another part of the same speech as pointed out later. If this threat relates to a likely flight of capital from India, it might be immediately discounted as being unwarranted alike by reason and experience. Those who invest their monies in this country and its industries or business make their own calculations for the return they expect from such investment; and in these calculations the uncertain element of the ratio must be provided for by every prudent and farsighted entrepreneur, so long at least as India is debarred from having an honest and automatic Gold Standard and Gold Currency. But even apart from that we are by no means convinced that the consequences dreaded by the Finance Member are certain or even like to follow. It may be that the prospect of going back to 16d. may cause some speculative transfers of capital from India to foreign centres with a view to repatriation of this capital to India when the rupee is definitely restored to 16d. Whilst we do not contend that actuated by patriotism or realisation of the wider interests at stake, some people will not avail themselves of the possibilities of making money on such transactions we would ask if that is to be the deciding factor in doing justice to India in the vital matter of giving her currency its natural value. The benefits which are bound to follow in the wake of the restoration to 16d. ratio through its reaction on trade and industry would certainly outweigh the comparative disadvantage and inconvenience resulting from some speculative transfers of capital. That there will be some hardship and suffering cannot be disputed but the lowering of the ratio can be accomplished with the minimum of dislocation and hardship by a reasonable freedom of action to the forces in the commercial world which demand a steady annual increase in the volume of currency in circulation in every country where normal conditions prevail. The consequent reaction on the price level and industrial enterprise cannot be expressed better than in the words of the Finance Member himself from the self-same speech. Said he in para 90 :—"I do not deny that if the Government were to adopt a deliberate policy of inflation and depreciation of currency, that might act as a temporary stimulant, for it would induce a period of rising internal prices which is always encouraging to trade, and it would also bring about a reduction in real wages which would benefit employers of labour making goods for export."

That being so, why need the capitalist, investing in this country's industry be frightened away by a lowering of the ratio ? That course would, if anything, result in the gain to such an investor, by reason of rising prices and consequent soaring profits. With increasing earning capacity the capital value of his investment must necessarily rise so that if the investor desires to send back his capital there is no likelihood, under the lower ratio, of capital depreciation. The higher exchange now imposed by law upon the country tends on the other hand to place a severe handicap on the export trade of the country; and serves to mulct the local producer, indirectly and imperceptibly, to the extent of the rise in the exchange, as regards the prices he obtains for his exported produce.

The exports of India have fallen since 1924-25 by 3 per cent., 22 per cent. and 17½ per cent. respectively while imports have been steadily rising after a slight fall in 1925-26. The loss suffered in consequence by the Indian producer is not confined only to discouragement resulting from an ever

stiffening competition against him in the world markets but translates itself, though invisibly, to the poor producer, in terms of the actual rupees received by him, which are fewer than they would be under a 16d. rupee or, what in effect amounts to the same thing, he has to export more produce if he desires the same amount of rupees.

The following summary observations of the compiler of the *Annual Trade Review (1927-28)* are very significant in this connection :—"On the export side, the total value of raw and manufactured jute exported increased from Rs. 80 crores to Rs. 84 crores. Raw jute rose by 184,000 tons or 26 per cent. in quantity to the record figure of 892,000 tons, while the value improved by Rs. 4 crores or 15 per cent. to 30 2/3 crores. Shipments of gunny bags also increased in number from 449 to 463 millions, but the *value realised fell* from Rs. 24 1/3 crores to Rs 23 1/4 crores. The value of gunny cloth exported advanced from Rs.28½ crores to Rs. 30 crores, the quantity rising from 1,503 million yards to 1,553 million yards. Exports of raw and manufactured cotton decreased by Rs. 13 crores, or 19 per cent. to 57 crores, raw cotton accounting for a decrease of 11 crores. (N. B. No quantity figures are given to emphasise the comparison in this case, but elsewhere in the same review we find it stated that the raw cotton exports fell, in quantity, from 3,188,000 bales in 1926-27 to 2,686,000 bales in 1927-28, or a fall of 15 per cent. in quantity against 19 per cent. in value, Op. P. 63) Shipments of rice increased by 6 per cent. in quantity and 2 per cent. in value."

All along the line the quantity grows far more than in proportion to the increase in the value received by the Indian producer. Often the value actually shows a decline even greater than the decline in quantity. If the Indian producer, therefore, seems to maintain his position yet in the world market, if export trade of India does not seem to have been destroyed entirely and irrecoverably, that is because the Indian producer has to bear the loss by parting with greater quantity of his produce for the same, or similar, or even a lower return in his own money. In both cases his standard of life, miserably low as it is, is becoming lower. This is surely not a condition of which any responsible national government can be proud.

II

It is also necessary to emphasise another significance of the higher ratio. Since the stabilisation of the rupee at 18d (gold) the imports of specie into India have perceptibly and materially declined. The Controller of the Currency observes as follows in his annual report (1927-28) on this point :—"Allowing for the fact that in pre-war years gold was valued at Rs. 15 to the sovereign, the decrease in the imports during the last two years as compared with the pre-war imports is very striking, and tends to confirm the view which has been expressed in the last two reports that with the growth of the investment habit in India gold imports in the future are not likely to be as large as in the past." What proof the Controller had for the inference, drawn in the latter portion, it is difficult to understand especially as in the very same document the same authority remarks upon the strange coincidence of increasing imports of sovereigns and half-sovereigns despite the fact that by the legislation of 1927 these coins have been demonetised. Obviously the imports of gold and silver in settlement of India's trade balance have declined because the magnitude of that balance has itself declined. In so far as a favourable balance of trade is an index of a country's prosperity, the foregoing figures ought to be sufficient to prove that the enhanced ratio is seriously impairing India's commercial prosperity. The fact of the matter is that Government, in their anxiety to maintain the high ratio, are obliged to starve the people of their ordinary normal needs of currency lest by an adequate supply the price level might be so affected as to bring down exchange of its own accord. The following statement, compiled from the above Report, will serve

to make clear their meaning in this behalf. The statement shows the average annual absorption of Currency for the five war years 1914–15 to 1918-19, and the absorption during the nine subsequent years, with the average for this period:—

(In lakhs of rupees.)

	Rupees	Notes	Total
Average for—			
1914-15 to 1918-19 ..	22,08	16,72	38,80
1919-20 ..	20,09	20,20	40,29
1920-21 ..	–25,68	–5,90	31,58
1921-22 ..	–10,46	9,35	–1,11
1922-23 ..	–9,56	3,87	–569
1923-24 ..	7,62	7,96	15,58
1924-25 ..	3,65	–2,51	1,14
1925-26 ..	–8,17	1,16	–7,01
1926-27 ..	–19,76	–3,40	–23,16
1927-28 ..	–3,71	10,22	6,50
Total for 9 years (1919-20 to 1927-28) ..	–45,98	40,95	–5,03
Average for 9 years .. (1919-20 to 1927-28) ..	–5,11	4,55	–56

We would like to dwell briefly on the several points directly arising from a closer examination of these figures, *e. g.*, the reduction in the rupee circulation and the ways by which it was achieved. The net result has been a clear reduction in the total volume of currency in circulation in India owing to a drop in the prices, the silver in the reserves when sold is bound to result in serious losses to reserves and further contraction of currency. There is also a serious handicap on the circulation of gold leading to further reduction of effective circulation and fall in the general level of commodity prices. The normal expansion of currency in response to the requirements of trade and unchecked by Government intervention to suit their financial policy, cannot but be reflected in slowly rising prices which would stimulate trade and industry. Similarly, contraction of currency in support of the Government's exchange policy and unwarranted by the state of trade can only result in the pulling down of prices leading to forced liquidation of stocks and discouragement of trade. The Government of India unjustifiably maintained for a long time on the Statute Book the ratio of 2s. gold to the rupee. Any gold which was, in the course, of trade, imported into the country, was thus debarred from getting into effective circulation and so helping not only the price level but also the credit facilities. There remains only the paper money which is also being reduced very definitely. The pre-war average expansion of currency in India was over Rs. 20 crores per annum. The currency in effective circulation would thus have been increased in the ten years of post-war normal life, allowing for extension of banking facilities, by many more crores, if the general price level had not been artificially and heedlessly disturbed. Instead of this normal expansion, we have on an average for the period 1919-20 to 1927-28 an actual contraction of currency by 5 lakhs per year. The Government of India, however, desired to reduce the price level with a view to maintain the high exchange they were seeking to establish for their own immediate purpose. According to the *Bombay Labour Gazette* for February 1929 the following table gives the annual average movement of food, non-food, and general wholesale prices:—

(1914 prices=100).

Twelve monthly average for	Food Index	Non-food	General
1918 ..	171	275	239
1919 ..	202	234	223
1920 ..	206	219	216
1921 ..	193	201	198
1922 ..	186	187	187
1923 ..	176	182	181
1924 ..	173	188	182
1925 ..	155	167	163
1926 ..	145	152	149
1927 ..	143	148	147
1928 ..	144	146	146
Twelve Monthly average for 1929..	154	146	148

The futility of the Index Number device for measuring the relative changes in price level is notorious. So far, however, as

inference from such an argument can be legitimately made, we would point out that the steady tendency, ever since the post-war boom, has been deliberately to bring down the price level in India; and the downward course has been achieved most directly by the policy of a deliberate starvation of the Indian money market in regard to the necessary medium of exchange. The handicap placed on the Indian producer and the hardship and loss inflicted upon him by the higher ratio would be evident still more by a closer examination of the alleged necessity for stabilising prices. The manipulators of currency in India seem to have assumed that the prices prevailing in India were too high though the evidence of the comparative Index Numbers, in so far as it could be relied on, was palpably against such an assumption. To that end, they applied themselves to so manage the total volume of circulation that the Indian commerce may be starved of its necessary currency supply, and thus effect a reduction in prices by an artificial appreciation of the medium of exchange. Moreover, the general Index number of wholesale prices which alone the Government have considered, is no sure guide to the price variations in the individual commodities. The following comparative figures, compiled from the *Annual Trade Review* and other similar official documents, would serve to show that the producer of nearly 87 per cent. of the total Indian produce has obtained even lower prices than the average of all commodities which itself has been depressed by the deliberate policy of the Government:

Annual average for Year	July 1914=100. All commodities.	Cereals.	Oil-seeds.	Jute (raw).	Cotton (raw).
1919 ..	196	163	198	115	230
1920 ..	201	154	173	104	153
1921 ..	178	145	135	83	143
1922 ..	176	137	147	110	191
1923 ..	172	114	138	90	244
1924 ..	173	123	144	102	272
1925 ..	159	136	146	154	205
1926 ..	148	140	134	120	147
1927 ..	148	139	143	93	167

Export trade in Rs. crores. 1927-28			
Jute; Raw & Manufactures	..	..	83.23
Cotton	..	..	56.73
Grain, Pulse & Flour	..	..	42.93
Seeds	..	..	26.69

According to the statistics of the area cultivated in this country with the several commodities, the articles above selected account for nearly 87 per cent. of the total agricultural produce of the country, which, in its turn, is over four-fifths of the total annual production in the land. They also account for nearly two-thirds of the total export trade of India. In the world market, where these articles have to compete, their prices are determined according to world conditions. The result to the Indian producer, therefore, is that for the same or a larger volume of produce, the world price he is supposed to obtain is, when converted into rupees, 12 1/2 per cent. less than what it might have been. And this apart from the fact that the prices of these articles have generally been even lower than the All commodities Index Number, with the exception of cotton, which shows variations that have defied all attempts at stabilisation. Prices in India have fallen, it is interesting to note, notwithstanding the fact that there are commodities in this list which are notable to make the foreigner pay for our enhanced exchange. How then can we hope at all to do so for our competitive produce for export? The total of these exports is over 200 crores per annum; and the loss sustained by the producer—assuming that he got the whole of the recorded price for himself on these alone—must be estimated to be at least 25 crores. This loss to the producer must be further increased by the corresponding depression in price that these articles fetch to the extent that they are sold in India itself, since the internal price must needs follow the international price in the case of articles which enter into international trade. As the export trade is only a fraction and at that, a very small fraction of the total trade within the country, the pecuniary injury done to the real producer of the bulk of the material

wealth of India by the enhanced exchange almost defies calculation. It might be said, as indeed, it has been in the past by the predecessor of the Hon'ble the present Finance Member, that if the Indian producer is shown to lose in this manner he is compensated by the corresponding cheapness in the articles of imports. The bulk of the Indian imports are manufactured goods and luxuries of a class far above the simple needs of the poorest class in the world. Our imports, being mostly manufactured articles, the foreign manufacturer is able to offer them at an advantage of 12 1/2 per cent. without affecting his gains in his own currency; and he is thereby able to undersell the manufacturer of similar articles in India itself. India's industrial productivity is thus impaired by the artificially raised exchange to the extent seldom realised outside the ranks of the parties immediately concerned. The reduced price level of these articles compels the Indian manufacturer either to reduce his own prices, and so to cut down such elements of his costs of production as would admit of a cut; or to close down altogether, and go absolutely out of competition. Both these alternatives are being simultaneously applied in many an otherwise essentially sound industry.

III.

It is not possible without unduly lengthening this survey to state fully the effects of the new ratio on industrial enterprise in this country. The steady and systematic contraction of currency with the inevitable rise in money rates, the artificial fall in prices and the increase in the imports of foreign manufactures on account of the virtual bounty of 12 1/2 per cent. due to the new ratio have all combined to cripple new industrial enterprise. The new floatations during the last five years have been meagre enough but the effect on the existing industries has been even more ruinous. Jute and Tea are monopoly industries and even their prices have not always kept steady although generally these industries have been prosperous on account of their monopolist character. That the cement industry has not suffered is due to special reasons which are well-known The coal industry is also struggling hard for the last six or seven years We would, however, like to refer specifically to the cotton mill industry in the country, which has been showing a progressive decline as the millowners are unable to compete with this unfair handicap placed upon them by the higher rupee exchange. That industry is being hit the hardest and is threatened with ruin. To indicate the present position of the cotton textile mills in Bombay we may mention that the present market valuation of the capital of no less than fifteen mills is considerably lower than the dividends paid by these mills six years ago. This perilous condition of the most considerable Indian industry, after agriculture, is mainly due to the rise in the exchange value of the rupee; and that since there is imminent danger of this industry being absolutely cut out, a return to 16d. rupee has become imperative.

We have referred, above to the possible alternative of a cut in the costs of production, as a means to salvage and with a view to prevent the textile industry from being irretrievably ruined. Notwithstanding several attempts to seek directions in which cuts could be made without affecting vitally the future of the industry, the manufacturers have found little success. When depression came, and the high exchange aggravated it, the profits of the capitalist, of course, fell and fell first being the most obvious element to admit a cut. They have next attempted to cut wages so as to bring them more in accordance not only with the earning capacity of the industry but also in accordance with reduction in the cost of living as is brought about by a fall in prices due to the higher ratio. But these attempts have invariably caused an intense strain between Capital and Labour and have resulted in further losses to the annual wealth production in the country and the chances of an equal competition for Indian industry have receded in the background. In this connection, we cannot but refer to the almost prophetic observations in the Minute of Dissent by Sir Purshottamdas Thakoredas,

Member of the last Hilton-Young Commission on Indian Currency.

It is natural that Labour should be ever unwilling to surrender such accession to its nominal wages, that it might have adventitiously secured as in the present case or after heavy struggle with Capital. In India, Labour is not yet organised enough to realise all the factors that affect the prosperity of the industry it is engaged in; nor is it intelligent enough to be willing to sacrifice a part of its barely living wage, merely because the cost of living is alleged to have fallen, thanks to the enhanced exchange value of the country's current coin. All the numerous and protracted strikes that have broken out during the last four or five years are on the one hand due to the inability of the industries under the 18d. rupee to maintain the same scale of wages as they paid when the rupee was stabilised at 16d. and on the other hand to the inability of the workers to understand the operation of the economic forces or their willingness to give up without a struggle the slight improvement in their wages resulting from an appreciation of the rupee. Hence the utter unwillingness of this class to accept a reduction now in their money-wages because the cost of living is said to have fallen due to high exchange. Industrial unrest is thus growing day by day to the immense prejudice of the country's productive capacity, already weakened by the insupportable exchange. The hardship, however, falls with more extreme severity on the tiller of the soil and on the manual labourer engaged in the larger industries, than on the employees of Government, public bodies, or even commercial firms. All these latter classes of wage-earners generally have managed to secure for themselves increments of income which are unaffected by the fall in prices.

In the passage quoted from his speech introducing the Budget of 1929-30, the Finance Member has referred to the alleged injustice to "thousands of individuals", who would suffer if the country's current coin were deliberately devalorised by a reversion to the old ratio (para 87 of the Budget speech). We would urge in reply that the "contracts" referred to by the Finance Member, as having been concluded on this new basis of an 18d. rupee, are either not all concluded independently of the possible development in the exchange policy of the country, or are not so large and important as to demand any special consideration at the cost of the immense loss and hardship to the Indian producing interests. The bulk of the contracts, which affect the large mass of the Indian people, contracts, for example, of agrarian indebtedness, of the leases and mortgage debentures, of land revenue payments settled in cash for thirty years in most Ryotwary provinces, are all for long terms, whose incidence cannot be easily adjusted to the new ratio. The aggregate value of such contracts is difficult precisely to determine, though an estimate of 800 crores of agricultural indebtedness alone for the whole of India is by no means exaggerated. The real value, in terms of goods or services, of these debt contracts concluded when the rupee was 16d. (gold) or lower has been increased by the new ratio to the benefit of the creditor, who thus gets a net present made to him of some 100 crores worth of goods or services. Assuming that the principal sum of this indebtedness is not repaid and confining our observations only to the burden of interest thereon, it is easy to work out the additional burden imposed upon the poorest class of people by reason of this enhanced ratio, and the concealed gift made to the creditor class thereby. Rates of interest in rural areas are proverbially incredibly high. Taking the average rate of interest at only 12 per cent. per annum, a ridiculously modest estimate in the eyes of those familiar with the real situation in this country, the total debt charges per annum would amount to 96 crores and a 12½ per cent. increase effected therein by artificially enhanced value of the rupee means an additional burden of at least 12 crores per annum on the class least able to bear it.

The land revenue settlements, whether as between the Ryot and the state, or bet-

ween the cultivator and the Zemindar, are again another example of long term contracts concluded in cash, which have been materially affected by the enhanced value of the rupee in favour of the receiving classes and to the prejudice of the paying class. The total enhanced burden on the Ryot under 18d. rupee cannot be less than 10 crores a year in goods or services. The recent tension between the Government of Bombay and the agriculturists of Bardoli and other Talukas arose out of the iniquity of the burden of increased revised assessment which the tillers of soil could not pay as a result of the drop in prices for their produce brought about by the exchange policy of the Government of India. The experience of the Bardoli peasants is but an illustration, at once painful and graphic, of the diminishing capacity of agrarian population to meet the demands of the state which seems to ignore the havoc wrought on the poor people of India on account of the cumulative injurious effects of the 18d. ratio. The same reasoning also applies to the mortgage and other capital debt of industrial concerns, the precise volume of which is difficult to estimate ; but the fact of the additional handicap due to the enhanced rupee is incontestable. As against these several classes of sufferers, with the total volume of suffering as indicated above, who are these " thousands of individuals ", may we ask, who had entered into previous contracts on the new artificial and unnatural basis of an 18d. rupee on whose account the Finance Member has been so solicitous in the Assembly ? If they include the ordinary commercial community, particularly that section thereof which is concerned with the foreign trade, what, after all, is the injustice that could possibly be done to them by the restoration of the rupee to 16d. There may, indeed, be a re-action in regard to the general price level in India due to the restoration of the old 16d. ratio, and the volume of foreign trade in imports, might suffer. But that is not the same thing as the sanctity of contracts recently concluded, which the Finance Member makes his foremost prop for supporting the present inequitable ratio. All other contracts, even those of short term duration, will adjust themselves to the restored ratio, just as conditions have in part at least, to adjust themselves to the present ratio.

We moreover, fail to understand the solicitude evinced by the Government now on behalf of that particular section of the commercial community who would undoubtedly be temporarily inconvenienced by the restoration of the 16d. ratio. However unwilling one may be to revive the old and painful memories of the tragic consequences of placing the 2s. ratio on the Statute Book in 1920, one cannot, in face of the Finance Member's solicitude for the potential losses to importers, refrain from pointing out that this solicitude appears to be newly found as Government had no sympathies to waste on this self same class of traders who entered into contracts on the basis of the 2s. rupee relying upon the ability and good faith of the Government to maintain that ratio and subsequently found themselves let down by Government and had to pay heavy losses on their contracts.

IV

To summarise the effects of the 18d. ratio on the finances of Government and the general economy of the country, we may recall some of the measures adopted by Goverament in support of their exchange policy and the consequences thereof :—

(*a*) It is an incontrovertible fact that since the Government of India decided to carry the rupee exchange to 18d. and to fix it at that level, the Government have invariably experienced considerable difficulties in securing the necessary amount of sterling funds to meet their yearly commitments in England.

(*b*) In order to be able to buy sterling at or near 18d. per rupee, Government of India have not only been estopped from allowing a normal expansion of currency but have also been compelled to contract currency heedlessly and without reference

to the true requirements of trade and industry.

(c) Extensive contraction of currency has had the inevitable effect of raising money rates in India. Even the much advertised issue of emergency currency has sometimes been exploited as a lever for producing a squeeze in the money markets as evidenced by the Government's demand for an eight per cent. rate in the spring of this year on loans made to the Imperial Bank by the Currency Department.

(d) Government cannot be unaware of the fact that most of the cash credits and loans granted to trade and industry by Imperial and other Banks are arranged on the basis of the Imperial Bank Rate and consequently the higher money rates forced on the market by the Government in support of their exchange policy constitute an additional handicap to trade and industry leading to forced liquidation of stocks, lower prices and heavy losses.

(e) Government in their anxiety to explore all possible sources for contraction of currency, made the short-sighted mistake of selling large blocks of rupee securities held in the Paper Currency Reserve in 1927. These sales, causing a violent break in the price of the leading scrip viz: 3½ per cent., appear to have destroyed confidence of investors in the stability of the gilt-edged market in India. Since these sales were made, Government have had to pay higher rates on their new loans of 1927, 1928 and 1929 and even then the full amount required has not been forthcoming. The pious intention of the Government to reduce their sterling loan commitments had to be abondoned very soon after it was officially declared.

(f) The heavy fall in the prices of Government securities has caused unforeseen losses to banks, insurance companies, charitable and other trusts as well as all investors in gilt-edged securities. Besides, the unavoidable necessity of paying higher rates both on conversion operations and on new money required to finance the annual capital programme, the Government have imposed an additional burden on the tax-payer at a time when he is least able to bear it.

We are prepared to consider the programme of restoration as a gradual one, rather than as a sudden or immediate fiat. The Finance Member observed, in para 88 of his Budget speech :—"I have never seen any practical suggestion made as to how such a change could be brought about; but I feel sure that any man who really understands the working of these matters will realise that whether it were to be done by a stroke of pen overnight, or allowed to take place as a result of a long period of weakness on the part of Government the results would be equally dislocating and disastrous."

We would point out that the consequences cannot be the same or even similarly disastrous, if the change were effected gradually, as no one has ever suggested that the change should be wrought all at once. But, if the Government would immediately undo the legislation of 1927 fixing the higher ratio and refrain from taking any of those measures of currency manipulation and deflation which they have adopted in recent years with a view to push up and bolster at the present level the new ratio, we have no doubt the true and natural ratio, (16d. gold) will assert itself by the ordinary play of economic forces. If the currency needs of the country are not starved as they have been, if gold is allowed to flow into the country, if not into circulation, freely to the full extent of our balance of accounts against the rest of the trading countries of the world, we make no doubt that the Rupee prices will adjust

themselves in the shortest possible space of time to the 16d. level, where they would remain far more stable than they could possibly be expected to be at the existing level of an 18d. rupee.

In a previous sessions of the Legislative Assembly Government were asked to submit their report of the working of the 18d. ratio since it was placed on the Statute Book in 1927. This, was an opportunity given to Government to justify the adoption of the new ratio in the light of its effects on the trade, industry and general economy of the country. The unwillingness of Government to utilise this opportunity for convincing the country of the justice of their favoured ratio cannot but be interpreted as a silent confession of the weakness of Government's position in this matter. Apart from all the arguments that have been set forth here from both the technical and practical aspects of the question, we would invite the attention of Government to a factor of no mean significance which, by common agreement of all economic thinkers, cannot be ignored in matters of this character. We refer to the psychological aspect of the question. Sentiment has been universally acknowledged to play a great part both in the determination and regulation of a country's currency policy. That every civilised country has a natural and legitimate right to determine this policy in conjunction with the expressed wishes of its nationals will not be disputed. That the nationals of India have expressed in no equivocal terms their studied opinion against the adoption of the 18d. ratio scarcely needs any mention. That the Government of India have openly flouted their wishes and sentiments in this regard is only an addition of one more black page to the tragic history of the economic deterioration of the country under foreign domination. India suffers from numerous economic disabilities the vexatious nature of which has been providing a suitable soil for discontent among the people in general. But the untold sufferings inflicted upon the country as the result of forcing upon its nationals an unjust and demonstrably unsound ratio have had the unavoidable effect of drawing the trading and commercial classes into the political arena which they had hitherto shunned. Every single day that this palpable injustice of the 18d. ratio is suffered to continue it confirms and strengthens the belief that the root cause of this injustice lies in the political disabilities of India and (whilst we do not wish to hold out any threat) we would warn the Government of the unmistakable danger of political and social repercussions which will follow in the wake of the perpetuation of this injustice.

The case for a restoration of the old ratio of 16d. (gold) is thus unanswerable. Another suggestion is in favour of an early introduction of full gold standard with gold in circulation. It may be that this demand is purely sentimental. But as the great financier Mr. McKenna has observed if nine men out of every ten in a country demand Gold Standard, that in itself must be held to be an unanswerable argument in favour of that standard.

THE LURE OF AJANTA AND ELLORA.

By Mrs. E. Rosenthal. F. R. G. S.

A trip to the cave temples of Ajanta and Ellora bridges the gulf of centuries and transports the traveller backwards to the days of India's youth when Buddhist monks, Brahman priests and Jain devotees hewed for themselves retreats, where they could worship and study undisturbed by the warfare and intrigue that rent the world of action.

A few years ago, when Prime Minister of Hyderabad State, Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur generously presented the Ajanta Caves, located on his estates, to Government, and through the medium of the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions large sums have been expended recently upon the conservation of the rock-cut cathedrals, whose carvings and frescoes are unique. The story of the discovery of the Ajanta Caves at the commencement of the nineteenth century is one of the most interesting romances in India's art history. In 1819 some English troops manoeuvring in the Indhyadri Hills happened upon Ajanta Gorge, and therein discovered the threshold of the Caves, the interiors of which were silted up by the debris of ages that concealed both carving and frescoes. Sufficient however was visible to whet the curiosity of the archaeologically-minded, and steps were soon taken to remove the rubbish, when carvings and frescoes were revealed that surpassed the expectations of even the most optimistic investigator among them. The remarkable state of preservation of the sanctuaries testified to the skill and engineering abilities of the rock-cutters of old. The aloofness of the Caves, clustered in a great half-moon gallery hewn out of the mountain side, and almost invisible from the valley below, made them admirable retreats for savants who, renouncing the world, devoted themselves to spiritual avocations. Moreover excavations proved eminently practical residences, affording admirable protection against the sun, glare, dust and cloud-bursts, and satisfying the desire of the Indian devotee to offer the results of his handiwork to his spiritual overlords. Natural caverns were taboo, for anything in the nature of rotten rock would have been a menace alike to workmen and inhabitants, and work was abandoned the moment flaws were discovered by the excavators. Manual labour only was permitted, and it is probable that pickaxes were utilised for preliminaries and chisels for embellishments.

Amongst the first cathedral cutters were the Buddhists, and the twenty-four *viharas*, monasteries, and five *chaityas*, cathedrals, at Ajanta reveal the gradual evolution of Buddhist dogma. No. IX, the earliest cave, was created about 100 B. C. when simplicity was the keynote, and graven images of the Buddha were anathema. Consequently, the *dagoba* or imitation reliquary mound modelled on a *stupa* constructed over Buddha's remains, is a plain cylinder, in keeping with Buddha's cult of simplicity. The outlook of the worshippers in the simple shrines IX and X was vastly different from that of their seventh-century descendants who fashioned Cave XXVI, where the repetition of Buddha's effigy have converted the shrine into a sculpture gallery devoted solely to the Master. Buddha in the teaching attitude, Buddha engrossed in contemplation with hands folded, Buddha pointing earthwards repelling Evil—all these images are executed with infinite care, with exquisite patience, inspired by that devotion which finds service all-satisfying, and demands no compensation.

The art-work in Cave XXVI is as thrilling and soul-satisfying as Michael Angelo's masterpieces in Rome and Florence. The unknown genius or geniuses who achieved the

colossal *Nirvana Buddha* in this cathedral imbued this creation with a semblance of life so realistic that, instinctively the visitor approaches on tiptoe, scarcely daring to breathe lest he disturb the holy sleeper who appears to be on the verge of the world, whose soul is on its journey from the earth to higher planes, to be merged into the Divine Essence, never more to be reborn. Buddha's temptation and triumph over Evil are depicted on the same wall with intense realism. To seduce the Holy One from the path of virtue, Mara the enemy of mankind dispatched his own fair daughters and all his company of syrens. During the conflict, Buddha remained unmoved beneath a pipal tree or *ficus religiosa*, to be known subsequently as "The Tree of Enlightenment". The strength of this rock-hewn drama is as amazing as its detail. Every figure is a personality and the allurements of the servants of Evil are as forcefully indicated as in the *Brocken* scene of *Faust*.

In Cave XXVI the *dagoba* is no longer a simple unadorned symbol, but an ornate monument, scarce an inch of which is free from carving, with a large central image once adored probably as a Messiah of the future. Beneath the great horseshoe window are three doorways, the middle one was reserved for the abbot and monks who were thereby enabled to worship in the nave undisturbed whilst the scholars entering by the left door, circumambulated the *dagoba* and departed by the exit on the right. An inscription in Sanskrit records that the excavation of the cave was due to one, Buddhabhadra, probably the chief of a monastic order on friendly terms with the officials of the local *raja*. The work continued until the middle of the seventh century or thereabouts, but was abandoned, presumably, when Buddhism retired before the advance of the Brahmanical revival. Pathos is the keynote of an unfinished sculpture on one of the walls of cave XXVI. The creator, who had roughed out the outlines of the figure, destined to be still-born, had commenced to hew out the background before he was compelled to lay down his tools—never more to resume them. Was it death or persecution that prevented the completion of the carefully-projected masterpiece? The secret of centuries is unlikely ever to be revealed, but the incomplete image commemorates the tragedy of the thwarted aim, of the unfulfilled purpose, as succinctly as any epitaph, and its mystery bites into memory.

The monks of this period were no longer content to dwell apart in simple hermits' cells. Instead, they joined forces in magnificent retreats, replete with the comforts of the age in which they lived, and satisfied their artistic cravings with paintings and sculpture of first-water magnitude. Caves XVI and XVII are amongst the most decorative and décorated of the later sanctuaries. According to an inscription, the former was excavated under the aegis of the Vindhyasakti kings who ruled during the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. The frescoes that adorn the walls are of superlative beauty recalling and stressing the truth of Laurence Binyon's remark that "The frescoes of Ajanta have for Asia and the history of Asian art the same outstanding significance that the frescoes of Assisi, Siena and Florence have for Europe and the history of European art... The student... finds himself continually referring back to Ajanta, as the one great surviving monument of the painting created by Buddhist faith and fervour in the land which gave birth to that religion".

Many valiant attempts to conserve the paintings have been made by the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions who, a few years back, on the advice of Sir John Marshall, obtained the aid of European authorities to direct operations respecting the identification, preservation and reproduction of the frescoes. In 1920, under the direction of Professor Cecconi and Count Orsini, an intensive conservation campaign was launched. A permanent record of the Ajanta paintings is in course of preparation by the Government, and this monumental four-volume work will contain tinted reproductions of the paintings, executed by an expert artist colour-

photographer. Moreover, to obtain memorial of the fine brush work, of which the faint details defy photographic reproduction, the Department has deputed the Curator of the Caves, Mr. Syed Ahmad, to copy the outlines. The mantle of the ancient Ajanta painters has fallen therefore upon his shoulders, for in its simplicity, its communion with Nature, his existence is akin to that of the ascetics of old.

The subject matter of the frescoes is first and foremost the worship of Buddha, illustrated by scenes from his life-story and from the *jataka* book, the compilation of legends passed from mouth to mouth by the early Buddhist votaries. The cave decorators were well acquainted with the everyday life of the people, and depicted most graphically the preparation of food, the purchase and sale of provisions, the carrying of water. To them, life was a good thing, a fair thing, an ennobling thing. They excelled in the portraiture of beautiful women, some in the act of adoration, others playing, singing, dancing,—all of them dignified, and pure, for, to the idealists of Ajanta, woman was no toy of men, frail and besmirchable, but the emblem of all the beauty of the Universe. The ladies of rank are to be distinguished by their jewellery, their elaborate coiffures, their filmy draperies which reveal rather than conceal and, at the same time, enhance their rounded contours and supple grace. The mother in the "Mother and Child" masterpiece is an Ajanta woman at her best, a wild dark flower of woman whose almond eyes, delicate features and supple slender fingers stress her mystic eastern beauty, and distinguish her from the *madonnas* of the early Italian masters to whom she has been likened. The "Toilet" in the same cave recalls the description in a seventh-century romance of the gorgeous Princess Kadambari whose reflection in her mirror " mingled with the decorations and the polished surfaces and mirrors of her pavilions, while the Universe, in the guise of pictures on the wall, gazes upon her loveliness".

From the fourth to the eighth century, the Golden Age of Indian Literature, Ajanta attained the apex of its scholastic fame. One of the finest College Caves is No. 1, adorned on the exterior with a frieze representing scenes in the life of Buddha with small windows above from which glimpse tiny *Bodhisattvas*, Buddhas of the future. It is strange how suggestive sometimes are inanimate objects. Take the low stone benches, surrounding certain of the Caves. A mere glance at them summons visions of the neophytes who, a thousand odd years back, studied and dined at these same low benches which must have served as tables, while the verandas in front of the retreats flash on to the mental cinema screen pictures of students and masters engrossed in discussion, when the heat of the day was over, and before it was time to bolt and bar the doors against the inroads of wild beasts. *

II

The natural sequel to the Ajanta Caves are the Caves of Ellora, also situated in a wildly beautiful hillside in Hyderabad State. These Ellora sanctuaries have never been so utterly at "the back of beyond" as those of Ajanta, and were excavated at a later date than the first shrines in the remoter locality. While Ajanta was a university, Ellora was a *tirth* or place of pilgrimage, and was favoured by Brahmans and Jains as well as Buddhists, as a site for rock-cut temples. Cave X, the Cathedral of the Buddhists at Ellora, is still utilised as a house of prayer, for it is frequented by carpenters who worship the image of Buddha, carved on the *dagoba*, in the belief that it represents Visvakarma, the architect of the Hindu pantheon and especial patron of their craft. In the early centuries of the present era, while excavations were in the making at Ellora, a permanent colony of masons and sculptors must have been established there, and the employees probably used the 'Carpenters'

* The Caves of Ajanta may be reached easily by motor car either from Jalgaon Station on the G. I. P. Railway or from Aurangabad on H.E.H. the Nizam's State Railway. The distance from Jalgaon to the Caves is 37 miles, and from Aurangabad to the Caves about 60 miles.

Cave" for their guild hall. In consequence, the chain linking up the present with the past seems unbroken in this sanctuary, which dates probably from the first half of the seventh century, and bears an inscription in eighth or ninth century character, reading as follows :—

"All things proceed from cause; this cause has been declared Tathagata; all things will cease to exist; this is that which is declared by the great Sramana (Buddha)". (See Archaeological Survey of Western India Vol. V.)

The "Carpenters' Cave" is of magnificent design with a large open courtyard in front, for space was not at such a premium at Ellora as at Ajanta. The arched roof, carved in imitation of wooden ribs, is a reminder that before the early cave-cutters had mastered their job, and learnt to trust in the staying power of their excavations, they introduced wooden ribs as supports for arches. Later on, when they were thoroughly at home in their work, they abandoned this device, and merely reproduced the ribbing in the rock itself, for ornamental purposes.

The most frequently illustrated cavern cathedral in Asia is the Kailasa or Rang Mahal, the "Painted Palace" No.XVI. Were there no other temples at Ellora, it would yet be well worth while to visit this mountain retreat, for the express purpose of making acquaintance with what is, probably, the finest sanctuary of its kind in the world. The first stage in the formation of the Kailasa was a miner's rather than a mason's task, for it consisted in boring vertically from above, instead of excavating horizontally from the side. To the masons was alloted the second stage in the proceedings, namely the transformation of the shapeless pile left in the middle of the pit, 107 feet deep, into a shrine, where the last word in magnificence was vocal. Like all perfectly balanced creations, whether divine or human, the Kailasa, at a first glance, appears smaller than it really is. A walk round the courtyard a couple of times at least is necessary to enable the visitor to realise its immensity. Were the central shrine to be removed, the temple area could accommodate the Taj Mahal, intact. Krishna I of the Rashtrakuta dynasty was the energetic and efficient monarch who conceived the audacious idea of wresting the Kailasa from the bowels of the earth. He became ruler about 756 A. D., conquered the whole of the Deccan as far north as the Narbada river, and held sway over the territory in which both Ellora and Ajanta were located. For his projected shrine Krishna had a fine model, nothing less grandiose than the noted Virupaksha Temple at Pattadakal, situated near Badami, his capital. He determined to reproduce this structure in rock, and success attended this bold attempt. Plan and arrangement of the Kailasa and the Virupaksha shrine are almost identical, and the ornamentation of the one would be perfectly appropriate in the other, the replica is however somewhat larger than the original. Siva is represented in his various forms, as philosopher, creator, destroyer, and an arresting contrast is afforded by two statues of the deity under the bridge connecting the hall of the Kailasa with the main building. On one side he is depicted in his fearful non-Aryan form, in a state of frenzied excitement with flaming eyes, while on the opposite side as Mahayogi, the great ascetic, he might easily be mistaken for Buddha, so calm, impenetrable and impressive his contenance.

In the Ravana-kai-Kai or "Ashes of Ravana" Cave next door but one to the Kailasa there is a superb representation of the Dancing Siva. The rock itself seems to vibrate in time with the performer, as he maintains the rhythm of the Universe by his movements.

Cave XV the "Das Avatara" also contains startling groups of sculpture. Siva as Bhairava, with a necklace of skulls and cobra girdle, is accompanied by Kali the "Black One" who seeks to catch the blood dropping from her husband's victim. Gaunt and grim, with distorted visage, Siva's spouse seems the embodiment of all the envy, hatred and malice of the Universe, and radiates an atmosphere of horror and

repulsion. There is an inscription in this cave giving the genealogy of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, and containing reference to a visit paid by King Dantivarma II, or Dantidurga, to Ellora, in the eighth century.

Now-a-days the journey to Ellora is prosaically easy, for an excellent motor road runs to the Caves from Aurangabad Station, fourteen miles distant. Very different was it in the seventeenth century when, about 1660, Thevenot, the French jewel merchant, resolved to visit the "Pagods of Ellora", of which he had heard "great matter". He was a born traveller in the best sense of the word, and his description of the Caves is extraordinarily interesting. After arriving at the summit of the hill, thanks to the combined efforts of oxen that pulled and servants who pushed, he spent :—

"above half an hour clambering down a rock, into another very low plain.... In the middle of the court there is a chapel, whose walls inside and outside are covered with figures in relief. They represent several sorts of beasts, as griffons and others cut in the rock. On each side of the chapel there is a pyramid or obelisk larger at the basis than those of Rome...they are cut out of the very rock....The obelisk on the left hand has by it an elephant as big as the life, cut out in the rock as all the rest is, but his trunk has been broken".

The elephant is still extant, so are the obelisks and the "several sorts of beasts". Owing to the intervention of Muhammadan purists, whose righteous indignation was roused at the sight of graven images, many of the art treasures were mutilated by Mughal soldiers in the time of Aurangzeb. Amongst the victims were numerous frescoes that accounted for the Kailasa's subtitle of "Rang Mahal" or "Painted Palace". The elephants and *sardulas* (heraldic lions or tigers) did not escape the destruction that washed over the temples. Around the base of the temple are shreds and patches of the animals' former magnificence while, on the roof, chiselled claws make mute appeal to the visitor to recall the birds, of which they were once part and pracel.

Both the *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* have inspired many of the rock-cut pictures on the walls of the Caves. In XXIX, the *Dumar Lena* or 'Sita's Bath', there is an arresting illustration of the punishment of the ten-headed demon Ravana who stole Rama's lovely wife Sita, and carried her off to Lanka or Ceylon. The captive demon is represented taut with rage, intent upon the destruction of Mount Kailasa. Siva however cares not one ioto and while soothing Parvati, who is panic-stricken by the resultant earthquake, he thrusts out his foot and condemns the audacious giant to another ten thousand years' imprisonment. The poetry of myth and legend halo this corner of Ellora that draws to it many pilgrims who seek to purge themselves from sin in the holy pools below. The presence of the stream must have been one of the chief attractions to the monks who first selected Ellora for their home, for a permanent water supply within easy reach was one of their most pressing needs.

The sylvan charm of Ellora fascinated the Jains, to whom a beautiful setting for their sanctuaries is essential. With superb arrogance they attempted a miniature edition of the Kailasa which, like its grandiose namesake, was first mined out, before the central block of rock could be fashioned into a sanctuary. Like the unfinished statue at Ajanta in Cave XXVI the "Little Kailasa", by reason of its incompleteness, creates the itch to know. For what reason did the workmen down their tools in the full swing of creative energy, and leave incomplete a shrine of amazing potentialities? While the majority of the Caves face west, those of the Jain group face south. May be they were excavated at the expense of wealthy merchants who wished to give thanks for their good fortune in business and, as the idea of prosperity in India is associated with rain, the sanctuaries created out of gratitude for past favours faced the direction from which the monsoon

comes. Two of the most important Jain temples are the *Indra Sabha* and the *Jagannath Sabha*. In both the decor is very elaborate, and testifies to the ingenuity of the sculptors when transforming rock in bulk to chiselled embroidery-work in detail. Much of the figure carving consists of representation of the *tirthankars* or Jain holy men, whose effigies indicate that repose of mind and body which seems unobtainable in the present age of hustling.

Like all the world's greatest masterpieces, the Caves of Ellora, as well as those of Ajanta, have a special message for art lovers that transcends all barriers of creed or country.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND THE INDIAN STATES 1813-1823.*

By Professor Gurmukh Nihal Singh.

THE problem of future relationships between the Government of British India and those of Indian States has assumed a tremendous importance at the present juncture. There are many persons in British India who feel that the importance of the question has been greatly exaggerated and that it is after all not so urgent as the interested parties have made it appear. All the same it is one of those problems that await solution at the hands of British and Indian statesmen and it is by far the most delicate and complicated one. Thorough and impartial knowledge of the past and the present position is an essential prerequisite of success in finding a satisfactory and equitable solution.

Until last year our knowledge of the past was derived from purely British sources, but since then two works have been published by Indian scholars. One is by Mr K. M. Panikkar, B. A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, at present Deputy Director of the Special Organisation of the Chamber of Princes, whose readership lectures at the Calcutta University have been published under the title, *The Evolution of British Policy towards Indian States, 1774-1858*. The other is by Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta M.A., LL.B. (All'd) Ph. D. (Econ.) London., Bar-at-Law, with a Foreword by Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Iyer, entitled *Lord Hastings and the Indian States* —being a study of the relations of the British Government in India with the Indian States, 1813-1823. The book by Dr. Mehta was written as a thesis for the University of London and is based on original sources, mainly on the official correspondence of the period, including secret despatches, preserved at the India Office, London. Dr. Mehta states frankly that in writing his book he "depended almost entirely on British sources, and to that extent it can be considered one-sided. He feels not a little disappointed that he could not, during his stay in England, utilise other (Indian and unofficial) sources to replenish, or even to correct or confirm his information and conclusions". I believe with him that even if he had been fortunate to have had access to other sources his conclusions would not have been different; but, I feel that if he had been able to consult the Marathi documents his treatment of the Anglo-Maratha relations would have been fuller and perhaps not a little different. He would then have been in a position to deal satisfactorily with the attempts at revival of the Maratha Confed-

**Lord Hastings and the Indian States*, by Dr. Mohan Singh Mehta, with a Foreword by Sir Sivaswamy Iyer (Taraporevala, Bombay) 1930. *The British Crown and the Indian States* (Directorate of the Chamber of Prince's, Special Organisation) and my own book, *Indian States and British India: Their Future Relation*.

eracy and to diagnose more correctly the causes of their failure. All the same, the study of Dr. Mehta—especially the last chapter: "The Sovereignty of Indian States"—is a very useful one at the present juncture. It is a careful and scientific piece of research.

II

The period of the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hastings (1813-1823) is a very remarkable one from the standpoint of the relationship between the British and the Indian States. Settlement with more States was made during this period than at any other period in the whole history of British dominion in India. Lord Hastings brought three blocks of States—20 in Rajputana, 145 in Central India, 145 in Kathiawar—under the suzerainty of the British. He adopted a new policy of subordinate isolation towards the States and established political supremacy over the whole country, excepting the Punjab and Sindh. And it was during this period that beginnings of the policy of interference in the internal affairs of the States were made—though, very reluctantly it must be admitted, and only in certain individual cases and not as a matter of general policy. All the same, precedents began to be established which have been followed right up to the present day. Such a period certainly deserves careful and detailed study. The significance of this period is thus pointed out by Dr. Mehta :—

"It is true that the military ascendancy of the English in India began when Wellesley succeeded in expelling the French and defeating his Indian opponents. It must also be admitted that the British dominions in India did not reach their present frontiers until Dhalhousie's time, forty years later. Nevertheless, it cannot be disputed that the political sovereignty of England over India (except the Punjab) dates from the time of Hastings. This fact obviously gives to his term of office a great historic importance. Like Wellesley, he too engaged in wars against the Indian Princes. He added large portions of territory to the Company's possessions, just as Dalhousie did. But both those operations were of subordinate importance and only incidental to his chief achievement, namely, the attainment of political paramountcy over the Indian powers".

The three immediate predecessors of Lord Hastings had been forced to follow a policy of non-intervention and of peace at any price. But the situation in India demanded a sudden change. When the Marquess of Hastings arrived in India in October 1813 he found himself confronted with "seven different quarrels likely to demand the decision of arms". Lord Wellesley had pushed matters to such a point that standing still had become impossible and Lord Hastings decided to move forward. His first war was with Nepal—the result of which was the Treaty of Segauli in 1816 by which the British secured very important additions to their territory.

Having made such an advantageous peace with Nepal Lord Hastings prepared to tackle the Pindaris and their supporters—the Pathans and the Maratha Chiefs. The Pindaris had incessantly harassed the Rajput Chiefs. They had even made raids into British territory. They had organised and entrenched themselves so well that it had become a very difficult matter to subdue them. Lord Hastings realised the whole situation and acted with great statesmanship and ability. He began by forming alliances and making friends. He entered into treaties with most of the important Rajput Chiefs. He detached the Pathan Chief, Amir Khan, from the Marathas and the Pindaris by making him the Nawab of Tonk. He made the Peshwa sign a supplementary treaty to Bassein. Even Bhonsale and Scindhia were approached and forced to sign separate treaties. He did not place any reliance on the Maratha Chiefs and knowing their connection with the Pindaris prepared himself to meet their joint opposition. He assembled a very big army, consisting of some 120,000 men and 300 guns and started to surround the Pindaris from all sides. Within a few months he was able to drive them to their mountain haunts and to make them leaderless. Chitu and Wasil Mohammad met their end, one at the hands of a tiger and the other by his own;

the third, Karim Khan surrendered and was given an estate upon which he and his followers could settle and lead a peaceful existence. But whilst Lord Hastings was engaged in routing the Pindaris, the Peshwa, Bhonsle (Apa Sahib) and Holkar made their last effort to overthrow the British yoke. Lord Hastings was prepared for this contingency and within a short time he succeeded in defeating them all. The fate of the Peshwa was settled by the defeats at Kirki, Koregaon and Asthi. The Peshwa's office was abolished ; Baji Rao was given a pension and allowed to settle at Bithur, near Cawnpore. Apa Sahib surrendered after his defeat at Sitabaldi and his army was routed a few days later at Nagpur. The districts north of the Narbada, known as Saugor and Narbada territories were annexed and Apa Sahib was deposed. The forces of Holkar were defeated by Hislop at Mahidpur and a treaty was signed by which Indore was reduced to about half its original size. Scindia was cleverly isolated and forced to remain neutral and loyal to his undertakings.

Thus did Lord Hastings complete " the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundation, and Warren Hastings and the Marquess of Wellesley had reared the superstructure. The crowning pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings, and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India finally established".

Lord Hastings thus accomplished at the end what he had set out to achieve, though he was sought to be thwarted in his plans by his own Council at Calcutta and by the Board of Control in England. He was successful because he was determined and never wavered but pursued his purpose with single minded devotion. He also possessed the requisite statesmanship and ability and was moreover fortunate in having the cooperation of such able and loyal officials as Elphinstone, Munro, Malcolm, Metcalfe and Jenkins.

III

The keynote of Lord Hasting's policy with the Indian States was isolation ; and the treaties made by him with them clearly asserted the sovereignty of the British, the complete subordination of the princes, and in return for British protection absolute prohibition of any connection with other chiefs. For illustration I may quote here the main provisions of the treaty with Udaipur, which was concluded on January 13, 1818 and which is typical of the treaties of this period :—Article 1 declares "perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interest". By Article 2, " the British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Udaipur". Article 3 lays it down that " Maharana of Udaipur will always act in subordinate cooperation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy and will not have any connection with other Chiefs or States ". Article 4 reiterates the prohibition exempting " amicable correspondence with friends and relations ". Article 5 requires the Maharana not to " commit aggression on any one " and to submit all disputes " to the arbitration and award of the British Government". Article 6 prescribes the amount of tribute to be paid to the British Government, one-forth of the revenue for the first five years and " three-eighths in perpetuity ". Article 7 promises British support in connection with the recovery of lost territory to the State on the condition of receiving three-eighth of the revenue in perpetuity. Article 8 stipulates that "the troops of the State shall be furnished according to its means, at the requisition of the British Government. Article 9 lays down that " the Maharana of Udaipur shall always be absolute ruler of his own country" and promises that "the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality" though it does not say anything about non-intervention in internal affairs as the treaties of Lord Wellesley had invariably done. By means of such treaties Lord Hastings brought the whole of Rajputana under British suzerainty.

He next proceeded to bring Central India and Kathiawar, which had been left by his predecessors under the suzerainty of the various Maratha Chiefs, under that of the British. This he did, not by means of

separate treaties with the feudatory Chiefs, but by general political settlement, with the exception of three States, Orchha, Datia and Samthar, which are bound by formal treaties, all the other 142 States in Central India were protected and preserved by *Sanads*, grants and *Ikrarnamas*. As to the Kathiawar States they were brought under the British authority not by "treaty with those States directly but.... (by) agreement concluded with the Gaekwar". The agreement states :—"with a view to promoting prosperity, peace and safety of the country and in order that the Gaekwar's government shall receive without trouble and with facility the amount of tribute due to it from the provinces of Kathiawar and Maheekanta it has been arranged with the British Government that his Highness Sayaji Rao Gaekwar shall not send his troops into the districts belonging to the zamindars of both the provinces without the consent of the Company's Government; and shall not prefer any claims against the zamindars or others in those provinces except through the arbitration of the Company's Government". In this way the Company succeeded to the position of the Gaekwar and the Peshwa in Kathiawar. Soon after the signing of the agreement the British entered into engagements with the Chiefs, who had enjoyed no sovereign rights but possessed special rights and privileges akin to those of feudal lords. These engagements are generally of one pattern. As stated by Mr. Panikkar, "they declare that the territory was received by cession from the Peshwa and *annexed* to the British dominions, but that the states of the chiefs are continued to them out of motives of justice, benevolence and good faith ; they bind the chiefs to implicit submission, loyalty and attachment to the British Government. They are liable to such control as the British Government may see fit to exercise and the rights and powers of the chiefs are limited to those that have been expressly conferred".

Thus did Lord Hastings establish British supremacy over Rajputana, Central India and Kathiawar States.

IV.

During the period of Lord Hastings' Governor-Generalship there were serious troubles in most of the subsidiary States which required the intervention of the British Government. Dr. Mehta writes :—"They all suffered from more or less the same ills, and experienced similar advantages by the suppression of the disorderly elements in society by the agency of an outside power. Their rulers were losing alike their self-reliance and self-respect. There appears to be a resemblance between the sullen retirement of Nizam Sikandar Jah and the imbecility of Anand Rao Gaekwar, between the demoralisation of the Wazir of Oudh and the incompetence of the Maharaja of Mysore. Since the time when their predecessors had wielded great authority was not very remote, they were naturally all discontented with their severely controlled positions. In all the four major States. (Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Oudh), there were ministers ruling at one time or another, whom the ruling princes distrusted as agents of the foreign power".

The condition of the Subsidiary States, however, was not the result of Lord Hastings policy, but the natural consequence of subsidiary alliances. They removed the chief incentive for efficiency and good administration from the States thus protected. It was the opinion of Sir Thomas Munro "that the subsidiary system must everywhere run its course and destroy every government which it undertakes to protect". Lord Hastings did whatever he could to mitigate the effects of the subsidiary system, "and advocated the restoration to them (to the rulers of Subsidiary States) of complete independence in their internal concerns". He claimed with pardonable pride that he had rescued the Wazir of Oudh from the thraldom in which he had been held. He refrained from applying drastic measures to the Maharaja of Mysore, thus deferring by many years that ruler's evil day. In his time, Sayaji Rao Gaekwar was restored to the sovereignty of his domestic affairs after seventeen years of British control of his State. And, lastly, he severely condemned

Metcalfe's action in reducing the authority of the Nizam's Government by his minute interference and the employment of European superintendents in the dominions of Hyderabad".

V.

What then was the position of Indian States during the latter part of Lord Hastings' regime?

By 1823, all the States—with the exception of Sindh and the Punjab—had lost external sovereignty. It is, no doubt, true that the States with whom Lord Wellesley had concluded subsidiary alliances were treated as equal and were allowed to have direct communications with other chiefs, although the treaties had provided that they will "have no dealings with other States, without the knowledge of the British. However this might have been, those provisions gathered strength with the increasing military superiority of the Company. And as the latter assumed the tone of an arbiter in all inter-state relations, these restrictive clauses came to be acknowledged as effective and binding. Thus, without any deliberate or material revision of the existing treaties, the British Government succeeded, by adopting a forward policy, in effectively taking away the attributes of external sovereignty of the Indian rulers, which had already been formally conceded. The latter could not make war or peace, nor could they negotiate agreements with other princes. In the new treaties which Hastings concluded, these principles were embodied in clear, unmistakable language. Thus all the States were completely divested of the external forms of sovereignty. That point was settled beyond all doubt".

The position was different in the case of internal sovereignty. The States with whom separate treaties were made were ordinarily (with a few exceptions, as in the case of Mysore, Oudh, Kutch etc.), guaranteed absolute authority in their territories. Lord Hastings made it perfectly clear that the British Government did not possess any rights of intervention in the internal affairs of the allied States. He said: "With their internal government we profess to have no right of interference". He made this still more clear in his despatch to Metcalfe at Hyderabad:—"The assumption of our possessing an universal supremacy in India, involving such rights as you have described, is a mistake. Over States which have by particular engagements, rendered themselves professedly feudatory, the British Government does exercise supremacy. But it never has been claimed, and certainly never has been acknowledged in the case of Native Powers standing within the denomination of allies. Although a virtual supremacy may, undoubtedly, be said to exist in the British Government, from the inability of other States to contend with its strength, the making of such a superiority a principle singly sufficient for any exertions of our will, would be to misapply that strength and to pervert it to tyrannic purposes. The argument of supremacy being set aside, nothing but the tenour of some special engagements could render us liable to the call, or allot to us the title for such interposition. Our treaties characterising the Nizam as an independent sovereign, authorise no such latitude". Metcalfe was further told "the fact of maladministration is unquestionable and must be deplored. Does that, however, decide the mode in which alteration is to be effected? Where is our right to determine that the amount of the evil is such as to demand our taking the remedy into our hands? His Lordship in Council observes that the necessity stated is altogether constructive. Were such a pretence allowable, a powerful state will never want a colour for subjugating a weak neighbour. The consequence is so obvious that no principle in the law of nations leaves room for acting on such a presumption".

"These views", says Dr. Mehta, "expressed clearly, authoritatively and repeatedly, go to show that internal sovereignty resided in the rulers of the States." This was accepted by the authorities in London as well. "Indeed, it would be correct to say that the policy of the British Government (and also of the Court of Directors)

in England at the time, was even more emphatically opposed to interference in the affairs of the Indian Powers or the encroachment on their sovereign rights, than that embraced by Hastings himself."

VI

This then was the position in theory: the treaty States—with few exceptions—possessed full internal autonomy or sovereignty. But what was the position in practice? Writes Dr. Mehta :—" In the very nature of the circumstances, owing to the unequal state of the alliances, the application of that policy was indeed a difficult matter. It can easily be imagined that interference must ever have been a constant allurement for the superior power....A close connection between two such unequal and dissimilar Powers as the English company and the Indian rulers, particularly after the wars of Wellesley's time, could not but bring about the subjection of the weaker to the stronger. As Elphinstone put it :—'Differences must unavoidably arise ; and however moderate the superior Power may be the result of each must advance the inferior a step towards entire subjugation', Metcalfe's pithy remark contains the same opinion. He wrote to a friend, 'How contact with us seems to paralyse every State."

The contact of the States with the British Government thus inevitably led to intervention in their internal affairs. The degree of interference depended on the personality and the nature of the British Resident stationed in or near the State. Some of them "would boldly and eagerly seize the chances, as they arose, of extending the political influence of their own Government, or reforming that of the State to which they were deputed". Several instances of undue interference and overbearing conduct on the part of British Residents are mentioned by Dr. Mehta.

There was another factor which worked in the same direction. Many of the States had their own feudatories—nobles and jagirdars ; and the relations between them and the ruler were generally not very genial. Situations often arose which necessitated British intervention.

In the third place, in some cases "the treaties themselves left the door open for internal interference". For instance, the tributes to be paid by Udaipur and Jaipur were fixed in ratio to their general revenues. "Thus, the British Government became materially interested in the revenue administration of these States".

Fourthly, at the time of disputed successions the British got the opportunity of interference. "When disputes arose between the contending rivals, the British Government had to decide its own attitude as to whom it would support and recognise as the ruler of the country". During the regime of Lord Hastings this had to be done several times—*e.g.* in the case of Jaipur, Hyderabad and Bhopal. "This changing attitude" writes Dr. Mehta " in favour of intervention to settle succession in the States can easily be understood from its position as the supreme military Power which the Company had come to occupy in India. Its wish and interests to be the guardian of the public peace throughout the land necessarily led it to abandon non-interference in succession matters, just as it did in others".

"The form and degree of interference in internal affairs also varied at different places. The common practice was for the Resident to offer advice and address remonstrances to the ruler and his Government for particular measures.....Another mode adopted with the same object, though possessing a less interfering appearance, consisted in securing the appointment, as the minister of the State, of such a person as was in the confidence of the British Government. This method of interference was, on the whole, preferred by Hastings and certainly supported by him at Hyderabad. It was employed at Jaipur, for some time at Baroda, and at Lucknow.....Its result was the effective curtailment of the powers of the ruling princes in their own administration. "

VII.

"These are briefly the facts of the situation.....It is clear....that the situation of the States in the Indian constitution in 1823 did not remain the same as it had been in 1813, although it had not, of course, reached the position in which it is found today. The events of 1817–18 had materially altered the relative position of the States, in relation to the Company's Government. This change is undoubted, but it is not easy to define its full implication with any exactness. The British asserted their right to preserve and enforce tranquillity in the whole country. This evidently involved a general, though undefined right, to carry their controlling influence into the internal matters of the States for the furtherance of that object."

The conclusion to which Dr. Mehta comes on the question of the Sovereignty of the Indian States is thus stated by him:—

"About the year 1823, the Indian States could not be considered as independent sovereign bodies, since they had been deprived of the attributes of external sovereignty. Theoretically speaking, they were internally sovereign. But since, in practice, even their functions of internal government were only discharged with the sufferance and by the goodwill of the British Government, they could only be considered as semi-sovereign States".

In my opinion, precedents were being set up during the regime of Lord Hastings which have resulted, in the course of time, in depriving the Indian States of even internal sovereignty or autonomy in actual practice. If any one has any doubts on this point he may read the speech of H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner which he delivered on this question in the last session of the Chamber of Princes.

AN EGYPTIAN DINNER-PARTY.

Women and wine taboo. A Feast of quails to aid digestion.

By Mr. GEORGE CECIL.

Where Gallantry is Lacking.

THE dinner-party in Egypt is remarkable for three things: the absence of women and wine from the feast, the excellence of the cooking, and the picturesqueness of the surroundings. Women, according to local ideas, should be kept in the background; even the most emancipated of travelled Egyptians, men who are as much at home in London, Paris and Rome as they are in Cairo, refuse to depart from a custom which has prevailed throughout the ages. Only in the bosom of the family do the ladies dine with their lord; on festal occasions they are neither seen nor heard. As to wine, it is strictly forbidden by custom Missionaries' converts—politely dubbed by the Egyptians "Fathers of All Fifth"–drink spirit which is distilled from the palm tree, or, if they can afford it, a more expensive tipple. But those who cling to the habits of their forefathers are satisfied with water, though sherbet, flavoured with violet, or orange, makes its appearance at dinner-parties. So, too, does syrup of figs.

The cooking, of which more anon, is extraordinarily good, while the room in which the diners assemble is a delight to the

eye. The walls are hung with silken mats; here and there an allegorical picture is to be seen, the work of some fanciful native artist who has been dead these two hundred years—and more. On a divan of gaily-coloured cushions the guests sit, and before each is a large tray of brass resting on a short-legged table. Should the dinner take place on a hot evening, the wide verandah may be used as a dining-room, a hedge of orange trees, thickly set with the yellow fruit, screening the diners from the curious eyes of the envious *fellaheen* and other passers-by. Or a magnate, living in the country, utilises his odorous rose-garden, the pink and white petals falling on the gastronomists as they eat with their fingers, assisted by little wedges of bread. Knives, forks and spoons are not considered necessary.

Despite this arrangement, the Egyptian is at heart a very clean person, scrupulously washing his hands before and after the meal. Indeeed, custom demands the rite.

Special use for Bread

The guests, having paid their respects to the gratified host, expending great mental energy in thinking out flowery compliments and appropriate phrases, are conducted to the dining-room. The handwashing process over, the first course, a clear soup, is brought in. Each diner places a thin slice of bread in the soup, and, absorption being completed, eats it. A savoury mess of rice and chicken-meat follows, unless pigeon has been substituted for chicken, the Egyptian pigeon making a strong appeal to local *gourmets*. Next comes a dish of lentils fried in oil, over which a freshly-picked lime has been squeezed. This delicacy is a national one; no *menu* is complete without it. Quails, plump, delicious, and roasted on long silver skewers, are considered (by some connoisseurs) as fit for the gods. Melted butter is poured over them by an adroit servant; the *Effendi* shows his appreciation of the dainty by consuming three and even more. Sometimes a tiny bird, not unlike the ortolan, succeeds the quail course. It is cooked and served in the same manner.

The "solids" have disappeared; an earthenware bowl, containing a syrup made from honey and grape-juice, in which whole grapes float, is passed round. Wide-mouthed little cups are filled to the brim; each diner tosses off his portion. The guests, having dined to repletion, lie back on the soft cushions. They feel at peace with all men: even with their enemies

Rose-Petal Jelly

The feast is not over. Plates of figs, temptingly ripe and with an enchanting bloom on them, are brought in by the white-clad, silent, velvet-footed menials. Oranges, juicy and sweet, from the nearest orange-garden, rose-petal jelly, which melts in the mouth, violets boiled in sugar, and *rahat laku-um*, the genuine "Turkish Delight," imported from Constantinople, follow each other in rapid succession—to vanish as quickly as they came. For the Egyptian dotes on confectionery, of which he consumes huge quantities, often sending to Paris for those specialities which are manufactured to perfection in the "illuminated city". The Cairo and Alexandria confectioners have vainly tried to reproduce them.

Should the weather be exceptionally warm, ice enters largely into the scheme of the dinner party. The fruit is placed on a bed of ice; the sherbet and the rose-petal jelly are iced; from time to time the heated guests rub crushed ice on their hands. Iced coffee, however, is unknown. It must, under no circumstances, be served otherwise than piping hot: the Egyptian knows better than to spoil a good thing. Nor do ices often figure at the feast; though pre-eminently suited to the climate, they have not found favour with the natives, who leave them to the European element. "Best suited to the barbarians" is the strange verdict

When alone, the Egyptian of quality smokes the *narghileh* after dinner, drawing the smoke through a bowl of rose-water by means of a long, curling tube. A dinner-party being a very different affair, only cigarettes are permitted.

Reptiles for Recreation

After dinner comes entertainment. Should the house be situated on the banks of the Nile, boatmen, grouping themselves under the orange-trees, sing choruses which have for their theme love, a primitive violin (played upside down) providing the accompaniment. Or a snake-charmer is introduced, a Nubian, who, tootling on a reed instrument, lures the barred and spotted reptiles from a snug blanket, or from a great earthenware pot which has been baked in the hot sun. Attracted by the plaintive ditty, they sway wriggling, sinuous bodies to the melody, darting forked tongues in the air, and perhaps regretting the loss of their poison-bag and fangs, which have been removed. "The fate of every man is bound about his neck," says the proverb, and all Egyptians, Nubians, Soudanese and Arabs thoroughly believe in it. But no snake-charmer is rash enough to take chances; he only handles the "doctored" snake.

Dancers also entertain the guests, their contortions being much admired by the Egyptian. The European professes to be more critical.

THE PROBLEM OF SECOND CHAMBERS IN INDIA

By Mr. S. P. Sarma.

QUESTIONS of constitutional reconstruction are naturally engaging the attention of every thinking Indian today and not the least important of them is that relating to Second Chambers. The Montague-Chelmsford Report decided against bicameral legislatures in the provinces for the time being but said at the same time that "as provincial governments approach more closely to parliamentary forms, the need for revising chambers may be the more felt and we think the question should be further considerded by the periodic commission which we propose hereafter." (Para 258) At the centre however, it proposed " the Council of State which shall take its part in ordinary legislation and shall be the final authority in matters which the goverament regards as essential. "The Joint Parliamentary Committee turned down this recommendation and said that the Legislative Assembly should not only have " opportunities of influencing government " but also the right to assent to the passage of all legislation subject of course to the emergency powers vested in the Governor-General, such powers being independent of the concurrence of the Council of State. The Simon Report makes no proposal in regard to Second Chambers in the provinces but suggests an expert revising body to which legislative proposals could be submicted between the report and the third reading stage and which is not to deal with matters of principle. As for the Council of State, the commissioners recommend its retention with its present powers and composition but its election also is to be indirect and seats are to be allotted provincially. The question of Second Chambers is a highly complicated one and in this article we shall deal with some aspects of it as they present themselves at the centre and in the provinces.

At the very outset, we are confronted with the dictum of Abbe Sieejes who is said to have asked "Of what use will a Second Chamber be ? If it agrees with the Representative House, it will be superfluous; if it disagrees, mischievous." Not all political thinkers are agreed as to the need for

an Upper House. But a second legislative body exists all the same in every important country. Harold Laski who is opposed to Second Chambers, at any rate in Unitary States may be taken to be typical of his school. To sum up his position, a Second Chamber will either live in a state of suspended animation or else to secure some degree of attention, it will oppose measures needlessly. It is not rendered necessary to secure delay against the rashness of a single elected assembly for modern legislation is the result of a long process of discussion and analysis. Thirdly it is not necessary to secure any special quality or expert knowledge among its members for it will tap no sources of knowledge or opinion not already in contact with the lower house. (H. Laski Grammar of Politics pp. 331 and 332) On the other hand, Lord Bryce is one of those who are strongly in favour of bicameral legislatures. He thinks that the functions thrust on government are becoming more numerous and complex ....., that the existing legislative machinery of most countries does not sufficiently provide for the study of economic and social questions in a directly practical spirit because legislatures incessantly occupied with party strife and with the supervision of the executive have not the time, even if a sufficient number of their members have the capacity, for such investigation. (Modern Democracies Vol. II pp. 452 and 453) Lord Bryce would find places in the second chamber for specialists in various lines but predominantly for men long familiar with public life who would not however care to go through the troubles of election campaigns. As for the objection that even such a body is bound to be partisan, he replies that a calm and impartial spirit in a large proportion of members is better than in only a few. The difference between the two views is probably due to the greater infusion of the democratic spirit in the former and of experience in the latter.

The objections to Second Chambers are far fewer in the case of Federal States to whose type India will probably conform. But before dealing with them, it will be instructive to consider another suggestion made in regard to a two-chamber legislature by Mr. and Mrs. Webb in their great book "A constitution for the Socialist Commonwealth of Great Britain." They recommend two chambers, coequal and independent but would entrust different sorts of work to them. National business would fall into two divisions one dealing with defence, international relations and administration of justice and the other with the administration of industries and services. The former would be dealt with by the political democracy of the nation and the latter by its social democracy. The details of this interesting scheme do not concern us now but we may note two objections to it which appear to be quite fatal. Mr. and Mrs. Webb invest the Social Parliament with all financial powers but that would mean what experience shows in every country, namely, that the body which has the purse-strings in its hands will be the dominating partner. The theory of coordinate authority therefore vanishes into thin air. Besides to divide functions is not so easy as the scheme indicates. The powers of the two Houses are bound to conflict constantly. Still the scheme is, as Mr. Laski says by far the most serious put forward till now to deal with the problem of the legislatures. Possibly the very idea that the differentia between the two chambers is to be found not in their composition or power but in the subjects they deal with may prove more fruitful in the future.

Those who are opposed to Second Chambers are against their existence even in Federal States where they are constituted mainly with the idea of giving the component states adequate representation as states in the central Legislature. But this purpose has largely been overcome by the influence of the party system. Where the Second Chamber is based on the principle of election, direct or indirect, whether the same party is in a majority in both the Houses, or not, voting is likely to take place according to its instructions and not according to the interests of the different states. But on the whole, the advantages of a bicameral legislature in a Federal State seems to outweigh all the disadvantages on the other side.

The question as to the principle on which the Senate is to be constituted is no less important than the other as to the powers with which it is to be invested. In England, the House of Lords is formed on the hereditary principle save for a few peers. But it is unlikely that the British example will be followed by any country the constitution of which is to be framed consciously as for instance India. A hereditary chamber means the creation of a separate oligarchy, an institution which will not be tolerated by the growing democracy of the age. Another principle of composition adopted by some countries is that of nomination by the Executive. The field of choice might be unrestricted or restricted to persons above a certain age or belonging to a certain class. But a chamber so constituted will naturally not possess the same representative authority that election would give it. Again, the principle of election is observed in some countries whether in a direct form or in an indirect one. And the election itself is held at the same time as for the lower house or at longer intervals. Simultaneous elections merely result in duplication of membership in both the Houses while elections held at different times will give that body which is more recent a more representative character. Direct election would keep the Senate immediately in contact with the people and therefore give it greater authority than otherwise. But Mr. Laski holds "of all methods of minimising curruption, indirect election is the worst." In some cases members of the Senate are elected on the same suffrage as those of the more popular house but in wider constituencies. In others however, the qualifications of both the voter and the candidate are required to be higher. These considerations could apply to unitary states and federal ones alike. But in the case of the latter, the principle of state representation also comes in, in composing the Senate. While the Senate of Federal India will be formed mainly on this principle, the Senates of the provinces and of the Indian States, if and when they come into being, might have to be guided on all or any of the other principles.

As for the functions of the Second Chamber, one view is that they should include all the powers of the first House. But this is impossible unless it is directly elected on the same suffrage as the Lower Chamber. Such a duplication of machinery however is unthinkable. The second view is that the Senate should be subordinate to the popular house only in regard to financial matters but not in others. And even in regard to financial matters, while all are agreed that it should be able to amend or reject bills sent up to it, there is difference of opinion as to whether it should be allowed to initiate bills of a financial nature or not. A third school of thought makes the Second Chamber a revising body only. But what does revision mean? Does it mean correction of only minor mistakes so as always to avoid a conflict with the popular house or does it include risking such a conflict and suggesting substantial alterations also? In the latter case, the further question arises as to the means of overcoming the inevitable conflicts between the two Houses. On this point, Lord Bryce says there are six methods in vogue. One is that after a time, the second chamber must accept a bill which it first rejected but which was sent up once again. The second method consists in a joint sitting and a joint vote of both the bodies and the third in separate voting but in calculating the combined majority. According to the fourth method, the legislature is dismissed and the measure submitted after the general election to both the Houses separately at first and ultimately when sitting together if necessary. The fifth method consists in select committees of both the houses sitting together and voting while the last is to refer the matter directly to the people.

The issues involved in the institution of second chambers in our country are thus broadly clear. The question as to their need at the centre may be answered affirmatively as the Indian constitution is to be a federal one. But the question of their need in the provinces remains to be considered carefully. Granting the need, how are they to be constituted? Though the principle of heredity has not consciously been applied in any modern

country, yet some consideration of it might be needed in view of India's peculiar circumstances. But in any case, it cannot apply exclusively. What room is to be given if any for nomination and is it to be restricted or not on some basis? As for election, is it to be direct or indirect and what is the time, the constituency and the suffrage? Or shall the peculiar example of Norway be followed where the Senate is elected by the Representative Assembly and comes to an end with the latter? As for powers, should they be coordinate in all matters inclusive of financial ones or exclusive of them? Or should the Senate be only a subordinate body with powers of mere revision? And how are possible conflicts to be got over? These questions and many similar ones have to be satisfactorily settled before the main question of second chambers can be said to have been answered. All political problems of India are of peculiar complexity as she presents all grades of life from the fifth century to the twentieth.

JOHN BULL UNBOUND*

By Mr. C. L. R. SASTRI B. Sc.

THERE are, as every school-boy knows, umpteen ways of writing a book; and the late Captain Ellam's, undoubtedly, is one of them. It is even possible that it was the only way that he was capable of: in which case, of course, it would be sheer stupidity to throw stones at him. The wisest thing, no doubt, would have been not to write the book at all: but, then, it would have demanded a measure of self-effacement, of self-denial, that, ordinarily, we cannot expect from men of his type. So that it will be seen that, once it is granted that the book had to be written, it could not have been written otherwise than it has actually been. Our hands, like the dyer's in Shakespeare, are subdued to what they work in; and the late Captain Ellam's, as is plain from his book, were subdued to defamation of the very worst kind. "Men are we", and we cannot, try we never so well, completely transcend our inborn natures; and the distinguished Captain, it is only too evident, did not even try. On the contrary, one cannot resist the impression, from a perusal of the volume under review, that he positively revelled in projecting his nature on to its pages. And Captain Ellam, secure, one surmises, in the reflection that he had added another masterpiece to Indian political literature, a masterpiece that would not easily be allowed to be forgotten, possibly conjectured that (though in a sense different from Bishop Heber's) his task on Ganga's breast was done, and, accordingly, betook himself to the quiet, if gloomy, shades of Epping Forest: where he died a suicide. *Requiescat in Pace.* So be it with his book.

II.

I suppose it is the first duty of some Englishmen—I do not care what his second or third duty is—to traduce India and its inhabitants, thereby stretching "political licence" as Dido stretched the bull's hide. I do not say that every Englishman does it: there are Englishmen like Mr. H. N. Brailsford and Mr. Fenner Brockway whose friendly writings and speeches redound to the glory of their native land. But I do say that it seems to be to the first duty of your typical Englishman, the Englishman of the John

* *Swaraj: The Problem of India.* By Captain J. E. Ellam. (Hutchinson & Co. Ltd. 33-36 Paternoster Row London) 1930.

Bull breed, to traduce us and our dear and holy country. When he ceases to do so, then, I presume, shall

"the realm of Albion
Be brought to great confusion."

I have an initial difficulty in reviewing Captain Ellam's book. What it is will come out in the course of the following sentences. It will be rembered that Mr. Kanhaya Lal Gauba wrote his justly-famous book, *Uncle Sham*, sometime back as a sort of counter-blast, as a kind of *quid pro quo*, to Miss Mayo's master-pieces: indeed, he did it bonnily, paying her back in her own coin, with change. Of course, it was at once denounced by almost all Englishmen and Americans as utterly one-sided, as unmentionably abominable, etc., etc. But the curious fact was that it did not receive any more lenient treatment at the hands of the majority of Indian journalists and politicians. I do not mind being called a "low-brow", a "Philistine", I do not mind being relegated to the common herd, but for the life of me I cannot see wherein Mr. Gauba offended in writing the book he did and in writing it in the way he did. If you touch pitch you cannot but be defiled. So if you want to reply to Capt. Ellam if you want to exchange compliments with him, you cannot expect to write in terms of the Sermon on the Mount and the Bhagavad Gita and the Upanishads and the Saiva-Siddhanta. Falstaff boasted that not only was he witty in himself but that he was the cause, likewise, of wit in others.

In other words, you cannot be expected to embody in your writings the philosophy implied in Edward Lear's poem:

"There was an old man who said, 'How
Shall I flee from this terrible cow?
I will sit on a stile and continue to smile,
Till I soften the heart of this cow'."

By sitting on a stile and continuing to smile you may be able to soften the heart of the cow, but I am prepared to lay all Lombard street to a China orange that you cannot soften the hearts of such as the distinguished and deceased Captain. So if I have any hard things to say of the latter, or of the people he represents, I crave to be excused: I am only human, I am not either *super*- or *in*-human.

III

Let me first touch on one point: namely, that of military people poking their noses into Indian affairs. It is, of course, true that there are large numbers of them that are simply panting and perspiring to show to the civil government how best to run the empire, specially in days of trouble like the present. It is evident that these worthy persons are not wanting in a certain kind of public spirit: the misfortune is that (in their opinion) they are rarely given an opportunity to exhibit it. And when they *are* given an opportunity—well, they make up for lost time and avenge themselves both on the civil government and the people, as General Dyer did at Jallianwala Bagh, and some admirer, or admirers, of his did only recently in Peshawar: in other words, they make a clean job of it. I want to draw the attention of ardent souls like the late Captain Ellam—men of his way of thinking—to the capital snub that Mr. Wedgewood Benn administered to Sir Philip Chetwode, the recently appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army in India. It will be remembered that that gallant soldier, on the 20th of July 1930, and from the seclusion of his holiday resort on the Continent, gave vent to his considered opinion on the present situation in our country. He exhorted the Indian Government to "rule with a firm hand", or, as the only other alternative, to "chuck it": which is beautiful barrack-room phraseology but not, I submit, either politics or even common-sense. The sequel to his ill-timed outburst is worth pondering over. In the House of Commons Mr. William Brown drew attention to Sir Philip Chetwode's speech and asked whether, in view of the character of Indian policy that Sir Philip Chetwode advocated, it was still intended that he should go to India as Commander-in-Chief

"Mr. Benn replied: 'Sir Philip Chetwode is not at present on the Indian establishment and it is unnecessary, therefore, for me to

comment on the press report concerned. Questions of policy are decided by H. M's Government and the Governor-General-in-Council, to whose superintendence, direction and control Sir Philip Chetwode, when he takes up his position as Commander-in-Chief, will be subject. The policy which it is intended to pursue in India is the policy authoritatively stated by the Viceroy on the 9th July 1930.'

Mr. Thurtle urged that, for the purpose of putting the policy into operation the people who were sympathetic to it were needed.

Mr. Benn : '*Questions of policy have nothing to do with soldiers. They are settled by the civil government.*' (My italics.)

I should like this well-merited rebuke to be blazoned in the hearts of all soldiers that are likely to be carried away by such war slogans as the present Commander-in-Chief's and the late Captain Ellam's. The distinguished Captain has not made any secret of what, in his view, is the panacea for all Indian evils. At one place he says that "they (*i. e.*, the Swarajists) should be made to understand that, if Great Britain chose to do it, she could flick them off the face of the earth without the slightest effort." (P. 273.) Again :

" If less than twenty men, whom I could name, were deported for the rest of their natural lives, with a warning issued that others would follow if necessary, the seditious Swaraj movement would collapse like a house of cards and the prestige of the British Raj would be again firmly established throughout India. As things are, it is by way of being despised, and for this we have only ourselves to thank." (P. 274.)

And Again : "The Andamans, now that they are no longer a convict settlement, might very well be utilised as a Swaraj 'reserve.' There is no need to hang, imprison, or in any way illtreat the Indian irreconcilables: they should be carefully and humanely segregated as a public nuisance. There would be no likelihood of hundreds, or even scores, rushing in to "martyrdom." The Hindu Swarajist is not of the stuff that heroes are made. The whole seditious side of the movement would vanish like a puff of smoke, and we might then get a chance of making a beginning with genuine Swaraj which does not exist to-day. India would not be disturbed; she would be at peace in less than twelve months." (P. 275.)

IV

I shall now deal, as shortly as possible, with Captain Ellam's denigration of our religion. Our religion is not, fortunately, in need of much defence, nor am I going to defend it. You do not need to gild refined gold, or to paint the lily, or to throw perfume on the violet; and likewise, we, Hindus, are not under any necessity to preach the virtues of our religion from a thousand platforms and pulpits: to do so would be, in the poet's words, a "wasteful and ridiculous excess." But I would, nonetheless, like to stress one point. The fold, of the religion which Dr. Whitehead and the late Captain Ellam are never tired of extolling—to the obvious disadvantage of Hinduism—contains, however, some real Christians who traverse all the way to India, and to a Hindu,—I refer, of course, to Mahatma Gandhi—when they want to exemplify to the world what a true Christian should aspire to be. Christians everywhere are now applauding the Saint of Sabarmati (or, as we should more correctly say, of Yerravada) as Christ's prototype.

Captain Ellam says, among other things:

"A book discussing sexual vice in India, in all its bearings, would be a large one, but it is doubtful whether it would find a publisher. That obscene phallic symbol, the lingam, is the most popular object among the Hindus, even as Kali is the most popular deity. There are said to be some fifty millions of these beastly things in India. Women anoint them with ghee and garland them with flowers! The Swarajist may pretend to be civilised, but so long as he upholds this sort of thing, as he usually does, he can no more claim to be so than the *bandar-log* can claim to be men." (Pp. 166-167.)

It is against the grain that I quote this passage: but I have to quote it if I want to bring out the full indecency of the book under review. The old gentleman in *Romany Rye*, it will be remembered, found his deliverance in studying Chinese; and I am almost inclined to think that the present-day Westerners find *their* deliverance in falling

foul of everything Oriental, especially of everything Hindu. But fortunately, we, Hindus, are not essentially the poorer for it: as someone has said: 'you do not rob anything of its value to its possessor by treating it with scientific contempt or with an artistic condescension". The average Englishman loses himself in uncontrollable mirth when he contemplates our religious ideals and practices; he regards Hinduism as nothing more than a baggage of superstitions. Certainly some superstitions are bad: but that is no reason you should impale all of them. On this subject Mr. Augustine Birrell has, as usual, some pertinent things to say. He is speaking of the merry gibes of Protestants against Roman Catholics. He writes :

"No doubt he (*i. e.*, the convert to Roman Catholicism) has to pay for them (*i. e.*, the miracles he has to believe in), but the charm of the Church of Rome is this: when you have paid her price you get your goods—a neat assortment of coherent, interdependent, logical opinions. It is not much use, under such circumstances, to call the convert a coward, and facetiously to inquire of him what he really thinks about St. Januarius. Nobody ever began with Januarius. I have no doubt a good many Romanists would be glad to be quit of him. He is part of the price they have to pay in order that their title to the possession of other miracles may be quieted. If you can convince the convert that he can disbelieve Januarius of Naples without losing his grip of Paul of Tarsus, you will be well employed ; but if you begin with merry gibes, and end with contemptuously demanding that he should have done with such nonsense and fling the rubbish overboard, he will draw in his horns and perhaps, if he knows his Browning, murmur to himself:

> 'To such a process, I discern no end.
> Cutting of one excrescence to see two ;
> There is ever a next in size, now grown as big,
> That knife I cut and cut again ;
> First cut the Liquefaction, what comes last
> But Fichte's clever cut at God Himself?'*

V.

I shall now take some other points in Captain Ellam's book. For far too long have the British public—and through the British public the whole world—been led to read the most specious lies about Hindu India ; and not only to read but also to believe. The general British public, until recently, was not interested in India. But since the publication of Miss Mayo's *Mother India* it has begun to take India and Indian problems more or less seriously. Miss Mayo, perceiving that her book had made altogether more noise than it deserved, immediately began writing another and, if possible, more damning, book, *Slaves of the Gods*. Well, the result was as she had imagined. India at once claimed the attention of the general English public : an attention that the celebrated Simon Report, and the fanfaronade of trumpets with which it was ushered into existence, only tended to direct all the more upon the country and the people upon which Miss Mayo had already done her worst to focus it. Since Miss Mayo's pioneering attempt, lots of other writers have traversed the ground she first surveyed or reconnoitered, the latest of them being the thrice-unfortunate Captain Ellam who, one may almost say, literally killed himself in the prosecution of his job I have detailed all these facts just to show that though this particular book and this particular maniac are not worthy the amount of discussion I have already given them, and the amount of it I am further going to bestow, they, nonetheless, point the way the wind is blowing, and it behoves all wary Indians to counteract such influences as best as they may.

Captain Ellam, then, is like the rest that preceded him: only he is more original and more insulting than even his notorious female mentor. That he took inspiration from Miss Mayo, that, in a manner of speaking, he took fire from her torch, is evident from his very introduction. Well, he has proved himself a worthy disciple of that most worthy of *gurus*: only, he has gone one better than herself.

VI

The two most original of Captain Ellam's points that stand out in my memory

*See *The Collected Essays and Addresses of the Rt. Hon. Augustine Birrell*, Vol. ii, PP. 384-385. Essay on 'The Via Media' (London; J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd.)

for their solidity and power, staring like two stone gargoyles of gigantic stature, are: (1) that the British have a positive right to rule India, and that India is as much their country as it is that of the Indians, and (2) that the Swarajists are a mass, body, corpus, conglomeration of the most naked and unashamed liars. But first of the first. He bases this singular claim upon the fact that both the British and the Indians are Aryans. He says:

"It has been said that the dominant race in India is the Indo-Aryan, a branch of the same great root-race to which we ourselves belong. It is this fact that links us with them and, as I shall endeavour to show, justifies our presence in India. If one branch of our family had the right to invade and conquer the country from the north several thousand years ago, then we had the right to enter from another direction. The right of conquest may be a debatable one, but the arguments for and against apply equally in the one case as in the other, and the interval of time between the two series of events makes no difference to the principles involved." (pp. 16–17.)

Of course, this argument is meant to silence us: as how can it do else? Why, we are pulverized: our case is shattered to smithereens. But—wait a moment: or as Portia would have said:

"Tarry a little;—there is something else."

This play upon the word 'Aryans' is, no doubt, tremendous; and we are properly humiliated. But, if as fellow-Aryans the English have every right not only to *be* in India but also to rule over it, pray, where does the argument stop? The people of France and of Germany, I hope, are as much Aryans as the people of England and India: not only so, but whereas in the case of England and India, they are two *branches* of the same race, in the case of England and Germany and France they are the *same* branch of the same race. Well, let Captain Ellam, or any other, put forward the same argument in regard both to France and Germany, and let him say: "Peoples of France and Germany! We, the English, and you are all Aryans, belong to the same race. As such I hope you will not be put out too much if we occupy and rule your countries from tomorrow. As fellow-Aryans, you understand, we have as much right to rule you as you yourselves". I confess to an ineradicable feeling that Captain Ellam was wise in his generation: he had prescience enough to know that he could play any prank he chose with us, but not with others: if he did, he would have been, in the phrase he applied to the Hindu Swarajists and which I quoted some columns back, "flicked off the face of the earth without the slightest effort". Captain Ellam, indeed, sets much store by what I may call this great Indo-Aryan argument. In his hands it becomes a trumpet whence he blows "soul-animating strains"; so much so, in fact, that the publisher, in his inevitable puff, has, among other recommendations of the book, to point out to an ignorant and admiring world:

"It is an examination, and an explanation, not only of Swaraj, but of our right, as Aryans, to rule in India; of the circumstances which conferred that right upon us; and of the nature of those elements which are conspiring to drive us out of the country."

I may be thought, by some, to have devoted a disproportionate space (considering its inherent silliness and comicality) to this part of Captain Ellam's thesis. Well, my excuse is that when a new and original idea (of whatever degree of fatuousness) comes, trailing clouds of glory, into the world, one should not merely pass it by, one should not merely give it the cold shoulder, but, on the other hand, pay it the homage it so loudly harkers after: if only because, it is clear, from the vivacity with which Captain Ellam puts forward his theory, that he has not, as they say, got up at three every morning in order to think like everybody else.

VII

Coming to the second notion of his, viz., that the Swarajists are hopeless liars, I shall allow myself to say only this much. Captain

Ellam, from the fact of his undisputed and indisputable eminence in that branch of human knowledge, is peculiarly in a position to know the entire development and life-history of a lie, or, of lies in general: he can bring to that study a life-time of experiment and observation. He is acquainted with their manifold advantages; and he is not altogether to be blamed either, since the Great War taught even virtuous Englishmen the sovereign uses to which the habit of lying can be put. In this connexion, I think I cannot do better than quote a passage from an old issue of the *Manchester Guardian*:

"The whole propagandist atmosphere in every combatant country during the war was an atmosphere of falsehood and detraction. War is an orgy of lying; every competent spy lies his hardest; the daily *communique* is hardly ever truthful; almost every dispatch from a war correspondent must, to get through the censor's hands, contain at least lies of omission; to bring off any surprise attack on a large scale your Intelligence Corps must put down a perfect smoke-barrage of lies—forged letters, faked news-paper articles, every description of ingenious falsehood.... The point which matters is that, in spite of virtuous professions in many quarters, a state of war is a license to lie as well as to kill, and that the most effective war propaganda, for its immediate war purpose, may be that which is most wildly false and which will be remembered with the most shame in after years by the nation which got the good of it at the time."

That is why Captain Ellam cannot bring himself to think that the Hindu Swarajists—in a state of passive warfare—are sincere and truthful; and that is why he falls foul of them so bitterly, his anger mounting at times to a chattering insanity. I may indeed, say that some Prospero had taught him the Bible, and his profit on it is that he knows how to curse; and, indeed, he curses us as only the devil can. But for all that the distinguished Captain is only bombinating in vacuo; the Hindu Swarajists of real life bear no resemblance whatever to those of his imagination. The Hindu ideals are different.

VIII

I shall now deal rapidly with the other points in Captain Ellam's book. For the most part, of course, he merely repeats, parrot-wise, what others of his way of thinking have written before him: the crucial fact to emerge always being that we are not fit for Swaraj, either now or at any calculable time in the near, or far, future. We come across the pet arguments, viz, the existence of caste, Hindu-Muslim rivalry, a Babel of tongues, and the rest of them, too hackneyed to mention. He, indeed, falls to crying his text like a hawker,

'Beating it in upon our weary brains,

As though it were the burden of a song,'

in his anxiety lest far-sighted statesmen in England (or, as he calls them, "our sentimentalists at home") may grant the boon of Swaraj to India before he has had time to convince them of their utter wrong-headedness. I sympathise with Captain Ellam: it has all been so much hate's labour lost.

Captain Ellam, like his predecessors, is lost in admiration at the sight of the transformation of India by English rule: and he spares no words for the expression of his lyrical ecstasy at such a transformation: implying, of course, that, before the advent of the English, India was a land fit only for barbarians to live in, and that there was no such thing as peace or prosperity. Well, here are some extracts to show that Captain Ellam is not nearly so omniscent as he would have the world believe him to be:

A cablegram to the *Hindu* of October 11, 1930, says:

"Mr. J.A. Richey, formerly Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, speaking at the Royal Empire Society on the 10th of October, described the political condition of India at the time of the Hindu and Mahomedan periods and expressed the opinion that, despite innumerable handicaps and defects, India was flourishing and self-supporting at the time of the Hindu and Mahomedan rulers before the advent of the British."

And in a lucid interval, even Captain Ellam himself has the goodness to admit:

"The Brahamins had considerable astronomical knowledge, probably handed down from the ancient Aryan civilisation. They taught the Greeks much in this respect. They had an admirable system of medicine which declined with the degeneration that followed the Buddhist period. Architecture, sculpture and the art of painting, craftsmanship of a high order, and chemistry as applied to the working of metals, enamel work, dyeing, and so forth—in all of these they were proficient. In short, they possessed scientific knowledge, but how far it was developed in our sense of the term we have no means of knowing." (pp.44-45.)

It does seem, then, that Indians were not so badly off before the advent of the British: then, why all this *tamasha* about the glories of the British rule? It may be all very well in school-histories: but not, I suggest, in books meant for adult-consumption. Then, he asks, pathetically, where we would all be if the English were to leave our shores to-morrow. I would answer in the words of the immortal reply of Luther to the Cardinal legate at Augsburg.

"'What!' said the Cardinal at last to him, 'do you think the Pope cares for the opinion of a German boor? The Pope's little finger is stronger than all Germany. Do you expect your princes to take up arms to defend *you*,—*you*, a wretched worm like you? I tell you, no! *and where will you be then?*'

'*Then, as now,*' replied Luther, '*then, as now, in the hands of the Almighty God.*'"

To the question of Captain Ellam of where we would be if the English were to leave our shores to-morrow, I would reply: "Then, as now, in the hands of the Almighty God."

X

Let me, in bringing my article to a close, pass a few general remarks. I have already said that Captain Ellam's book does not deserve the detailed treatment that I have given it. In himself Captain Ellam never counted for much. But he and his book are evidences of a widely prevalent symptom: he and it stand for a whole class of people that would, if it could, annihilate the entire Hindu-India at a sign and in a flash. Captain Ellam's treatise on how best to govern the Indian Empire is only an excuse for me to address the larger public whom he represents so vociferously. That public is not contemptible even if the Captain may be: hence the length of this article.

Captain Ellam has cast all literary good manners to the four winds. The loss, however, is his, not ours. We can afford to look calmly on at the spectacle of a man making an ass of himself. Captain Ellam would have brought more credit to a music-hall comedy: but not, I submit, to English authorship. For one thing, he has too many bees in his bonnet; and one of them alone would have been by far too much. He wants the British to stay in India as rulers for ever: which bias of his may be excused, but not so the argument he advances for it. For some unknown reason the Hindu Swarajists have got on his brain; and he finds it difficult to discommode them. "Are Tories born bad?" said a little boy of a Whig family. "They are born bad, and they make themselves worse", answered his lady mother. Just so, I think, Captain Ellam would have answered any one asking the same question about Hindu Swarajists. "There is a form in these things, madam, there is a form", says the lady of quality in the story. But Captain Ellam recognises no form: he hates any limit to be set to his bumptiousness. Not that I would hold up to him the seven lamps of fair and honest criticism: I only want to register a protest against the attitude too often taken by some die-hard Englishmen against Hindu-India—I advisedly write "Hindu" India, because Miss Mayo and Captain Ellam and their pupils specially isolate the Hindus for their aversion.

Captain Ellam's remedy for the present Indian discontent is simple. All the "Reforms" we have had up to now must be scrapped and some sort of dictatorship must take their place. He says at one place:

"If India is to advance towards a higher standard of civilisation; if it is to come into line with the rest of the civilised world; if a greater measure of prosperity is to be insured for its inarticulate millions—as against the few thousands who are opposed to progress—an-

other system altogether must be devised. It must be a system of more direct, positive, and *personal rule by Britishers*, assisted by such Indians as are prepared to fall into line with modern methods." (P.138.).

At another place he writes :

"It will be found that, if we are to deal rightly and justly by India, we must rule, and the only way to do so is by some form of dictatorship. The trouble of late years has been that we have had no definite policy. The Reforms contained none. They were merely by way of an experiment to see whether a policy might be evolved out of them, and we have discovered that it cannot. If we do not care to assume the responsibility of a dictatorship, and still determine to hand over India to the Indians, they will speedily establish one, and it will not be that of the Swarajist Congress Party." (P. 266.)

Well, we now have some sort of dictatorship : else, what is the motion behind the numerous Ordinances that have recently been passed, and passed too. *(mirabile dictu !)*, by a "sincere" and "sympathetic" Viceroy ! Captain Ellam would have been wise not to put himself to all this trouble : his ideas, consciously or unconsciously, are being translated into practice.

A Peep into the Future : Communal Representation in India

Compiled by " A Man of Affairs "

THE following extracts have been taken from reports of Commissions ; records of police court cases, judicial trials Council proceedings, administration reports etc., issued between the years 1930-50, and are published for the exclusive benefit of our readers.

I

Report of the Royal Commission on the Government of India, 1930.

We have given our closest consideration to the representations made on behalf of several communities in India. Taking the figures of the Census as our basis we can only give an approximate satisfaction to all the claims made before us, for it is not possible to give an absolutely accurate solution to the problem of constructing a machinery of Government unless every single person in the country is made a member thereof, as the numbers of the several communities do not possess a 'common measure'. We lay down the number 2375 as the fundamental number in the constitution and this number is divided into parts attached to the several communities as shown in the schedule attached to our report. The claims of each community will henceforward be represented by its proper number, and all appointments, memberships of various bodies, and in fact everything in the country will be awarded according to the proportion given in the schedule wherever possible. The Viceroy's Executive Council will consist of 475 members selected, as far as may be possible, according to one-fifth the number belonging to each community and these members will hold office for one year so that each community will have attained its exact share of membership in five years. There will be 125 Judges in each High Court, each Judge holding office for one year, though according to this arrangement, each section will have obtained its exact share only after the lapse of 19 years. The number of other kinds of appointments will be determined on the same basis for the accurate adjustment of all claims.

To allow for the proper functioning of all bodies with these numbers, as many existing Government buildings as may be

necessary may be pulled down and rebuilt so as to be of the proper size.

II

Notification of the Government of India, 1932

In accordance with the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1931, His Majesty the King Emperor has been pleased to appoint the following 475 gentlemen as members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

267. Matadin Ramdin (caste Barber) member in charge of the Surgical Branch of the Medical Department.

272. Allabux Peerbux (Mahomedan camel-driver) in charge of the camel transport division of the Army Department.

433. Rama Swamy (caste, Andhra Sweeper) in charge of the road cleaning branch of the P. W. D.

437. Jagannath Bhattacharya (Kulin Brahmin priest) in charge of the domestic section of the Registration Department.

III

Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, 1932.

MR. RATNA SINGH, M.L.A., asked: Will Government be pleased to say whether it is a fact that in the village of Chindapatam the sweepers have been recently asked to use a broom with a rod four feet long and cocoanut bristles only one foot long, and who is responsible for this invasion on the old time-honoured custom of the place where these dimensions were 3 feet and 18 inches respectively ?

THE HON'BLE MR. RAMA SWAMY replied: Goverament regret that such an unauthorised order was given but as soon as the matter was brought to the notice by the Hon'ble member the order was rescinded. The offence to the sentiments of the local people is very much regretted.

IV

Letter to All Local Governments, 1934.

In response to a resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly, with which the Government of India are in full agreement I am directed to say that hence forward every appointment under Government should go by rotation to each community irrespective of the merits of the applicants.

V

Notification in the Bombay Government Gazette 1934.

The Government of Bombay will proceed to make the following appointments in December. The applicants for the several appointments should belong to the castes mentioned against each according to the rotation fixed by Government order No. 112 dated November 30, 1934.

1. Chief Engineer for Irrigation (Sind): Kunbi from North Kanara.

2. Professor of Sanskrit, Elphinston College Bombay : Baluchi Pathan from Sind.

3. Commandant of His Excellency's Body-guard: Marwari from North Gujrat.

4. Consulting Architect to Government: Madari (wandering gypsy) from the Deccan.

5. Director of Islamic Culture: Karhada Brahmin.

6. Professor of Anatomy, Grant Medical College : Mahomedan Butcher.

7. Superintendent of Yerayda Jail : Ghantichor. *

8. Two organisers of prohibition : Dharala † (Kaira District); Bhil * (Panch Mahals).

VI

Report of a Case From the High Court, 1935.

A. B., caste Teli, was charged with the cold blooded murder of his father while he was asleep. The judge summing up against the accused, the jury brought in a verdict of guilty. Before passing sentence the judge asked the pleader for the accused if he had to say any thing. The pleader, Mr. Bomanji, said he agreed with the verdict, but that according to law the accused could not be sentenced at all, much less sentenced to death, as during the current year seven Telis had already been convicted and sen-

* A notorious criminal tribe in the Deccan.-Ed. H.R.

† Tribes in Gujarat given to drunkenness—Ed. H. R.

tenced, two of them to death, that several other communities had not yet reached their quota of convictions as given in the Government of India Act, while the Telis had already reached theirs. His Lordship accepted the contention of the defence pleader and acquitted the accused.

VII

Extract From the "Indian Daily Mail," 1936.

Annaji Ramchandra (Chitpavan Brahmin) was found wandering in the streets of Poona with a long knife attacking whomsoever he met. When brought up before the magistrate he was shown by the police to have been recently let off from the Mental Hospital. The superintendent of the Hospital in his evidence said that Annaji had been in the hospital as a dangerous lunatic for three years, but as three was the quota for the Chitpavans and as the inmates belonging to other communities had not finished their year-quota he could not keep him any longer and show any special favouritism to the Chitpavans and he had therefore let him off according to Government order No. 1002 in the Medical Deparment. The magistrate ordered Annaji to be discharged.

VIII

Extract From the Report of the Administration of Jails in the Bombay Presidency, 1937.

In spite of every precaution the numbers in the jails did not correspond to the quotas fixed for each community. The superintendent had already asked for instruction from Government with a view to remedy the discrepancy.

Resolution of Government :—Government view with serious displeasure this grave dereliction of duty on the part of the Inspector-General of Prisons. Immediate steps should be taken to arrest and put in jail as many members of the various communities as are required to bring their quotas up to the proper level. If enough persons required cannot be caught, a sufficient number of inmates should be let off to bring down all to the same level.

IX

Proceedings of the Legislative Council, 1940.

MR. CHENNAPPA asked: Has the attention of Government been called to the fact that the class lists of the recent M. A. examination in Pali do not show the proper quota for Mang-garudis ?

THE HON'BLE MR. DAMU SHROFF (Minister of Education): The University Registrar reports that no candidate from among Mang-garudis offered himself for examination.

MR. CHENNAPPA : Will Government be pleased to stop this examination until such a candidate offers himself and if the University disobeys the order of Government to take away the University grant and amend the University Act ?

THE HON. MEMBER: Government will be pleased to consider the suggestion favourably (*cheers*).

X

Extract from the " Times of India," 1942

The Coroner Mr. Abbott was suddenly called last evening to inquire into the death of Ramji Sonu at the J. J. Hospital as the result of a surgical operation. Dr. Tanu Pandar (caste Barber) deposed that he had conducted the operation. He wished to open an abcess in the abdomen but his knife pierced the heart and the patient expired. Asked whether he had ever carried out any operation of this nature before, he said that he was appointed as the principal surgeon to the Hospital only the day before as it was then the turn of his community and that he had never held a surgical instrument in his hand before except a razor for shaving. The jury returned a verdict of death by misadventure.

THE PROBLEM OF LABOUR AND HOUSING IN INDIA*

By Mr. C. V. HANUMANTHA RAO.

THE book under review deals with the Indian Labour problem in its housing aspect. The author has been at great pains to collect various important, useful and relevant data in regard to the different phases of the problem and has used them with much skill to present in a trenchant and effective manner, so as to bring home to the authorities concerned the immensity and gravity of the situation and the necessity for solving it at an early date and in a satisfactory manner.

Dr. Gupta has divided his book into four parts, in the first of which he has given the general outlines of the housing problem; in the second, he has discussed in a detailed manner the housing problem on its social side; in the third, he has shown how the housing problem affects the Public Health of the people in general and of the labour population in particular and in the fourth and the last, he has made many very valuable suggestions for the improvement of the present situation and for remedying the grave evils that emerge from it.

With regard to the problem of labour housing, Dr. Gupta has given a historical retrospect of the growth of industrialism in India, which has resulted in the concentration of population in certain places, in the development of big towns, in the congestion of population in those towns, and in the emergence of the problem of finding housing accommodation for the large class of outside people, who have migrated to these industrial areas in search of employment. The growth of the cotton mill towns, the mining towns, the jute mill centres and lastly of the commercial towns has been separately dealt with and the connection between commercialism and industrialism and how the former is a necessary concomitant and an inevitable offshoot of the latter has been clearly brought out. The phenomenon is worth remembering that mining and mill towns have been growing more rapidly than other industries and towns and the author opines with much truth that the "speed with which population grows renders the most gigantic schemes of housing inadequate in a short time" and that "there is always an ever-increasing and ever-recurring need of houses". The absence of adequate housing accommodation results in overcrowding to an unimaginable degree in the houses already in existence and brings in its train all those deleterious consequences of congested living, insanitary conditions, filthy sorroundings, disease and high mortality.

Referring to the social aspects of the housing problem, Dr. Gupta has pointed out the evils arising from overcrowding on the physical, intellectual and moral character of the workmen. His diagnosis of the situation is that the industrial workers coming to find work in the cities from their villages find themselves out of their element, as they find that a different social order prevails in the cities, where there is not the same rigidity in the observance of caste distinctions and in the following of traditional modes of living but an altogether topsy-turvy system. They find the conflict but they yield to the seductive influences of town and city-life and very soon lose themselves in the whirlpool of the customs and habits of people obtaining therein. These conditions engender in them the bad and the wholly disastrous tendencies of making them the unprotesting victims of the drinking saloon, the gambling den and the prostitute's home, all of which are in such utter contrast and so ill-harmonized with the lives which they had previously been living, that they become more easily

* *Labour and Housing in India.* By Dr. Raj Bahadur Gupta.

than otherwise their preys. The bad, insufficient and overcrowded houses in which persons of all descriptions are bundled together in such large numbers also encourages and aids the process of physical and intellectual demoralization of the workers. Dr. Gupta has furnished many tables to indicate the composition of the population of the various industrial cities, which comprises mostly of people coming from outside of the province in which the city is situated and pointed out the almost insurmountable obstacles in the way of ameliorative and developmental measures which this influx of outside immigrants is placing in the way of the authorities successfully tackling the problem of overcrowding in those cities.

The author has also dealt exhaustively with the evil consequences which the disparity in sex ratios is having upon the morals of the industrial population. "The ratio of adult males to adult females is about 8 to 3 in Calcutta and 11 to 4 in the average industrial and commercial town" says Dr. Gupta and goes on to point how the situation is dangerous to an alarming degree, in so far as such disparity leads to sexual irregularity of a very bad type, to promiscuous and indiscriminate sexual relationships, to the propagation of venereal diseases and to the resultant intellectual and physical imbecility and decrepitude of the workers. These unhappy results of sex disparity is bound to have undesirable repurcussions on the efficiency of the workers and the work of industrial production. The main cause for this state of affairs, and that which would perpetuate it if not remedied betimes, is the unsatisfactory and inadequate nature of housing conditions in the industrial areas, where houses are either too few in number or too highly rented to induce or enable the poor labourers to bring their wives with them and lead family lives. If prostitution had been on the increase in industrial areas, if the liquor shop had gained much favour with the industrial workers, and if the labourers have not cultivated that fixed and steady mode of living, so beneficial to himself and so necessary for his work and efficiency, it is all attributable to the inability of the workers to live with their families and thus partake of the wholesome influences of family life.

From this point, Dr. Gupta goes to the discussion of the relationship that exists between house-rent and wages and he has shown by an elaborate comparison of statistics of house rents in the various industrial cities the high proportion of the latter that the former absorb, and how its exhorbitance is a serious drag on the ability of the wage-earners to accommodate themselves and their families in a tolerable manner in the cities. An enquiry into the working class budgets in Bombay conducted by Mr. Findlay Shirras in 1924, revealed the fact that, on an average, house-rent constituted 7·7 per-cent. of the income of a working-class family; but, Dr. Gupta points out that this is a gross under-estimate and that in reality 15 and 20 p. c. and sometimes even 40 p.c. of the wages are consumed by house-rents. A comparison had been instituted by him between the conditions in India and in England and other European countries in regard to this matter and he showed that in almost every country in the west, laws been enacted to restrict the rents of working class houses and congestion and dearth of housing accommodation had been sought to be mitigated by State aid to the building industry. Dr. Raj Bahadur Gupta advocates similar state action in India also by the Government passing Rent Restriction Acts and liberally subsidising the house-building projects undertaken by the local authorities.

In the third part of his very instructive work, Dr. Gupta deals with the relation of the housing problem to infant mortality. After giving statistics to show the high rate of infant mortality in the various cities of India and especially in the industrial cities, he says that the causes for this very depressing and disheartening phenomenon are to be searched for in the environmental conditions and the surroundings in which children are born and bred up. The origin of the trouble according to the author is to be

discovered in the fact of the industrial employment of women which affect the infant mortality rate "both directly through anti-natal influences connected with the mother's work and indirectly through overstrain, exhaustion and occupational diseases". The phenomenal overcrowding in industrial cities and especially in the houses tenanted by workmen, the insanitary and unhygienic conditions in which the delivery takes place, the lack of proper medical aid owing to the absence of properly trained midwives, and lastly, the under nourishment and the malnutrition, the poverty and the low capacity to resist the inroads of disease and death—all these lead to infant mortality in such huge dimensions, as for example, 667 per thousand children born die within the first year of their birth in Bombay. The problem in India is that of a high birth rate and a high death rate, whereas in Europe the situation is that of a low birth-rate and a low death rate. There is no disputing as to which of these two conditions is to be preferred and as to which of them points in which direction; for while the conditions in India are a clear index of our debilitated and impoverished nationhood, the conditions in Europe point to a healthy and vigorous population, which knows how to maintain its standards of life and living. Undoubtedly we are worse off for our high birth rate and high death rate, the former showing utter recklessness and improvidence and the latter a low vitality and a high susceptibility to disease. In some cities like Cawnpore, the author says, the problem is that there are more deaths than births, a situation which is immeasurably more dangerous than that noticed previously. The environment is solely responsible for this high rate of infant mortality, which, when viewed in its larger aspect, seriously jeopardizes the efficiency of the nation as a whole, in so far as it results in a diterioration of and even the serious diminution in the man-power of the nation—man-power, which, in the ultimate analysis, is the factor on the strength of which the nation lives and claims for itself a place of glory and greatness amongst the other nations of the world. Dr. Gupta says in conclusion that the whole problem moves in a vicious circle, in so far as one thing leads to another, "poverty and ignorance themselves encouraging overcrowding and insanitation"; they in their turn bringing about "mental depression and impaired metabolism"; which again lead to "impaired efficiency and poverty". The improvement in one direction, in the pivotal matter of housing, is bound to lead to an improvement in other directions also.

Diseases like tuberculosis and cholera, small-pox and plague, especially tuberculosis, levy a heavy toll of the industrial population and prove its scourage; and tuberculosis, the author points out on the testimony of unimpeachable medical evidence, is the direct result of the congested conditions of living and enervating conditions of work. In this connection, Dr. Gupta shows the unreliable condition of the vital statistics in our country,—a condition which needs improvement in many directions, which needs systematization and better scrutiny on the part of the authorities concerned. The author also puts in a plea for a "systematic and persistent propaganda" among the people to inculcate into them better methods of living and better ideas of cleanliness of person, house and surroundings. Such propaganda is sure to have greater effects in improving the situation than any amount of extension of medical facilities or any amount of expenditure on public health schemes can be expected to have.

By far the most important part of Dr. Gupta's book is the fourth and last, which contains many valuable and constructive suggestions, the acting up to which will contribute to the remedying of the present unsatisfactory condition of the industrial workers in the matter of housing accommodation. Dealing first with the part that Municipalities and Local Boards have to play in the matter, the author points out primary drawback of all such organisations is the lack of proper resources and adequate funds to carry on this useful and beneficient duty of constructing houses for the poor workmen. Sometimes, when even funds are provided for, there is lack of

organisation and of capacity to carry out comprehensive schemes of house construction with reference to local needs and requirements. The picture of municipal administration in India in regard to the essential duties of maintaining proper sanitary and health conditions is in pathetic contrast with the picture of municipal administration in England and America, where not only are the municipalities better equipped with funds and organising capacity to accomplish substantial reform and achieve substantial results in that direction but the people also have the civic sense ingrained in them and also cultivated by habit, to help the municipalities in the business of maintaining high standards of municipal efficiency. There is not enough water-supply, no good drainage schemes, no adequate latrine accommodation, no proper conservancy arrangements in many of the Indian towns and even cities. It is no wonder, therefore, that the public health position in those towns and cities is at such a low ebb and that diseases find favourable breeding ground in them. Dr. Gupta says that it is the duty of the municipalities "to engender the habits of cleanliness and sanitary living amongst the inhabitants by propaganda work and by organising health weeks regularly 'and that "sympathy, guidance and instruction by health visitors can affect immense improvement in the houses of the poor even while poverty continues".

Dr. Gupta next deals with the work turned out by the Improvement Trusts in Bombay, Calcutta, Rangoon and Cawnpore. He says that "it is an incontrovertible fact that the work of the Trusts has so far been disappointing" because, first, they cared more for spectacular and ostentatious display, more for the sunny side of things than for concrete work calculated to improve the condition of the working-class housing and, secondly, they carried on their projects without taking into consideration the requirements of the Indian workmen in regard to housing. They have to set right these two defects in order to be able to perform any useful work and, in addition, they have to economize expenditure and pool their resources, exchange consultations amongst themselves and chalk out programmes on a coordinated basis. Wherever possible, the Improvement Trusts should act in concert with the Municipal Boards.

In th next chapter, the author deals with the part which employers have to play in welfare work and he refers to the humanitarian and philanthropic work turned out by them in certain parts of the country and the absence of any such tendency on their side in other parts. The duty which the employers owe to their employees is a sacred one, in so far as the latter are the most active agents of production, without whose labour and cooperation it would be impossible for the former to do any thing; and they have to fulfil their duty in a sincere and willing manner, and with a determination to provide their workmen with human living conditions. It is but fair, therefore, that the work done so far, insignificant, infinitesimal though it be in proportion to the work that has still to be accomplished, should receive due commendation and praise. And Dr. Gupta has efficiently discharged this function by specially mentioning the welfare work of Binny and Company in Madras, the Tata group of mills in Bombay, the Tata Steel works in Jamshedpur and other employer organisations. There is every need for employers in other mill towns to copy their example and do their part of the duty towards their employees and thereby conduce to their own profit.

The author next discusses the contribution of the State to the solution of the housing problem. The State in India, when compared with the Governments in other countries, has done incomparably little in that direction either directly by granting subventions to the local authorities for building purposes or indirectly by legislation making it obligatory for the Local Bodies, the employers and others to undertake building projects whenever and wherever there is a shortage of houses. It is the primary duty of the State to promote the health and well-being of its citizens by providing favourable opportunities for such promotion; and it will amount to an abdication of this part of its responsibility, if it fails in doing so and allows things to take

their own course. Dr. Gupta has given the outlines of a Housing Bill for India which seeks to cover the whole field of the problem and which provides, as a first step in its solution, for the raising of Housing funds by the Provincial Governments to be lent to (i) Local authorities, "both for slum clearance and the direct construction of houses"; and (ii) to Limited-dividend Housing Societies-cooperative, industrial etc for the purposes of house-construction. It also provides for the lending of small sums of money to individual house-builders under proper safeguards.

In the last chapter Dr. Gupta has put in a plea for "an intelligent cummingling of agricultural and industrial pursuits" so as to avoid undue pressure of population upon either industry or agriculture alone. It was the unsettlement that prevails in our working population and the large movements from agriculture to industry and *vice-versa* that had been the cause of so much backwardness on the part of Indian labourers. The author advocates the introduction of the system of regional surveys and regional planning of house-construction and town-development taking, as the basis to start with, the indigenous methods. The process of urbanization which has come in the wake of industrialism has been and will continue to be a very un-beneficial change if it is not followed by all those steps which make the change tolerable and productive of good results in ameliorating the condition of the people and if they are, thus, not made the happier for it.

The book is complete with four Appendices dealing with (i) Statistics of Tenement housing (2) overcrowding in tenements (3) infant mortality and (4) mortality from certain diseases, and with an Index.

Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee, the Head of the Department of Economics in the Lucknow University, has contributed a very useful critical introduction to the book, wherein he pays a well-deserved tribute to Dr. Raj Bahadur Gupta who, as he says, has not only made a penetrating study of the subjects of housing in India in its various aspects, but has also "a deep sociological insight, sympathy and breadth of outlook". The verdict of Dr. Mukerjea will be endorsed in toto by any one reading the book.

AN ANGLO-INDIAN ADMINISTRATOR'S EXPERIENCES*

By "INDOPHILIST"

SIR Bampfylde Fuller's reminiscences of his Indian career—published evidently in self-defence as an apology for his dismissal by Lord Morley—are distinctly piquant and interesting. Twenty-five years ago India was in a ferment over the partition of Bengal, and Sir Bompfylde was much in the limelight, as the first Lieutenant of the defunct Eastern Bengal. Though due for an easier appointment elsewhere, he undertook the administration and settlement of the new province and brought to bear, apparently with eminent success, (according to his own view of it) his great abilities and thirty years' experience of India (on the spot). He risked his future career and lost, because Lord Morley with his six months' experience of India (in the India Office) 'knew better'! Before that episode Sir Bampfylde held many interesting and responsible posts in India, including the post of Secretary to Lord Gurzon's government.

*Some Personal Experiences. By Sir Bampfylde Fuller (John Murray, Albemarle Street, London) 1930.

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Since the episode he has had many varied experiences, including conciliation work in Irish troubles, service in France and controlling Britain's timber during the war. Administrator, traveller, philosopher and author, he here gives us a most interesting book. But to readers in India it is his Indian recollections which are of special interest, particularly of the period during which he administered Eastern Bengal and Assam as its Chief executive.

Born in 1854, and educated at Marlborough, Fuller from there passed out for the Indian Civil Service in 1873. Having arrived in India, full of enthusiasm for the new life ahead of him, he was posted to Cawnpore. He notes that the District Magistrate there still carried in his head a bullet acquired during the Mutiny..a fact that did not tend to improve his temper. After three weeks in Cawnpore, he was sent off alone to check the work of the village notary staffs in maintaining maps and records of the cadastral survey. For three months he saw no European, and spoke no word of English. Consequently he gained an invaluable insight into the life and sentiment of the Indian villager, and a thorough working knowledge of the language. After a year of Cawnpore, Fuller was posted, with full magisterial powers, to Aligarh, where he learnt the many realities of Indian life in the seventies of the last century. After three years at Aligarh he was appointed Assistant Director of Land Records and Agriculture. Here he came under the original and absent-minded Sir Edward Buck, who once arrived to dine at Government House minus a collar, which he had forgotten to put on. If an Anglicised Indian did that, there would be, well—Fuller's new post necessitated a great deal of touring and a close study of the conditions, which resulted in a lasting passion for things agricultural. In 1901 he was appointed Secretary to the Government of India in the Revenue and Agriculture Department. Here of necessity he came into close contact with Lord Curzon, and formed at first hand an opinion of that great administrator's strength and weakness. Two years later he was appointed by Lord Curzon to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, and here he was happy enough in touring round, and in getting to know intimately his scattered and widely-differing people and their modes of life. In Assam he was once more able to introduce reforms in matters of agriculture and in schools, as well as to settle differences between the warlike hill tribes. He had some difficulty with the European tea-planters over their methods of obtaining and using labour, but in times, with his persistent patience, he overcame all obstacles.

At that time the advisability of transferring certain districts of Bengal to Assam so as to include Chittagong in the latter province occurred to Sir Bampfylde. He interviewed the leading men of the three districts concerned, and having ascertained that they were in favour submitted his scheme officially. It was amplified to include the large districts of Dacca and Mymensingh, and returned for further consideration. This project sorely displeased the Hindu element, and Fuller recorded his objections accordingly. Lord Curzon, however, was all in favour of it, and moreover deputed Fuller to carry the scheme through, although the latter was practically assured of the Lieutenant Governorship of the United Provinces at the time. The existence of the new province was proclaimed in October, 1905. Lord Morley objected to Fuller's methods of administration, and the position of Lord Minto, the Viceroy, as a Conservative serving under a Radical Government, was difficult in the extreme. Various actions, deemed necessary by the man on the spot, were questioned and sometimes countermanded, with the result that in 1906, over a small point of discipline in a school, Fuller felt impelled to submit his resignation which after some delay was accepted, and so ingloriously ended his long Indian career. Writing of the incidents that led to his resignation Sir Bampfylde says: "I was told by the editor of *The Times* that Lord Morley had assured him that Lord Minto had acted, in my case, of his own discretion. Many years later after the death of both of them, I asked the officer who was Lord

Minto's private secretary at the time whether he could not give the facts 'For six months before you left', he said, 'Lord Morley had been urging us, in his weekly letters, to get rid of you on some pretext or other'. Alas for Honest John". This version is now disclosed, for the first time, after the deaths of both.

But in this as in other incidents of a controversial nature—the book is full of them—there is no sign of resentment though strong epithets are used. "There was in truth" he writes, "no one person responsible. The destinies of India had been committed to the incongruous propensities of a careless old sportsman and a foxy old philosopher". That is how Sir Bampfylde now vents his spleen against them. "In his *Autobiography* he (Lord Morley) notes that I seemed to be as unfit to govern an Indian province as he was to drive a locomotive engine. He expressed himself to me very differently. At one of our interviews he said: "If I had known you then as I know you now, you would still be on your throne in Eastern Bengal". This, again, is a serious allegation. Sir Bampfylde has waited a long time to clear his reputation, if this process required slinging of mud at two statesmen like Lords Morley and Minto. His extract from Morley's reminiscences somewhat misrepresents Morley's opinion about him. Morley wrote about Sir Bampfylde as follows:-"He is evidently a shrewish, eager, impulsive, overflowing man quite well fitted for Government work of ordinary scope, but, I fear, no more fitted to manage the state of things in Eastern Bengal than I am to drive an engine". The extract, taken as a whole, puts a different complexion. But though the book suffers from these defects of *suppresio veri* and *suggestio falsi*, it is none the less highly interesting.

A GREAT DEALER IN ORIENTAL BOOKS.

By Mr. VASUDEO. B. METTA.

IN Great Russell Street, facing the grimy but imposing classical facade of the British Museum, in London, there is an Oriental bookshop whose owner is Mr. Arthur Probsthain. Mr. Probsthain is not the usual kind of bookseller who is interested in nothing save selling as many books at as high prices as possible. He is a bibliophile: he loves books as Don Juan loved women. He passes his day with them and sleeps among them at night. He is enamoured of some of his books so much that he has refused to sell them even though high prices were offered for them. He has a wonderful memory and can tell you the names of standard works on subjects of so little general interest as Siberian art and Manchu history. Scholars, explorers, and archaeologists from all over the world visit his bookshop when they go to London. The late Doctor G. C. Morrison, the famous Peking correspondent of the *London Times* bought on Mr. Probsthain's advice the greater part of the library which he subsequently sold in Japan for £30,000. Mr. Probsthain's catalogue of Sanskrit and allied literatures is considered by Indologists to be the best ever published. His catalogue of Chinese books is just as good: it was sent, when first published two years ago, to 1600 Orientalists in different parts of the world.

Mr. Probsthain is a slim, dreamy-eyed German of about fifty five years of age. He felt the glamour of the East while yet at school and so he made up his mind to be an Oriental bookseller. On leaving school he apprenticed himself to a bookseller in Leipzig to learn his trade: then went to Paris and took employment in a *librarie* for a year and a half. In 1897 he went to London and worked for a time under Mr. Luzac, the then greatest Oriental bookseller of the city. In 1900 he started his own business in his present premises, and by his wide knowledge, his willingness to help everyone with his advice, and his indefatigable industry he soon attracted attention. To-day, he is the greatest Oriental bookseller in the British Empire and perhaps second to none in the whole world.

The facade of the bookshop in Great Russell Street, prepares you for the exotic world which you are about to enter. It is decorated with words in three Oriental languages—Sanskrit, Arabic, and Chinese. The Sanskrit word is Granthalaya: the Arabic word is Kitab Khana, while the Chinese word is Po Wen Tang which conveys the idea of a man who sells books in order to make men perfect. As you enter the shop through the deep brown door, books ranged on shelves from floor to ceiling meet your eye. Besides books in such well known Oriental languages as Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Persian, Turkish, etc., there are books in Mongolian, Pushtu, Syriac, Javanese, Abyssinian, and other little known languages. And they are all sorts of books—dictionaries, grammars, books on philosophy, philology, literature, art, etc. in the original as well as in English, French, and German translations. On one of the shelves are the Chinese Classics in their original garb and a complete Chinese library of 350 books in one volume which contains all the books which are necessary to a student of Chinese language and literature who is endowed with small means. On another are to be seen: a beautifully decorated Koran in Arabic which was written in Persia in the fifteenth century: the prose works of Jami, the great sixteenth century Persian poet, written two years after the poet's death: and old editions of Omar Khayyam. A Chinese history from 1,000 B.C. to our times, written in 900 Chinese volumes and bound in 170 thick European volumes is one of Mr. Probsthain's favourites. There are also to be found there Javanese books

with goatskin bindings, Burmese books with lacquered palm leaf bindings, and lithographed Turki books brought from Kihwafu in Chinese Turkestan to Moscow on camels' backs and thence shipped to London by rail. These last were published in the fifteenth century and were at one time in the possession of Prince Yueh Yen of the Ming Dynasty of China.

On the first floor of the building are more books and works of art. On one of the tables, near the window overlooking the street, which is reserved for things Japanese, you see colour prints of Hokusai, and Hiroshige, an autograph album, with poems and pictures, of the eighteenth century, and an early nineteenth century book on whale-hunting, with illustrations of the anatomy of the animal. There are several good Chinese pictures on silk, one of which called "Scenes From Foreign and Strange Lands" by Li Lung Mien, the great Sung painter of the twelfth century, is of special interest. It represents Fu Sang, "a country to the east of the Great Sea", which some Sinologists have identified with Mexico. The houses in this picture are made of wood, but are without walls. The inhabitants are well-made and active, live on a milk diet, wear cutlasses round their waists, and ride on jaguars. The picture shows that the artist had heard of America, which the Chinese claim to have discovered three or four centuries before Christopher Columbus.

There are also Indian paintings of the Rajput, Moghul, and modern Bengali Schools, reproductions of the frescoes of the Bagh and Ajanta Caves, examples in gold, blue, and vermilion, of Turkish calligraphy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, old Chinese and Japanese books in portfolios, and a life of Confucius written by the seventy second descendant of the great sage and illustrated by a modern Chinese artist. On the mantelpiece above the fireplace are Chinese vases of brown clay, shaped like pagodas, of the Ming Period, terra cotta statuettes of the Tag Period, and enamelled Persian tiles of the thirteenth century.

Like all Germans Mr. Probsthain has a tendency to metaphysics and mysticism; and so he prefers India to other Oriental countries. Quite recently in order to still further stimulate the advancement of Oriental learning, he has offered the sum of £100 to the first student or scholar who can (within a period of three years from date of publication) decipher at least ten hieroglyphs of the Indus script, a signlist of which will be found in the pages of *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, which is being published by him. Many indeed are the services rendered to the cause of Oriental learning by this profound enthusiast. The Chinese name mentioned before—*Po Wen Tang*—may well be applied to his book-shop.

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fasion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell; M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

(A) THE EVIL GENIUS OF RUSSIA *

By Mr. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

RENE Fulop-Miller's *Rasputin, the Holy Devil* is a book of fascinating and perennial interest. In its English translation it was published in 1928 but the event passed unnoticed in India. Reading it now I find it as colourful and thrilling as the period in Russia which the book aims at reconstructing. Rene Fulop-Miller is an Austrian author of wide scholarship and his first two books *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism* and *'Lenin and Gandhi* won for him a very distinguished place among German authors. The latter especially is a book of challenging import and though one cannot always see eye to eye with the author's conclusions, the obvious sincerity and penetrating understanding which are everywhere easily discernible cannot fail to stamp it an altogether remarkable book. In his latest book Rene Fulop-Miller has a theme after his own heart. In his *'Rasputin'* we have the most complete and the most revealing of studies of the enigmatic personality who at one time had the cool audacity to say: "Between these fingers I hold the Russian Empire." Such was the curious admixture of his qualities that with a ready adaptability it afforded justification to his warmest admirers no less than to his bitterest enemies. The unfathomable secret and compelling power of his eyes; his peasant mien and rustic manners which he could not discard even in the presence of the Imperial couple; his generosity that transcended the cramping limitations of power and arrogance; his eternal dances to the tune of Gipsy music; his unnameable debaucheries in his secret room, the 'Holy of Holies': all these daring contradictions in character and action are wonderfully brought out in Rene Fulop-Miller's book. Perhaps the most valuable part of the volume is the fifth chapter, 'The Fateful Idyll of Tsarskoe Selo' in which we have the description of the private life of Nicolai II and Empress Alexandra during the long years before Rasputin made his conquest of their affections and particularly of the Tsarevich. The book is in a sense as much a study of Rasputin as it is of that state of Society which in the first two decades of the present century witnessed many upheavals and inevitably led to the murder of Rasputin, the wreck of the Empire and the excesses of the Bolshevist Revolutions. Hence Rene Fulop-Miller's biography of Rasputin must be considered as almost an indispensable historical document. A unique feature of Rene Fulop-Miller's method of reconstruction of the faded image of Rasputin is to set aside the strictly chronological aspect of the theme and to emphasise rather the crucial characteristics in separate chapters, each having its own chronologial basis and developed with careful marshalling of facts and anecdotes. This method imparts a kind of wholesome unity to each of these chapters and the reader is enabled to keep before his vision, in the end, all the opposing elements of Rasputin's individuality and thereby also to retain a vivid impression of his tantalising essence. The various portraits and caricatures add to the value of the book. Anyone who would know about Russia cannot ignore this masterly biography.

**Rasputin, the Holy Devil.* By Rene Fulop-Miller (G.P. Putnam's Sons, 24, Bedford Street, London W.C.) 1929.

(B) ETHICS AS A SCIENCE*

By BROTHER LEONARD.

THERE are by no means too many text-books which set out to help the beginner to an understanding of Ethics. Dr. Wright has made on the whole a very successful attempt at this arduous work. To deal, as he does, in one small book of 500 pages with the anthropological, historical, religious, and metaphysical aspects of the subject is a superhuman task, and the inevitable result is that the work is somewhat unequal, and may leave the student a little breathless. Then again the book was written for American undergraduates, and its background, both in regard to phraseology and the illustrations given from contemporary life, may betray itself at times.

The writer starts with some study of the growth of social organisation ; he traces society from the Primitive Horde through the successive stages of matriarchy and the corresponding patriarchal organisation in the relationship of Kinship, through what he calls Authoritarianism to the highest known stage, Citizenship. He finds at work three influences: Socialisation, Rationalisation and Individualisation. It is interesting to note that the same distinction is made in the Religious sphere by that great writer, Baron von Hugel, who is not referred to by Dr. Wright even in his Bibliography. He cleverly analysed the several "Elements", the Devotional or Mystical, the Rational, and the Institutional.

Dr. Wright continues by the examination of the sources of modern western civilisation without any reference to Eastern ways of thought. He gives an excellent account of the Greek and Roman contributions, as well as a good critical account of the Hebrew ethical development. This is followed by a chapter on the ethics of Christianity. To deal with the ethics of Jesus of the Apostles, and the Church ever since, is a thankless task in one small chapter. The unique quality of the teaching of Jesus, and the progress of the Christian ethic receives a very superficial though sympathetic treatment. Nothing is said of the influence of Christianity on the Laws of Constantine, and very little of the Church's view of the world as expressed in Augustine's *City of God*. The Christian doctrine of Grace as found in the Pauline teaching, though highly theological, is necessary for an understanding of Christian ethics, attempting as it does to give an answer to the age-long problem of the Recidivist in the moral sphere. Dr. Wright says nothing of it. Again in his very sympathetic but all too short study of Aquinas there is nothing said of his conception of Usury, which played so great a part in Mediaeval thought and may still have a message for us to-day. After the discussion of Christian ethics there is a study of modern developments. Is the phrase "the Enlightenment" understood by English readers? Was it not better known as the "Aufklarung", and more especially a German movement ?

The section on psychology in relation to Ethics, which follows is good, but we miss any reference either in the text or the bibliography to Dr. Hadfield's admirable book *Psychology and Morals*. It deals rather with applied Psychology after Dr. McDougall's manner, than with Psycho-Analysis.

After a good account of Systematic Ethics, including an excellent discussion of Kant, we are brought on to a consideration of Ethics in relation to the burning questions of the day, Womanhood, Marriage, Divorce, and the best method of governing a country. It is here that the book will most interest the general reader. The writer feels that various forms of Collectivism are unsatisfactory, and that the private possession of Capital is justifiable. Though we may not agree with him we cannot fail to admire the moderation of

**General Introduction to Ethics.* By W. K. Wright Ph. D. (Macmillan and Co. Ltd. St. Martins Street London W. C.) 1929.

his language and the sanity of his conclusions. In regard to his remarks on Citizenship, we cannot entirely feel that the modern democracy as represented by the United States is quite so free as Dr. Wright makes out. Never has the Press wielded so great a power, and there is always a danger that Plutocracy may step in where the Monarchs feared to tread.

In regard to Marriage Dr. Wright is inclined to support Divorce if well regulated. He does not seem to do justice to the old Christian severity which forbade Divorce and Remarriage. Surely that was better than the present all too common promiscuity? It was that sacramental view of marriage, which Dr. Wright oddly regards as magical, which built up Western civilisation on the Home, and the Family: this now seems endangered it will not be saved by vague Ethical ideas.

One quotation may be permited, which will be of interest perhaps to Indian readers. Speaking of Citizenship the author says:—"They (the citizens) must exercise political intelligence and discrimination in voting for candidates, political parties, and issues. They must have moral discipline, and with general unanimity abide by the decision of the majority. They must always seek changes in the personnel of the government by constitutional means, and never by civil wars, revolutions, or any methods of violence, terrorism, or intimidation. Citizenship cannot exist among illiterate populations. In order that a State may be free most—though not all—of the following conditions must be present; the sense of a common nationality based on a common language, history, culture, and traditions; similar "mores"; economic interests that can be harmonised; similar racial characteristics; religious confessions that are mutually tolerant, and do not clash in their fundamental moral teachings."

In conclusion, this is an admirable volume. It's moral tone is lofty but practical. It has in mind those young American men and women at College who, as the author says, will, many of them, go into business. However, a perusal of the book will well repay anyone who is desirous of seeing a happier and better world.

The last section is a discussion of the Metaphysical aspect of Ethics and its relation to Religion. It is somewhat technical, and by reason of its brevity not very clear. We are inclined to feel that unless the author intends to enlarge the book in a future edition, which we would welcome, this section might almost be omitted.

Though we do not agree with all of its conclusions we admire the tone of this little book, and can reccommend it freely.

(C) THE INDIAN REVIVAL*

By Mr. V. B. METTA

The Dawn in India is well worth reading. It is written with that detachment and broad-mindedness which characterise its author in every thing that he writes. He gives a resume of the political, social and religious history of India under British rule. One might contest the truth of some of his statements, but one cannot deny that he is as fair-minded as is possible for an Englishman, writing about India, to be.

He tries to prove that self-government for India was the ideal of the finest servants of the East India Company : and how that ideal was gradually realised by the Government of India under British Crown. He hopes that when India becomes a self-governing dominion, she, like the other self-governing dominions of the British Empire, will be given the right to secede from the Empire if she likes. He wants Indians and Britishers to cooperate in the work of creating a better India. Even if India severs all political connection with Great Britain, he sees no reason why Indians and Britishers should not exchange literary, artistic, and spiritual ideals ; Indian merchants trade in England and British merchants in India.

In spite of the difference between different Indian races, castes, and creeds, he sees a certain unity underlying Indian society. He frankly acknowledges that all Indians, Moderates and Extremists alike are bent upon one thing: and that is to rid their country of the British: and he thinks it most natural.

He tries to show that the British went to India for trade and not for territory, which came to them by accident and with Indian help. After giving credit to his people for wishing to be fair and just towards Indians, he points out the one grave defect in their character as rulers: want of the spirit of *camaraderie* which the French have so plentifully. Writing about Hindu-Moslem quarrels, he is glad to note that the younger generation of Mohammedans are becoming more friendly with the Hindus and put patriotism above religion. He blames the British Government for emasculating the Indians by not giving them commissions in the army. He hopes the Indian army will be soon Indianised and an Indian navy created to defend the Indian coasts.

Unlike a certain class of Englishmen, Sir Francis admits that Indians are more spiritual than western peoples. This can be seen from the fact that Indian political leaders always combine politics with religion in order to appeal to all sections of their countrymen. He writes most appreciatively about Doctor Rabindranath Tagore, Professor Radhakrishnan Sadhu Sundar Singh and Mr. Gandhi whom he first met in South Africa. Of course, he does not altogether admire the political side of the Sage of Sabarmati. But he admits all the same that Mr. Gandhi is a true national hero and one of the greatest saints of India. He points out with a rare flash of intuition that out of the humility of Indian women has come their strength. He prophesies that the future spiritual teacher of the world will come from India.

One need not agree with Sir Francis that railways have been an unqualified blessing to the Indian peasant. He forgets that railways, by taking his corn to sea-ports for exportation, have done him great harm: they have often been the cause of famines and starvation in the country. He is also not quite precise in all his statements. For example, he says that Lord Sinha was Governor of Bengal.

**The Dawn in India.* By Sir Francis Younghusband (John Murray 50, Albemarle Street London W.) 1930.

(D) THE PEASANT'S STRUGGLE AT BARDOLI*

By Mr. S. MEHDI IMAM Bar-at-Law.

WHEN the history of India in its struggle for freedom is written, Bardoli will fill a memorable chapter as the record of a brave people winning a just cause without arms, and enduring, without murmur, the collective force of determined authority. In that remote corner of India—Surat—where once more to-day the curtain is rising on the strangest drama in the annals of the World, lived the peasants of Bardoli. Simple in their manners, upright in their dealings, they tilled the soil and passed their lives in the shadow of seclusion. Once indeed at the expectant call of the Mahatma they rose from the quiet, rose from the peace of their fields, to the summons of duty. But as the voice that beckoned them suddenly and without warning cried halt, in obedience to the dictates of their commander they returned to the plough and the shear. No dawn saw the band of warriors till after the lapse of six years, they again gathered together to resist the inroads of the Revenue Officer at their doors. For by the order of the highest Magistracy in the land the revenue which they had hitherto been paying was revised; and an enhanced rate unwarranted by the conditions of the soil was arbitrarily imposed upon the unwilling inhabitants without right of challenge before an impartial tribunal. The new assessment struck at the very root of the peasant life. To resist would be to encounter the bitterest battle with the State which held in its armoury the weapons of confiscation, arrests and attachment. To yield to the demand would mean improvishment and the sacrifice of principle and to further prospect of enhancement. The issue was clear—suffering or surrender. Suffering they chose and by suffering they won.

Vallabhai Patel was summond to Gujerat to captain the army of sufferers; but he felt that Bardoli had no strength to maintain for any length of time the unequal combat which demanded perseverance and unity of the ihghest order. The Mahatma himself was hesitant. The confidence of Bardoli decided the day. Payment of the new assessment was refused. Vallabhai and the Mahatma gave the signal to close all disputes and present a united front. Unprecedented enthusiasm prevailed in Bardoli. But as Vallabhai had foreseen, the iron hand of authority was soon closing upon it. Confiscation, arrests and attachment followed. There were waverers in their ranks crying for peace. These Vallabhai rallied with marvellous skill and energy by the stirring speeches which drove fear from their hearts and steeled their strength to the white heat of endurance. Meanwhile the heroism of this compact body of resisters undaunted by the shock of material force and undismayed by the resources at the command of an organised Modern State, drew the astonished gaze of India to a spectacle yet unknown in the pages of History. The World hitherto accustomed to the sight of sword ranged against sword, shield against shield, had yet to learn that the spear and shaft are poor weapons before the invincible and indomitable spirit of humanity; and that the service of the State, unless subordinated to the service of the spirit, must abandon its claim to respect or dignity. In the new Society which has sprung from the civilised habits of man, the armour of antiquity must rust upon the wall, and, if used, must recoil upon the user. That is the lesson of Bardoli.

The cause of Bardoli soon enlisted the sympathy of all parties; and papers of diverse camps looked to Gujerat with eyes of admiration. The demand of Vallabhai was the appointment of an impartial inquiry into the new assessment. The inevitable happened. The united voice of Bardoli could not be ignored. Negotiations were started, and, although the prestige of the Government stood at stake, wise counsels prevailed. An impartial

*_The Story of Bardoli_: By M. Desai. (Navajivan Press. Ahmedabad) 1929.

inquiry was conceded, amnesty granted, lands restored, and the new assessment held by the Inquiry Committee to be unjustifiable.

This is the story, simple in its outline, but magnificent in its example and enduring in its achievement. The historian may die, but the history will live by the splendour of what man can do through the purity of his suffering in a cause worthy of his endeavour. Yet as all great effort is associated with simplicity of life, if you go to the homes so lately rendered desolate and to the fields so recently shorn of harvest, the peasants of Bardoli will greet you with a smile on their lips and a brightness in their eye that will conceal from you the measure of their endurance and the magnitude of their suffering !

(E) THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN FEDERATION *

By Mr. V. B. METTA

Federal India, the joint production of Col. Haksar and Mr. Panikkar is an attempt to examine the conditions of future political development in India, and its publication at a moment when Britain is confronted with the necessity of deciding on the next constitutional advance is, therefore, singularly appropriate and timely. The authors discuss in detail the difficulties involved in the union of the Indian States with the Government of India, and analyse the circumstances necessary for closer co-operation and the conditions in which alone closer union is possible or even conceivable at the present time. At a time when the question of unifying India is in the air, when people are considering how British India and the Indian States could be best brought together in a federation, a book like this is welcome. The authors, being both employed in Indian States, are naturally inclined to take the side of the States more than that of British India. The main ideas in *Federal India* may be summarized as follows :—

The old empires in India—Maurya, Gupta, Moghul and others—all crashed, because they failed to take into consideration the regional particularism which has persisted throughout Indian history. Therefore in order to create a stable Central Government for the country, we should devise a form of government in which the Central Government is not imposed from outside, but is created by the common consent of the parts : each of the parts being given autonomy. The authors show with great clearness the difficulties involved in the union of the States with British India and analyse the circumstances necessary for closer co-operation and the conditions in which alone closer union is possible or even conceivable at present. The federal constitutions of the United States, Germany, Australia and Switzerland are examined and we are then shown to what extent their ideals can or cannot be materialized in India. The constituent parts of a united India need not have, the authors contend, the same kind of constitution. They might have contitutions best suited to their local genius.

The Central Government should deal with those matters which deal with India as a whole. As British Parliament has no power to frame a constitution for the Indian States, therefore the future constitution of a federated India should be framed by Indians; and the States should be made to come in voluntarily.

**Federal India.* By Colonel K.N. Haksar and K.M. Panikkar (Martin Hopkinson Ltd. 23, Soho Square London) 1930.

The authors recommend for matters which concern common welfare, the creation of (1) a Federal Council in which the Indian States should have one third representatives; and (2) A Supreme Council. This Supreme Council should decide (1) What is *ultra vires* for the Central Government; (2) enforce jurisdiction laid down by the constitution; (3) adjudicate upon inter-statal disputes; and (4) deal with cases not within competence of the State courts—Admiralty, etc. Misgovernment in Indian States should be eliminated by the pressure of public opinion. The Central Government should intervene only (1) if resistance is offered to enforcement of federal law; (2) If federal property is attacked; (3) if a State declined to enforce the judgments of federal courts; and (4) if gross misgovernment were to occur. The book is interesting. Only we fail to see why To-day should be perpetuated in To-morrow. The Indian States are not all very old, nor do they necessarily express regional particularism. The Gaekwars, Holkars, and Scindias have gone to parts of India where they have no right to be. Why then should they continue to rule those parts for ever and ever?

(F) THE SITUATION IN INDIA *

By MISS GWYNETH FODEN.

I have been reading Mr. Fenner Brockway's little book, which is so compact, so concise, yet so absorbingly informative as to be intensely interesting to both Indian and British alike. Moreover, there can be no question of its being banned from India as have the books on this subject written by some of his contemporaries. The author states that he has tried to be scrupulously fair in his account of Indian conditions. He has not glossed over defects which arise from Indian traditions any more than he has hidden the defects of British administration.

He gives contrasts in the lives of the people of India from the mill-workers' tenements in which whole families live in one dark room the size of a prison cell, to the merchants living in comfortable villas. In Madras, for example, a large palace was occupied by an Indian family which combined all the luxury of the East and West; yet at their very gates, other Indians lived in a group of primitive huts made out of bamboo and leaves.

He attacks the zemindar class—who are not above exploiting their own countrymen that they might live in laziness and luxury while their victims exist in horrible poverty and degradation. The author blames Britain for the fact that despite the science and industrial skill of the West, the peasants are condemned to exist in disgraceful poverty and ignorance owing to the failure to provide adequate education. To my mind, this is the whole crux of the question. With the introduction of education, there could be no exploitation to the extent that exists in India today, for the people would realise their true position and refuse to submit to it longer whether under Indian or British rule. He speaks also of heavy indebtedness of the people, partly due to the expensive festivities connected with marriages and provisions of marriage dowries. As a friend of India,

* *The Indian crisis*, by A. Fenner Brockway, M. P., (Victor Gollancz Ltd., 14 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W. C.) 1930.

which Mr. Brockway undoubtedly is, he has had the courage to show up social evils that unfortunately exist. The objects for this one must look at fairly and squarely. Unless these defects are given publicity, they can never be remedied, and the people will remain semi-starved wage-slaves retarding the progress of the land either under foreign or Indian rule. This part of the book should be carefully studied by all Indians.

In their fight for freedom they must keep uppermost in their minds the vital fact that betterment of their people depends upon the abolition of these social evils. First, they must raise the standard of living: it would be ironical to put a book in a man's hand to educate him when he is craving for food !

Another point in this book that should most carefully be studied by the British both in and out of India, especially those with vested interests is the question of commerce. Many excuse their denial of freedom to India because of their fear that it would jeopardise their vested interests which to them is far more important than keeping India for England's sake. Mr. Brockway states quite plainly that so far as British investments and British goods are concerned, much will depend upon the manner in which self-government is attained. If it is secured as a result of a long drawn-out conflict, they will undoubtedly suffer : if secured as a result of an early agreement, there is no reason why the mere change of Government should bring any considerable loss. But the failure to reach an early and amicable agreement in the present struggle may have a still graver ultimate effect upon British economic interests. The author offers a word of friendly advice to those who have capital invested in India. He says: 'The real danger to British investments in India lies not in the political revolution, but in a social revolution. The revolutionary psychology which the present movement is creating cannot suddenly disappear. Those who wish to safeguard their economic interests would be well advised therefore, to urge that reasonable terms be made as soon as possible in order that an atmosphere of reason may be created.'

The prestige of British power in the world would undoubtedly suffer if Indian independence were won as the result of a struggle in which Britain finally surrendered. But if the British response to India's demands were such that the people of India felt that they could with self-respect continue to co-operate with Britain, British prestige would rise rather than fall. The effect would convince the world of a supreme gift of wise statesmanship. Even if India insisted upon complete independence from the British Empire, Britain would win more honour ultimately by recognising the right of India to National freedom than by attempting the hopeless task of ruling India against her will.

Mr. Brockway mentions feelingly of the great master, Mahatma Gandhi ; of his wonderful gifts ; his love of humanity ; his hatred of inhumanity ; his passive resistance of evil ; his positive activities for good. It is a pity some of his disciples or those who profess to be, don't follow his shining example : their lack of unity, their willingness to decry the efforts of others ; their hostility and enmity towards each other, are all contrary to the teachings of this beloved leader. I wish they would remember that !

Anyway, this courageously out-spoken little book cannot fail to stir deeply all fair-minded people of any nationality in regard to India's right to rule herself and to be recognised among nations as a nation. This book should become the property of every Indian and every Britisher. No work ever written on the subject of India could bring about a better and more sympathetic understanding between the two nations than Mr. Brockway's book. Let us hope that Mr. Brockway's mission of peace will receive all the enthusiasm and support it deserves by both nations.

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BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES.

RECENT BOOKS ON HINDU RELIGION-PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE

(A) Works on the Vedanta

1. **The Vedanta Philosophy.** By Sridhar Majumdar (Surendra Nath Bhattacharya, Professor of Sanskrit, Behar National College, Patna) 1927.

2. **Introduction to Vedanta Philosophy.** By Pramathanath Mukhopadhyaya. (The Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta) 1928.

3. **The Vadanta.** By S. Radhakrishnan. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 40 Museum Street, London) 1928.

The very large number of books, we enumerate and review in this section, are a proof conclusive of the wide interest being taken in the study of Indian philosophy, both by Western and Eastern students of the subject. The first group, enumerated above, are mainly introductory to the study of the Vedanta Philosophy. Mr. Sridhar Majumdar's *Vedanta Philosophy* is an excellent exposition, enriched by original *sutras* and explanatory quotations from the Upanishads and the Bhagvad Gita, mostly based on a standard commentary, and elucidating the views of the two great schools—those of Sankara and Ramanuja. It is a notable addition to the literature of the Vedanta system....Mr. P. Mukhopadhya's *Introduction to Vedanta Philosophy*, is a solid, sensible and sound study of the subject. What is 'thought' and when did it commence? The author takes us through the whole concept of intuition and perception, matter and form, consciousness and the brain, finally comparing its parts to the doctrines on the subject of the Vedantic school. Can 'thought' be only communicated by the brain or does it flow through lesser perceptive channels unassociated by the higher ganglia? And through what does it flow from one to another? In this volume a careful watch is kept on the mystic side of the subject as well, differentiating it from the logical, rendering it an important contribution to philosophy, in general, and the Vedanta system, in particular....We cordially welcome Dr. Radhakrishnan's *The Vedanta According to Sankara and Ramanuja*, reprinted from the second volume of his standard work called *Indian Philosophy*, which has been already reviewed in terms of highest appreciation in the *Hindustan Review*. The present reprint will make the sketch more widely circulated.

4. **Studies in Vedanta.** By Vasudeva J. Kirtikar. Edited by Mukand R. Jayakar (D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 190, Hornby Road, Bombay) 1924.

5. **Man and His Becoming.** By Rene Guenon. Translated into English by Charles Whitby. (Rider and Co., Paternoster House, Paternoster Row, London, E. C.) 1928.

6. **Comparative Studies in Vedantism.** By Mahendranath Sircar. (Oxford University Press, Nicol Road, Bombay) 1927.

Of our second group of three books on the Vedanta, the first (the late Mr. Kirtikar's *Studies*) scarcely now needs any commendation, it having been appreciatively noticed by us on its first appearance, in 1924. Suffice it to say that it is one of the most informing and thought-provoking contributions to the study of the Vedanta system.....*Man and his Becoming*—the work of a French savant, rendered accessible in an excellent English rendering—is a very scholarly but in no sense merely academical analysis of the philosophy of the

Vedanta. In the light of the Upanishads and the Brahma-Sutras, the destiny of the human soul is shown to lie in the direction of union with the Supreme by means of direct metaphysical insight—gnana or grosis. Among the vexed problems discussed are those of the nature of the Self, the theory of reincarnation and the correlative doctrine of Karma, freedom by Yoga, and many others, the whole combining to form an illuminative contribution to contemporary western expositions of the most metaphysical doctrine of the most subtle system of Indian philosophy It is a critical but appreciative exposition of Sankara's interpretation of the Vedanta and should appeal to students of the subject,.... Dr. Mahendra Nath Sircar's *Comparative Studies in Vedantism* is an instructive study of the system in the light of western philosophy and is valuable alike for sound information, sane outlook, cogent reasoning and lucid exposition. As a scholarly treatment of neo-Vedantism, it is a strikingly excellent study of Vedantic transcendentalism and theism.

7. **The Outlines of Vedanta**, based on Sri Sankara. By M. Srinivasa Rau. (Bangalore Press, Mysore Road, Bangalore City) 1929.

8. **Ramanuja's Idea of the Finite Self**. By P. N. Srinivasacharya. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 6 Old Court House Street, Calcutta) 1928.

9. **The Sivadvaita of Srikantha**. By S.S. Suryanarayana Sastri (University of Madras) 1930.

10. **Sri Madhawa, His Life and Doctrines**. By C. R. Krishna Rao (District Munsif, Mangalore) 1929.

Mr. Srinivasa Rau's *Outlines of Vedanta* is based on Sankara's "Dakshina Moorthy Statoram"—a hymn of ten stanzas embodying Vedantic conceptions about the "Absolute". The author has ably rendered it into English with notes elucidating the text. In the introduction he has presented in a nutshell the underlying principles of Vedanta. The book is all the more interesting by reason of the views of eminent western philosophers quoted in connection with the principles of the Vedanta philosophy. The work is thus a useful addition to the literature of the Vedanta.....Mr. P. N. Srinivasacharya's *Ramanuja's Ideal of the Finite Self* is a highly commendable exposition of an abstruse subject. It is remarkably lucid and has a distinct value of its own, in contrast with the large number of books dealing with the Sankara school of the Vedanta...Dr. Suryanarayana Sastri (of the Madras University) is an erudite scholar of Hindoo systems of Philosophy, as is placed beyond doubt by his remarkable work called the *Sivadvaita of Srikantha*. It is by no means easy reading, though the author's style is lucid and felicitous for the exposition of a technical subject. The book deals with some only of the fundamental aspects of Srikanth's system,but it is a masterly treatment of them..Mr. C.R. Krishna Rao's *Sri Madhawa: His Life and Doctrines* is interesting and will be useful to those who would like to have an idea of the Madhawa school's interpretation of the Vedanta.

11. **The Vedanta and Modern Thought**. By W. S. Urquhart. (Oxford University Press, Nicol Road, Bombay) 1928.

12. **Vedanta Vindicated**. By Rev. J. F. Pessein (Rev. Bro. Joseph, St. Joseph's Industrial School Press, Trichnopoly) 1925.

13. **Sir Teach Me Brahmin**. By Rev. J. F. Pessein. (Catholic Mission Press, Pondicherry) 1926.

In the course of a critical but appreciative notice of Dr. Urquharts' earlier work—*Pantheism and the Value of Life*—we said that "the author has thoroughly mastered the literature of the subject and has brought to bear upon the treatment a critical acumen of high order". We added: "Indian readers, who may not be able to agree with him in all that he says, will nevertheless give him credit for an effort to be just and impartial". We fully adhere to these views even after a perusal of Dr. Urquhart's later work called *The Vedanta and Modern Thought* which is learned, luminous, and (on the whole) sound and impartial. Making allowance for the unconscious or subconscious bias in the mind

of the author (who is a Christian missionary) and the object of the series in which the volume appears—which is "to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand out clear"—the treatment of the subject is highly commendable, and richly redounds to the credit of the author. The contributors to the series believe that the age long quest of India for religious truth will find its goal in Christianity. Whether the belief will come true or not, the idea behind it, viz., that the fulness of truth can be reached only through religious co-operation between the East and the West and that each has a most important contribution to make to the other, deserves warm commendation, and encouragement....The two books written by Father J.F. Pressein called *Vedanta Vindicated* and *Sir, Teach Me Biahman* are interpretations and expositions of the Vedanta system from the Roman Catholic standpoint. In them he has recovered his own interpretation of the doctrines of Sankara's and noted the points of harmony that exist, according to him, between them and the teachings of Catholic Christianity. These two little books are useful for comparative study.

(B) Hindu Mysticism

1. **The Upanishads.** Translated by G. R. S. Mead and J. C. Chattopadhaya (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) 1930.

2. **Hindu Mysticism.** By Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta. (The Open Court Publishing Co., 86 Strand, London, W. C.) 1927.

3. **The Religious Mysticism of the Upanishads.** By R. Gorden Milburn (Theosophical Publishing House, 9 St. Martins Street, London, W. C.) 1924.

4. **An Introduction to Tagore's Mysticism.** By Sybil Baumer (H. R. Allenson Ltd.,7 Racquet Court, 114, Fleet Street, London, E. C.) 1928.

5. **Mysticism in Bhagvat Gita.** By Mahendranath Sircar. (Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 53 Nicol Road, Bombay) 1929.

6. **The Gita Idea of God.** By Brahmachari Gitananda (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras) 1930.

7. **Krshna.** By Bhagvan Das. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) 1929.

Hindu Mysticism derives its sustenance from the Upanishads and we, therefore, welcome the second edition of Messrs Mead and Chattopadhya's translation of the principal nine of them. In this excellent rendering into English, the highly qualified translators have not only produced an accurate, faithful and idiomatic version, but have also brought into relief the mystic elements of the sublime poetry of the chief Upanishads.....The sublime and mystic philosophy of the Upanishads is well utilized by Dr. S. N. Das-Gupta in his *Hindu Mysticism*, which covers the whole ground and presents a sound and instructive sketch of the subject, as a whole. It is undoubtedly the best book on the topic it deals with....Dr. Das-Gupta's book is ably supplemented by Mr. Gordon Milburn's interesting sketch called *The Religious Mysticism of the Upanishads*, a striking feature of which is a collection of the passages embodying mystic conceptions. Apart from this excellent anthology, the exposition itself is excellent....Sybil Naumer's *Introduction to Tagor's Mysticism* is an edifying sketch and usefully adds to our knowledge of Hindu mysticism, in general.....The last three books (in the list enumerated above) all deal with the mystic teachings embodied in that world-famous and immortal poem—the *Bhagavad Gita*. Of these the most comprehensive—because of its being specially devoted to it—is Dr. Mahendranath Sircar's *Mysticism in the Bhagavat Gita*, which is a lucid and adequate exposition of the salient teachings of the *Gita* bearing on mystic conceptions..... Brahmchari Gitanand's book called *The Gita Idea of God* is a valuable and original contribution to the literature of the subject. It explains the dynamic side of spiritual life. The book is a splendid attempt to synthesize the moral and the mystic values

of experience, and deserves wide appreciation at the hands of students of philosophy, in general, and of mystic philosophy, in particular. No student of the teachings of the Bhagavad Gita can do without it.... Srijut Bhagwan Das's *Krshna* (the correct but rather pedantic form for Krishna) is now in its third edition and we heartily welcome it in its new form. It has already made its mark as a standard work on the subject it deals with. Though not directly bearing on the subject, it is an excellent interpretation of the teachings of the *Gita*.

(C) Works on Yoga and Sankhya

1. **Yoga Philosophy.** By S. N. Das Gupta. (University of Calcutta) 1930.

2. **Yoga Sutras of Patanjali.** Text with translation in English by M. N. Dwivedi (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras) 1930.

3. **Practice of Yoga.** By Swami Sivananda. Vol. I (Ganesh & Co., Madras) 1929.

4. **Yogic Sadhan.** By Sri Aurobindo Ghose. Third Edition (The Arya Publishing House, College Street Market, Calcutta) 1928.

5. **Yoga.** By J. F. C. Fuller (William Rider and Son, Ltd., 8 Paternoster Row, London, E. C.).

It is some years since Dr. Das-Gupta made his mark by issuing the first volume of his monumental work on Indian philosophy. His *Yoga Philosophy*, now published, was originally written as a thesis for doctorate, some ten years back. It is perhaps the most systematic and, equally so, the most comprehensive interpretation and exposition of the Yoga system and will be found to be of very great value to students of the subject....We welcome the second edition (issued after forty years) of Professor Dwivedi's excellent rendering into English of the *Yoga Sutras of Patanjali*, with notes (appended to each *Sutra*) drawn from authoritative sources. We cordially commend this edition of the original text and the annotated translation to all students of the subject.....Swami Sivananda's *Practice of Yoga* deals with the various practical methods in meditation, stage by stage. It is an excellent compendium of practical information about matters relating to Yoga. We trust its great utility will be enhanced by the early publication of the concluding volume.....*Yogic Sadhan* is a practical guide to the system propounded by Srijut Aurobindo Ghose. Discarding the familiar processes of Hatha Yogins and even of Raja Yogins, the new system claims to be an improvement on both of them, for which reason it deserves very careful attention....Mr. J. F. C. Fuller's *Yoga* is an excellent study of the mystical philosophy of India—both Brahmin and Buddhist. It is a clear and compact compendium of the subject and deserves wide appreciation for its lucidity and general soundness.

6. **The Samkhya Karika of Isvara Krsna.** By S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri (University of Madras) 1930.

7. **Samkhya and Modern Thought.** By J. Ghose (The Book Company, Calcutta) 1930.

8. **Short History of Indian Materialism.** By Dakshinaranjan Shastri. (The Book Company Ltd., College Square Calcutta).

The next group deals with Sankhya and Indian materialism. Mr. Sastri's edition of the *Samkhya Karika* is an exellent piece of work both as translation and commentary. Each Sutra is given in the original Sanskrit along with its transliteration and translation into English, followed by an elucidative note which the students will find very helpful. In an introduction (of about thirty pages) Mr. Sastry gives a brief but illuminating sketch of the leading Samkhya doctrines with appropriate criticisms. Altogether, it is a capital edition of this Sankhya classic....Dr. J. Ghosh's *Samkhya and Modern Thought* is a fine, compendious sketch of the subject, and the treatment is remarkable for being non-technical and popular, in the best sense of the term. While thoroughly sound in its statements and scientific in its outlook, the striking feature

of the book is its lucidity, for which reason it justly merits a wide circulation.... Mr. Dakshinaranjan Shastri has embarked upon a tremendous enterprise in his *Short History of Indian Materialism, Sensationalism and Hedonism* in a pamphlet of 48 pages. The result in the circumstances is—what it was bound to be—sketchy. But it is not perfunctory on that account. On the contrary, it is an instructive short study of a great subject.

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(2) NEW WORKS ON CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA.

1. **The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India.** By Robert Smith Wilson. (John Clarke & Co. Ltd., 9 Essex Street, London, W.C. 1) 1928.

2. **Christianity and the Government of India.** By Arthur Mayhew (Faber and Gwyer Ltd., 24 Russell Square, London, W. C.) 1929.

3. **The Christian Task in India.** Various contributions edited by The Rev. John Mckenzie (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martins Street, London) 1929.

4. **Out of Bondage.** By Stephen Neill (Edinburgh House Press, 2 Eaton Gate, London, S. W.) 1930.

5. **Christianity as Bhakti Marga.** By A.J. Appasamy. (The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras) 1926.

6. **An Indian Approach to India.** Edited by Milton Stauffer. Student Christian Movement, Association Press, Calcutta).

7. **St. Thomas the Apostle in India** By F.A.D. Cruz. Second Edition (Diocese. De S. Thome de Meliapor, San Thome, Madras) 1929.

With commendable Christian optimism Macaulay prophesied that in forty years time (from the time he was writing) not a single idolater would be left in Bengal. The prophesy is still far from fulfilment, but the deep and energetic studies of the life and the systems of thought of the Hindus by the Christian missionaries of every shade and sect—as evidenced by the large number of books on these subjects published by them every year—show that they still consider India to be a fruitful soil. Howsoever that may be, the study of Hindu systems of thought by Christian sects and *vice versa* cannot but be of great mutual spiritual benefit. We, therefore, welcome these books. *The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India,* was an essay submitted in competition for Sir Peregrine Maitland Prize of 1927, in the University of Cambridge. It was awarded the prize. It deals with what the title says, to the consideration of which the author brings the experience gained during many years' residence in India both as a missionary and as a business man. He endeavours to state the position fairly and without prejudice.. The next two books in our list are parallel in subject and importance; *Christianity and the Government of India,* is written with vigour, has a wonderful style and is full of humour. It deals—as does also *The Christian Task in India*—with the history and record of Christian labour in India, and the many problems that beset it in the present and the future. Mr. Mayhew says that he believes that the Government of India is and always has been a Christian Government, not consciously and by intention at all times, but that the men, who have inherited, and been brought up in, the spirit of the Gospels, have lived and worked in that spirit in the government of this country. We are glad of this assurance.... *Out of Bondage,* is written by a young churchman, who in his admirable enthusiasm, believes that Indian villages present the greatest opportunity that the Christian church has had for a thousand years.... Mr. Appasami undertakes to show in his *Christianity as Bhakti Marga* that St. John in his Gospel and Epistles teaches *Bhakti* in a deeper and richer sense than do any of the Hindu teachers—a very formidable task.... *An Indian Approach to India* is one of a series intended to describe the Christian movement, in the various countries of the East, to America and the west generally,

in the words not of the foreigners employed in missionary work in these countries but in the words of cultured nationals of these different countries who also are Christians. It is the outcome of the desire of the missions to justify themselves in the eyes of those on whom they have to depend for financial and moral support. The papers collected here dealing with India's culture, nationalism, present-day religious tendencies, the Indian Christian church and so on, have this in common that they try to examine in each of these spheres how far India has reacted on Christianity or Christianity on India. They show, too, a wide appreciation of the vast cultural and spiritual heritage to which every Indian is born, and thus help to correct the notion, largely fostered by missionaries and widely current in the West that India is teeming with half savages and that the mission of Christianity is not only to bring the teachings of Christ to the people of India, but also to impose the doubtful benefits of western civilisation upon them. It is doubtful whether in arranging for such a volume the originators of the scheme bargained for such a frank and independent criticism of missionary work as is often present, by implication, in these essays ; they deserve all the more credit for giving these contributions to the public as they received them.... *St. Thomas, the Apostle in India* is in its second edition; the first appeared in 1921. It is an excellent and exhaustive record of the life and mission in India of St. Thomas, who is believed by the Christians to be the first of their evangelists to land in India. It is a most interesting book.

8. **The Gospel for Asia.** By Kenneth Saunders. (The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Northumberland Avenue, London, W. C.) 1928.

9. **Richard Rolle.** By Verrier Elwin (The Christian Literature Society for India, Madras) 1930.

10, 11 and 12 **Bhanudas; Eknath; Bhikshugita.** Translations from the Marathi by Justin E. Abbott (Published by Dr. Nicol Macnicol and printed by The Scottish Missions Industries Co., Ltd., Poona) 1926-1927.

13. **The Gospel of Sadhu Sunder Singh.** By Friedrich Heiler. Abridged translation from the German by Olive Tynan (George Allen and Unwin, 40 Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1927.

Christianity is being presented to the East more and more in terms of Mysticism and Bhakti which is supposed to be nearer to the oriental's soul. *The Gospel for Asia* is, according to the author, the Gospel of St. John, which he says is only now being interpreted and that by the East. He discusses three books which he says are of central importance in the study of civilisation. To know India one must know *Bhagvad-Gita*. To understand Japan the *Lotus Scripture* is almost as important. The *Fourth Gospel* is perhaps only beginning to come into its own, as it becomes known to the mystical and the poetic East. This is a most illuminating study and should be widely known by the students of religion.. Sunder Singh, a Sikh who in early boyhood was converted to Christianity, in circumstances said to be supernatural, has become a very well-known religious figure in Europe. Miracles have gathered round his name. He is the subject of numerous books. Whilst many follow him, some attack him—Catholics and Protestants alike, the former afraid of losing their monopoly of miracles, the latter of the possibility of a return of faith in them. Dr. Heiler, the well-known author of that remarkable book *Das Gebet* has written *The Gospel of Sadhu Sunder Singh*—a scholarly, thoughtful work, which has already gone into four editions in Germany, and where it has been welcomed equally by Protestants and Catholics The greater part of this book deals with the Sadhu's religious life, with his "thought-world", and with an estimate of his significance for the East and the West. Dr. Heiler's treatment of his subject is marked by great sympathy, freshness, and insight.... Maharashtra has, we believe, produced more poet-saints than any other part of India, and it is well that a scholar of the capability and understanding

of Justin E. Abbott has undertaken the translation of their songs and poems. The three volumes issued till now *Bhanudas, Eknath and Bhikshugita* give excellent promise of the future issues of the poet-saints of Maharashtra series. . *Richard Rolle* is the third volume in the Bhaktas of the World Series. It is an excellent exposition of a truly devont life of the fourteenth century in Europe. This series should be of absorbing interest to students of all religions.

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(3) LATEST BOOKS ON LEGAL LITERATURE.

The Law of Transfer in British India. By Sir Hari Singh Gour, sixth edition in three volumes. (Butterworth & Co., Ltd., 6 Hastings Street, Calcutta) 1930.

Sir Hari Singh Gour's commentaries on the Indian Penal Code and the Transfer of Property Act are justly regarded as classics, and we welcome the sixth edition of the latter which has had to be largely rewritten in view of the last amending Act. The special features of this edition, which deserve mention are that the text of the amended Act, with the amendments clearly marked and sections substituted printed in parallel columns, are printed in one place at the beginning of the first volume which closes with the law of sale. It is authoritative, and by far the most exhaustive work on the subject; there is no point covered or uncovered by authority which it omits to mention, discuss and set out in clearest details; its views have influenced the Legislature, and its criticisms on several knotty points have received approval of the highest tribunals; it is the only work on the subject which is both analytical and critical of the existing law. It is not merely a commentary but a mine of thought-compelling information which no research can place at the disposal of the practical lawyer. The present edition is rather a new work than a new edition, each volume is made, as far as possible, self-contained with its own index and table of cases. The text of all relevant Acts printed together will assist those who desire to refer to the textual sequence uninterrupted by the commentary, the work contains references to no less than 8000 cases, both English and Indian. Eliminating obsolete cases, to which references have been made in the foot notes, over 2500 new cases have been dealt with, and lastly references to all cases printed in the Reports, both authorised and unauthorised, make the collection of cases unique and incomparably complete to practitioners in all courts. Thus Sir Hari Singh Gour's *Law of Transfer* is by far the most exhaustive work on the Indian Property Law. It owes its popularity to its thoroughness—its matter and the manner of its get-up sets a new standard of Indian scholarship.

Trial of Oscar Slater. Third edition. Edited by W. Roughead and **Trial of Captain Kidd**, Edited by Graham Books. (William Hodge & Co., Ltd., 12, Bank Street, Edinburgh) 1930.

These two are the latest additions to the well-known "Notable British Trials" series. The new (third) edition of the *Trial of Oscar Slater* is very welcome. Though printing the text of the second edition, it has a new introduction and interesting appendices, which render it still more useful. . . Mr. Graham Brook's *Trial of Captain Kidd* is excellent reading, by reason of the individuality of the culprit. The name of Captain Kidd has been saddled with a degree of infamy far in excess of that wretched man's deserts. True, in middle age, after a successful career of meritorious service, he stooped to play the buccaneer, but in an age when pirates massacred or enslaved their victims, sacked and burned towns on which they descended for provisions, Kidd had but one murder and one arson to his discredit, and to some extent was but the victim of circumstances. Yet, such are tradition's vagaries, that Captain Kidd's remains a nursery by word. The book under notice furnishes a complete report of four trials which took place at the Old Bailey on 8th and 9th May, 1701. In each of these Kidd was the principal figure. He was tried alone for the murder of a gunner, on the high seas off the coast of

Malabar, and was then arraigned, with some of his crew, for different piracies. The record now printed is not only interesting but also instructive as to the system of procedure which then obtained.

An Elementary Text-book of the Laws of England. By Judge Ruegg, K.G. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) 1930.

This is a new edition of Judge Ruegg's popular book, previously called "An Elementary Commentary on English Law". It has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date, and remains an excellent manual for those desirous of understanding how justice works in England and Wales. The book is elementary in the sense that it is written not for lawyers (it does not possess an index) nor to turn its readers into lawyers, but for the layman whose ignorance of the "rudiments of the laws of his own country and the Courts and persons by whom these laws are declared and administered" is "appalling". No authorities are given and only leading or general principles are dealt with, and the book is written in very lucid and wholly untechnical language, which will be understood by the man in the street. Consequently, this little volume bids fair to realise the wish of its author that "it will be readily understood not alone by any intelligent man or woman, but by any school boy or school girl, in the upper, or even the middle-class of his or her school". The book is carefully compiled and systematically arranged, and it deals both with substantive and adjective laws. The legal aspect of all the incidents of everyday life are put in a short and clear form and will be of especial interest and use to the general reader. Altogether, it is about the best introduction to the study of English law.

The Law of Evidence Applicable to British India. By (the late) Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali and Sir John Woodroffe. Ninth edition by Sir John Woodroffe. (Thacker, Spink and Co., Esplanade, Calcutta) 1931.

The ninth carefully-revised, judiciously enlarged and thoroughly over-hauled edition of Ameer Ali and Woodroffe's *Law of Evidence Applicable to British India*. will, we feel sure, receive a well-merited appreciation. Five years have now elapsed since the eighth edition was published. That a large edition should have been exhausted in this comparatively short time is a conclusive tribute to the value of the work, which may be fairly regarded as the most popular and well-known work on Indian law, ever published. The ninth edition has been revised solely by Sir John Woodroffe himself and, in every respect, brought right up to date. Little commendation is needed for this work now. This monumental work, has, from the first, occupied the foremost position among commentaries on the Indian Evidence Act. The book forms a volume of 1280 pages and from the stand-point of book-production will, we are satisfied, take a high place; binding, paper and printing being all of the best quality. The printing, which has been evidently done on high-grade machines, will bear comparison with the work of any press in the British Commonwealth. The new edition fully merits a large circulation.

The Barrister. By Sir Harold Morris, K. G. (Geoffrey Bles, 22 Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, London, S. W. 1) 1930.

The Barrister, by Sir Harold Morris, K.G., is a volume of "The Life and Work" Series. In this series leading men and women in each profession write about their own work—its problems, its difficulties, and its pleasures—in their own way and in the light of their own experience. These books are of interest to fellow-members of these professions and of help to those who are about to choose, or commence, their life's work. Sir Harold's book, though personal, is not strictly an autobiography and the treatment of the English Bar is, on the whole, subjective. This little book will prove not only interesting to the layman but also of great utility and value to the young lawyer about to embark on his career, though we wish the writer had also treated of the ethics of the profession. Though in India barristers as such are now doomed

to extinction, nevertheless the great traditions of the English Bar will long continue to pervade the system of our judicial administration and *The Barrister* should, therefore, command a large circulation in this country.

More Misleading Cases. By A. P. Herbert (Methuen & Co. Ltd., 36 Essex Street, London, W. C.) 1930.

None of the younger English writers has so quickly and surely made a name as Mr. Alan Herbert, who, either as A.P. Herbert on title-pages and theatre programmes, or in *Punch* as "A.P.H.," is welcomed as a humorist, a wit, a very keen commentator on the follies of the day and a chivalrous defender of the under-dog. There is no more alert, diverting or uncompromising satirist now writing than the author of this very lively book called *More Misleading Cases* and its predecessor, (*Misleading Cases*) which had a commendatory introduction by Lord Hewart, the Lord Chief Justice. Mr. Herbert, alleging himself a barrister, does not hesitate to brand the law an ass whenever he feels that way, and his two little volumes show up the niceties and the vagaries of the present-day English law to perfection, disguised as reports of imaginary cases.

Annals of Crime. By W.H. Williamson, (George Routledge & Sons Ltd, 68-74 Carter Lane, London, E. C.) 1930.

Everybody is interested in human nature. The story of a crime grips us at once, for we know that what we read is true. In *Annals of Crime* the author has told the story of eleven extraordinary women. Each narrative has a fascination of its own. We can see the young as well as the middle-aged impelled by their atrocious motives to actions that startle and enchain us. Many will be interested in the details of the trial, in the fight for the verdict, in the behaviour of those who were called as witnesses or judged the cases. But everybody who reads this intensely absorbing volume will note the motives that urged these women to their deeds and will perhaps better understand the strange depths to which human beings can sink.

Dreyfus. By Walther Steinthal. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London, E. C.) 1930.

The translation from German of Herr Walther's Steinthal's *Dryfus* makes capital reading. It is a well-written record of one of the most famous and sensational criminal trials and of its consequences. Vivid and clear in style, there is never a dull page ; the story grips the reader as the tense drama unfolds itself. To those who followed the account of the trial from day to day this book will serve as a reminder, and to those who were too young it will form a revelation, of the depths to which Chauvinism and race prejudice can plunge humanity when passions are aroused. Let us hope the world is now more cultured than when Dreyfus was tried and convicted. It is a highly instructive book.

Roman Private Law. By R. W. Leage. Second edition (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London) 1930.

Mr. C. H. Ziegler—Lecturer in law at Cambridge—has done well to edit Mr. R. W. Leage's well-known work called *Roman Private Law.* Originally issued so far back as 1906, the book has been frequently reprinted, it having been found by students of the subject as an almost ideal elementary text-book. By careful editing, judicious revision and changes, Mr. Ziegler has materially improved the usefulness of the text of the previous editions. In its present form, the book is likely to hold its own against its rivals as about the best book on the subject it deals with. We have much pleasure in commending the new and revised edition to students of Roman Private Law.

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(4) SOME RECENT WORKS ON INDIA.

The Indian States : And Their Status, Rights, and Obligations. By Sirdar D. K. Sen, Legal Adviser to the Patiala Govern-

ment (Sweet and Maxwell. 3, Chancery Lane, London W. C.) 1930.

The author treats his subject from a purely legal point of view and differs from Tupper and Lee Warner on many points. He deals in his book with the treaty position of the States, the effect of usage on the treaty position of the States, the position of the States in international and interstatal affairs, the Crown in relation to the States, the rights and obligations of the Crown and other cognate subjects. The appendices, in which are given extracts from royal proclamations, the status of the East India Company, etc., are almost as useful as the main body of the book. The author tries to prove that there is no real distinction between the sanad and treaty states. Everything depends upon the terms and contents of the document in question. He points out that the acceptance of Lee Warner's ideas of the status of Indian princes, would nullify the ideals of the royal proclamations. He finds no justification for the Government of India's interference in the Baroda State in 1874. He also points out that Lee Warner made a mistake in classing all Indian States together. Some of them—such as Baroda and Bhopal are quite independent so far as internal sovereingnty is concerned : while others are not internally or externally independent. The book is a useful addition to the rapidly growing literature on the rights of Indian States as against the Government of India and the British Crown.

Gulab Singh of Kashmir. By K. M. Pannikar (Martin Hopkinson & Co. Ltd. 23, Soho Square London W.) 1930.

The author regrets that comparatively so little is known of Gulab Singh, the founder of the present ruling house of Kashmir, whom he regards as one of the most remarkable men that India produced in the nineteenth century. He was only 17 years old when the great Ranjit Singh took him in his service. He rose rapidly in that service on account of his military talent. In 1846, by the Treaty of Amritsar, he was given the title of the Maharajah of Kashmir by the East India Company. He was not only a soldier but a ruler and statesman as well. It may be that he was not always honest and straightforward. But then how could he have been honest, asks his biographer, when he had to deal with men who were dishonesty and unscrupulousness personified ? He was fond of his family, loyal to his friends, noble, generous, and rewarded his followers liberally. As ruler, he did much for his state. He united the Jammu States and dispensed justice impartially to all. He reorganised his army and introduced reforms in the administration of the State. He also reorganised the shawl department. The workmen, who were bondsmen till then, were freed and a minimum wage of 4 annas in the rupee was fixed for them. The question of forced labour—still a crying evil in some States—was tackled by him with some success.

Contemporary Thought In India. By A.C. Underwood (Williams and Norgate. 38, Great Ormond Street, London W.C.) 1930.

Contemporary Thought in India is a study from a Christian missionary's point of view, of the industrial, political, intellectual and religious renaissance brought about in India by its contact with the West. The author is unwilling to believe that India was ever a nation in the past. The chapters on politics are not too much tainted with prejudice. He points out the two tendencies at work in Indian politics : to unite politics with religion—as with Mr. Gandhi ; and to separate them, as with Mr. Subas Bose. He regrets that no creative work in philosophy is being done in India yet : Professor Radhakrishnan reinterprets old Hindu thought rather than create any new philosophy. He feels that India is likely to become more materialistic in future ; and that that materialism will be something more terrible than the materialism of the West. The chapter on the reaction of Hinduism to Christianity is instructive. He thinks that Indian thinkers read too much of Christianity into old Hindu thought. Perhaps there is some truth in this charge. The book is thought-provoking and should be widely read in India.

Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra. (By Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, (George Routledge & Sons Ltd., 68-74 Carter Lane London, E. C. 4) 1930.

The book is a fine scholarly study of one of the most important texts of Mahayana Buddhism, in which almost all its principal tenets are presented, including the teaching of zen (dhyan). But it is not properly planned. The studies seem to have grown progressively in the author's mind rather than thought out and prearranged clearly and so repetitions occur. The two main ideas of the zen sect are: (1) the importance of inner realisation, and (2) that Maya is a subjective illusion and has no objective value. The casual Indian reader will find here that Buddha succeeded in converting Ravana, the famous king of Lanka, to his creed. The scholar will be grateful to Mr. Suzuki for his masterly exposition of the subject. The main object of the author in writing this book is to introduce to the West the Mahayana way of viewing life and the world. We hope he will succeed in his object.

The Key of Progress. (A Record of the status and conditions of women in India). By several contributors. With a foreword by Lady Irwin, and edited by Miss A. R. Caton. (Oxford University Press Fetter Lane, London) 1930.

The book is sponsored by the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship in Great Britain and is a full record of the organizations and movements which are at work in India. The subjects it deals with are health and sanitation, women in public, industrial and rural life, home and marriage etc. Seeing that women are now enfranchised and take part in public life, the authors advocate more education for them. They also try to show that compulsory education is cheaper than voluntary education. The comparative advantages and disadvantages of educating Indian women in India and England are discussed. The chapters on the attempts to reform the Hindu Law and religious and commercial prostitution are most instructive. Although the book is not free from Anglo-Indian prejudices, it is well worth reading.

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(5) NEWEST GUIDE-BOOKS AND TOURIST MANUALS.

1. Cook's Traveller's Hand-Book to Spain and Portugal. By Roy Elston. (Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W.) 1930.

2. A Satchel Guide to Spain and Portugal. By W.D. and S.G. Crockett. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London) 1930.

3. Muirhead's Southern Spain and Portugal and **Northern Spain.** 2 Vols. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street London) 1929-30.

The two countries constituting the Iberian Peninsula are evidently much in favour with English-speaking tourists, judging from the almost simultaneous publication of three new guides to them—two British and one American. *Cook's Spain and Portugal* is not so much a new edition as an almost entirely new, and highly useful work, written by Mr. Roy Elston, who has for years past earned a well-deserved reputation as a successful compiler of guides, long associated with the name of Messrs Thomas Cook, the world-famous tourists' agents. Mr. Elston's book —which is embellished with 36 excellent maps and plans—will supersede the 1924 edition of *Cook's Handbook to Spain* by Mr. A. B. Calvert, which was, rather eclectic in treatment for a guidebook. Besides, the book under notice includes Portugal, and thus covers the whole Iberian Peninsula. It is a compact, and thoroughly upto-date manual, but would be all the better (in a later edition) for embodying practical information in a larger measure. In this respect, in particular, Mr. and Mrs. Crockett's *Satchel Guide to Spain and Portugal* is to be highly commended. It is a comprehensive guide to the Iberian Peninsula containing almost all the information which a traveller (to its two countries) is likely to require, including itineraries, hotel lists, bibliography, glossary, a calendar of events, and an outline of their

histories and of their arts and customs. Muirhead's two volumes (in the "Blue Guides" series) are planned on a much larger scale than *Cook's Handbook* or the *Satchel Guide*. But they are obviously meant not for the ordinary tourist. To those, however, who want detailed information, not only practical, but historical and archaeological, as well Muirhead's guides will make especial appeal.

The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Edited by H.C. Luke and E. Keith Roach. Second Edition. (Macmillan & Co. St. Martin's Street London W.C.) 1930.

The first issue of *The Handbook of Palestine* appeared in 1922. The new edition has been considerably enlarged, for it contains not only much additional matter relating to Palestine, but has been expanded to include a Part on Trans-Jordan, affording the first authoritative account of the administration of and conditions in that principality. The book has a coloured frontispiece of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from a painting by Mrs. P.A.F. Stephenson. The increase in its size is symbolical of the increase in the travelling amenities of the two-countries with which it deals. There are now in the book 505 pages in lieu of 295 and of these fifty are devoted to an entirely new section about Trans-Jordan, in which information is provided which is probably not to be found anywhere else in print. Many of the original sections have been much enlarged—that about the Jews, which is full of interesting details, is nearly twice as large. On all aspects (other, of course, than the political) there is an abundance of highly useful information in this work. The geographical and the historical sides, the various peoples and their religions, the commercial and industrial activities, are all adequately dealt with; and such matters as pertain to geology, mining, and natural history are also sketched. This *Handbook* is, in short, indispensable to the visitor to Palestine and Trans-Jordan.

The South and East African Year-Book and Guide for 1931, with Atlas. Edited by A. Samler Brown, and G. Gordon Brown (3 Fenchurch Street, London, E. C.) 1930.

Messrs. Samler Brown and Gordon Brown's *South and East African Year-Book and Guide*–beyond all doubt one of the best works of its class and kind—is now in its thirty-seventh issue. The book is in three sections: Part I deals with South Africa; Part II with East Africa; and Part III with Sports and Research. The wants of the businessman, the sportsman, the tourist, and the invalid are fully catered for. Detailed descriptions of the towns and of the country are given, embellished with index, plans, diagrams, maps, etc. There are nearly 1,000 pages of text and a specially prepared atlas of 64 pages of maps in colour, constituting the finest atlas of South and East Africa available which is carefully kept up-to-date. As a gazetteer for office use this work is without a rival: the index contains 2,000 place names. Imports and exports, means of transport and communication, and various other matters of general interest are dealt with in considerable detail. This volume, packed as it is with highly useful information about all the countries in this area, is a highly meritorious reference work. We have much pleasure in commending it to the attention of all interested in the fortunes of South and East African countries, to which it is an almost ideal guide.

Passing Through Germany. Seventh Edition. (Terramare Office, 23 Wilhelmstrasse, Berlin, S. W. 48, Germany) 1930.

Written, printed and published in Berlin, *Passing Through Germany* is a capital annual guide-book (in English) to that great country. The edition under notice for 1930 is the seventh annual publication. It deals not only with the scenes and sights of the important cities of Germany, but also with natural scenery, fine arts, politics, aviation, automobilism, city life, ports, industries and scientific studies. Very neatly printed, well-got-up, beautifully illustrated and embellished with maps, *Passing Through Germany* is not so much a guide-book as an almost ideal supplement to *Baedekers*. The contributor's who's who shows that the

book has been written by experts; hence why it is not only accurate, sound and informative, but also readable and interesting. As some of the articles are changed, from year to year, it would be as well to indicate in each annual edition those omitted and the new ones introduced. It would be still better if each edition, in future, had a table of the articles omitted, with reference given to the particular issue in which they appeared. This will be of great assistance to lovers of Germany, who may possess a set of this highly interesting, instructive and informative work of reference and study combined.

"The Queen" Travel-Book, 1930–31. (The Field Press Ltd., Windsor House, Bream's Buildings, London, E. C.) 1930.

The Queen Travel-Book has now appeared in its twentythird edition. It is a dictionary of important tourist centres in Europe and other parts of the world, giving brief but accurate information about the scenes and sights, climate and accommodation, as also notes on the traveller's library—which is a comprehensive bibliography—and a lot of miscellaneous data of great utility to tourists. It is astonishingly comprehensive. There is a liberal sprinkling of well-drawn maps and excellent photographs throughout; the book is divided into countries, the various resorts under each country being shown alphabetically, so that reference is a quick and easy matter. A highly useful feature is the synopsis of air routes. The book deals with about three thousand Spas, health resorts and sport centres and gives their climatic conditions and social attractions, as also detailed practical information about accommodation. Altogether, it is a valuable compendium of geographical and topographical information and a handy companion, which should find a place in the kit-bag of all travellers—its handy format in limp binding especially commending it for that purpose.

Things Seen in Portugal. By M. F. Smiths. (Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 196 Shaftesbury Avenue, London, W.) 1931.

Describing Portugal (on the title page itself) as " the garden of the west, a land of mountains and rivers, and of the vine, the olive, the cork tree, of ancient buildings richly carved, picturesque and hardy fishermen", the author of *Things Seen in Portugal* is naturally enthusiastic about the country he deals with in his concise but compendious sketch. The book partakes of the excellent characteristics of the series in which it appears, and to which we have appreciatively referred in our previous notices. Embellished with a map of the country and illustrated with numerous beautiful photographic reproductions, *Things Seen in Portugal* is a delightful travel sketch of the western country of the Iberian Peninsula.

The City of London Guide. By C. G. Harper (E. J. Burrow & Co., Ltd., 43-7 Kingsway, London, W. C.) Third Edition, 1930.

Mr. B.G. Harper's *City of London Guide*, which is now in its third edition, evidencing thereby its great popularity, is a carefully prepared handbook to that part of London, which is technically called " the city ". It is enriched with reproductions of 37 pen and ink drawings by the author, an aqua-etching frontispiece by Margaret Holman and 8 other photographic illustrations. These add materially to the utility and the attractions of the letter-press. Altogether, it is a capital guide.

Notes for Officers Proceeding to India. Edited by Lt.-Col. P.H. Kealy (The Institution of Royal Engineers, Chatham) 1930.

We welcome the third, carefully revised and judiciously enlarged, edition of the well-known and highly useful *Notes for Officers Proceeding to India*. Though primarily meant for outcoming, young British Officers, there is much practical information in the *Notes* that will be found of very great utility by residents in and visitors to this country. It merits wide circulation.

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(6) CURRENT REFERENCE ANNUALS.

Whitaker's Almanac for the Year 1931. By Joseph Whitaker. (J. Whitaker & Sons,

Ltd., 12 Warwick Lane, London, E. C. 4.) 1930.

That most familiar and reliable of books of reference, *Whitaker's Almanac*, appears now in two forms. There is the "complete edition" (6s. net) and also the "popular edition" (1s. 6d. net) which, at any rate, everyone must have. Inaugurated in 1868, the current issue is the sixty-third yearly edition of this most famous annual reference work of the English-knowing world. It is justly established in popular estimation as the most useful and the most comprehensive repertory of information—well-informed and accurate—on current public affairs. It is a highly meritorious book of reference, which not only—as its title implies—contains an account of the astronomical and other phenomena, but also gives a vast amount of sound and accurate information respecting the government, finances, population, commerce and general statistics of the various nations and states, with special reference to the British Commonwealth and the United States of America. The edition under notice has been carefully and judiciously revised and brought up-to-date and it is fully abreast of the latest important events and incidents. All matters of general interest and particularly questions of the day are fully dealt with and the statistical data are, on the whole, wonderfully accurate. The index is almost exhaustive, making reference to the contents both simple and easy. The current edition will be indispensable to public men and publicists, it being the most up-to-date and complete compendium of facts and events of the world today.

The South American Hand-Book 1931. Edited by H. Davies (Trade and Travel Publications Ltd., 14 Leadenhall Street, London, E. C. 3) 1930.

The only annual hand book in English—*the South American Hand-book*—is now in its eighth edition and is a comprehensive, compact and thoroughly up-to-date guide to the countries, products and resources of Latin America, inclusive of South and Central America, Mexico and Cuba. Covering some 750 pages of neatly-printed matter, furnished with good maps and handy in size, it is at once the business man's directory, traveller's hand-book, the investor's companion, the statesman's vade macum, the student's manual and the prospective settler's guide philosopher and friend. The scope of the work is almost encyclopaedic, it being a gazeteer and guide-book in one. Each of the republics is dealt with separately and comprehensively, in alphabetical order; while there is to be found within the covers of the book a large amount of miscellaneous information of great utility and much interest. Altogether, the *South American Hand-book* is a highly meritorious compilation and is a notable addition to periodical reference literature, its utility being materially enhanced by its special feature of "Books Recommended" which constitutes an excellent bibliography. The current edition has been drastically revised and the text brought up-to date. An important new feature added is that on air-routes. It is an almost ideal work for the South American traveller.

Who's Who, 1931. (Adam and Charles Black, Ltd., 4-6 Soho Square, London) 1929.

Of the current reference annuals perhaps none is more useful to the journalist than the biographical dictionary called *Who's Who*. This is the eighty-third year of its issue and it is a well-nigh perfect example of what it professes to be—"an annual biographical dictionary." Though it does not profess to be international in its scope, it does give biographies also of a good many prominent Continental Europeans. This vast and bulky work, which comprises nearly three thousand five hundred pages of close double columns, opens with a useful obituary for the preceding year, followed by an account of the Royal family; and then come over 32,000 biographies. The biographies, though generally exceedingly condensed, are accurate and informative. They give, besides, useful and interesting information about the habits, tastes and hobbies of the large number of persons whose careers are sketched. The

book is thus indispensable, especially to a journalist. Indian names appear in *Who's Who*, but the sketches of eminent Indians need careful revision by specialists in current Indian affairs. Additions are also required to make the Indian list comprehensive and more useful than it is at present. Year by year *Who's Who* becomes a more absolute necessity to those whose work entails a study of all phases of British life, and it is, now as ever, an indispensable part of the furniture of any library or office.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1931. (Pultizer Buildings, 53-63, Park Row, New York, U. S. A.) 1930.

The World Almanac and Book of Facts—which is edited with skill and knowledge—is the American Whitaker and is now in the forty-sixth year of publication. It is such a book as would have delighted Mr. Thomas Gradgrind—"a man of realities, a man of facts and calculations"—depicted by Dickens in his *Hard Times*. That imaginary character—who represents the type called "eminently practical"—was of opinion that "facts alone are wanted in life," and it would have done his heart good could he but have access in his days to this comprehensive and exhaustive work of reference, which is a most marvellously well-digested compendium of facts and figures relating to the world states in general, and the United States of America, in particular. Of the many American books of reference, issued annually, it is perhaps the most notable, covering as it does within its nearly one thousand pages accurate facts and statistical data about America, and the other political entities of the earth. Though mainly intended for use in America, it would be found highly useful throughout the English-knowing world. The current edition is fully abreast of the latest events and has been judiciously brought up-to-date by its editor whom we heartily felicitate on turning out so highly useful a reference annual. No one interested in American affairs and progress can do without this thoroughly up-to-date and comprehensive reference annual.

Official Year-Book of the Colony of Southern Rhodesia. No. 2 for 1930. (Published by the Colonial Secretary, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia) 1930.

In 1924 Southern Rhodesia attained the status of Responsible Government and this historic event was rightly signalized by the inauguration of an official year-book, the first issue of which appeared in 1925, and the second edition of it is now before us. The information it gives is mainly historical, political, administrative and economic. The present sociological condition of the colony is well brought out and its many potentialities clearly indicated. The facts and figures are presented in a lucid form. Almost every aspect of the colony coming under the categories of history, economics, politics, and administration, is dealt with in as many as twenty five chapters, written by experts and specialists. Accuracy and up-to-dateness are thus the characteristic features of the book. The value of the text is substantially enhanced by the inclusion in it of a series of excellent maps, diagrams and charts—general, mineral, orographical, climatalogical, statistical and geological. Altogether, a high-class and notable addition to books of reference is available in the book under notice. The new edition is almost entirely re-written and recast, judiciously revised and overhauled and is fully abreast of the latest changes. It should be invaluable for reference to all interested in the fortunes and progress of Southern Rhodesia.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1929-1930 (The Canadian Review Company, Ltd , 121 Farnham Avenue, Toronto, Canada) 1930.

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs for 1929-30 is the twenty-ninth annual publication. It successfully does for Canada what the famous *Annual Register*—which was founded in the eighteenth century—does for Britain and other European countries : recording in detail the public events of each year. As such it is a very valuable contribution to current Canadian history. The volume is a mine of useful and up-to-date information regarding the political, financial, educational and industrial conditions of Canada ; it

covers over 800 pages. The twelve month period of the yearly volume ends on June 30, but the issue under review has been extended so as to include the records of the Dominion General Election of July 28, 1930, and of the wheat situation to the end of the crop year July 31, 1930. The editor is ably assisted in his work by an influential editorial committee, whose personnel is a guarantee for the accuracy and impartiality of the matter chronicled in the volume. The work is fully illustrated and equipped with all the necessary appliances for ready reference. Judged by the criterion of usefulness, the *Canadian Annual Review* is indispensable to every one interested in Canada—its well-being and progress.

The Writers' and Artists' Year-Book, 1931. (A. & C. Black, Ltd., 4–6, Soho Square, London, W. 1) 1930.

The Writer's and Artists' Year-Book is now in its twenty-fourth annual edition. It offers literary aspirants and journalist free-lances much sound information, which is likely to be of considerable help to them in placing their wares to profit and advantage. Lists of paying journals, magazines, and periodicals—throughout the British Commonwealth and America—as also of art-illustrators, publishers, booksellers, literary and press agents, photographers, leading clubs and societies of authors, journalists and artists, press-cutting agencies, translators, typists, cinematographers, suppliers for printers and publishers, and much other equally useful information about addresses, scale of payment, the stage, the films, the radio, the juvenile market, copyright, agreements and serial rights, and guidance for art-illustrators and press-photographers, form the standard features of this publication. Though meant primarily for use in Britain, it will be found valuable for reference even in India, as it is indispensable to writers, publicists, artists, composers, editors and, in fact, to everyone who aspires to contribute to periodicals dealing with literature, art, music or science in the English-speaking world.

The People's Year-Book, 1931. (The Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., Balloon Street, Manchester) 1930.

The current fourteenth edition of *The People's Year-Book* deserves appreciation from seekers after information about co-operation. The volume contains an up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the co-operative movement throughout the world, besides useful information on topics of public interest: as also information on the latest developments in art, science, literature, drama, motoring, aviation, cinema and photography. There are also many tables of arrestingly interesting statistics. *The People's Year-Book* thus constitutes a reference work, both in a special and general sense, while the many excellent illustrations it contains, serve as an embellishment to the volume. Its get-up deserves special acknowledgment for format and excellent execution. Primarily intended as a national and international survey of co-operative organizations and activities and for furnishing the latest statistics relating to this subject, *The People's Year-Book* contains much other useful and interesting information, and is thus an acquisition to current reference literature.

The Daily Mail Year-Book, 1931. Edited by David Williamson. (Associated Newspapers, Ltd., London, E. C.) 1930.

Of the many political reference annuals, *The Daily Mail Year-Book* is unique in its being the cheapest and yet one of the most comprehensive. Its contents cover a very large ground and traverse almost the whole of the current political and economic affairs of the British Commonwealth. No other Year-Book so fully realises that people matter even more than things, and so it gives brief but interesting biographies of over one thousand famous persons. In fact, the little red book is the essence of a library, a most marvellous compendium of general knowledge on the public affairs of the day, and a most informative work of reference. The current edition—which is thirty-third—is fully abreast of the latest events, and deserves an extensive circulation in India, alike for its cheapness—it costs but a shill-

ing—and general utility as a meritorious work, which covers within a small compass a very large range of statistical and other useful data.

The British Directory for Egypt, Palestine and the Sudan 1930. (The Amalgamated Press of Egypt, 4 Sharia Dier-el-Barat, Cairo, Egypt) 1930.

For British and American residents in the countries covered by *The British Directory for Eygpt, Palestine and the Sudan*, it will be a real boon. It gives much information that an English-speaking traveller also will find of much usefulness, giving as it does boat tariffs, cab, motor and tramway fares, postal rates, information about coins, weights and measures in use, lists of clubs, churches, hospitals and other institutions, as well as the personnel of the governments of the various countries it deals with. It contains, in addition to the above, a full list of British and American residents, and the advertisements of the leading British firms in Egypt, Palestine and the Sudan found in its pages will interest visitors and residents alike. Thus it is altogether a most helpful reference work and would be an indispensable companion both to visitors to and residents in the three countries covered by the *Directory*.

The Tit-Bits Year-Book 1931. (George Newnes Ltd., 8-11 Southampton Street Strand, London W. C.) 1930.

The Tit-Bits Year-Book is a recent addition to reference literature. It has a distinct place of its own amongst books of reference, by reason of its, so to say, breaking new ground. Facts and figures are its specialities, as also all the important happenings of the past year. If you wish to take out a passport or a patent or address a letter to an archbishop, you will find all the necessary information here. Every page has its item of interest. It tells you, in short, the how, why and when of most things in life—at any rate, in British political and social life. The home—including house and garden-careers, education, sports, and a hundred other subjects of interest are dealt with, coupled with sound advice. Sold at a shilling, it is truly a marvellous shilling-worth, and should be kept handy by all seekers after sound and up-to-date general information.

The Book Lover's Diary 1931. (Charles Letts & Co., London) 1930.

Everyone who cares for books should possess the useful, compact pocket diary called *The Book Lover's Diary*. It contains much valuable information about books, publishers, authors, libraries, booksellers and the making of books. There is a note by a modern author at the end of every week, and the whole makes a most interesting reference and note book. It should be carried about in the vest pocket by all lovers of books and literature.

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(7) NEW EDITIONS, REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

1. **A Short History of Muslim Rule in India.** By Dr. Ishwari Prasad. (The Indian Press Limited, Allahabad) 1930.

2. **History of Jahangir.** By Dr. Beni Prasad. Second Edition. (The Indian Press Limited, Allahabad) 1930.

3. **The History of Jahangir.** By Francis Gladwyn. Edited by Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. (B. G. Paul & Co., Madras) 1930.

4. **A Short History of Aurangzib.** By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. (M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta) 1930.

Dr. Ishwari Prasad's *Short History of Muslim Rule in India* is largely—in the earlier portions—an abridgement of his well-known *History of Medieval India* to which has been added a fairly comprehensive sketch of the Mughal Period. Both teachers and students have for long felt the want of a suitable text-book on the Muslim period of Indian history. Dr. Ishwari Prasad's book fulfils this want ; it is fairly exhaustive, thoroughly up-to-date, and is a distinct improvement on all the existing text-books on the period. It has a number of coloured maps which adds to its usefulness. The addition of an index in the next

edition will considerably help the student in its study.....Dr. Beni Prasad filled up a gap in Indian history when he wrote his scholarly *History of Jahangir*. The book is too well-known as a standard work to need a notice in its second and revised edition which is very welcome. .....Before Dr. Beni Prasad wrote his book, the only work available in English that dealt with the reign of Jahangir was *The History of Jahangir* by Francis Gladwyn, which is practically a summary of *Maasir-i-Jahangiri*. It shows however, remarkable scholarship for an officer in the Bengal Army writing 150 years ago, and as such it deserved resurrection. Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar has done distinct service in editing it.....For the busy man and the dilettante *A Short History of Aurangzib* by Sir Jadunath Sarkar—judiciously abridged from the larger work in five volumes—is a real boon; it gives in less than 500 pages all that is important in the period of Aurangzib's reign. It is a most welcome summary of Dr. Sarkar's classical treatise.

5. **An Introduction to Indian Economics.** Vols. I & II. By Prof. V. G. Kale. Seventh Edition. (Arya Bhushan Press, Poona City) 1930.

6. **Indian Economics.** By B. G. Jathar and S. G. Beri. Vol. I. Second Edition. (Oxford University Press of Bombay) 1930.

7. **Present-Day Banking in India** By B. Ramchandra Rao. Third Edition. (University of Calcutta) 1930.

Prof. Kale has brought out his *Introduction to Indian Economics* in a new, enlarged and much improved edition to satisfy the demand for a thorough text-book on Indian Economics. The present edition has grown in size and contents with the rapid economic developments taking place in India and the outside world. The fundamental principles underlying economic phenomena are explained in each chapter and the working of economic laws in relation to collective and individual activity are indicated so as to assist intelligent understanding and the pursuit of scientific and fruitful study. The author has treated the economic problems of India as integral parts of the economics of the Indian nation and placed their discussion on the basis of the principles of economic science evolved and approved by the latest development of thought. With the political and social development now going on with rapid strides in the country, such questions are coming into greater prominence and evolving a more lively interest, and this book will surely prove to be of great help to all interested in Indian economics and industrial advancement.... *Indian Economics* by Messrs. Jathar and Beri is a well-known introduction to Indian Economics. Teachers and students of the Indian Universities will gladly welcome this second edition of the best general treatise on its subject hitherto published ..... *Though Present-Day Banking in India* is only in its third edition, the recent changes which have completely altered the problem of banking have necessitated the rewriting of many of the chapters of this volume. It is refreshing to find a fairly comprehensive history of banking in India contained in the same volume. The book makes an interesting contribution to the subject, and Mr. Rau has presented his case with vigour and skill. It will hold its own for yet a long time to come as the standard work on the subject.

8. **On Myself.** Edited by Amarnatha Jha. (Oxford University Press, Bombay) 1930.

9. **Selections from Byron.** By Hamish Miles (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London, W. C.) 1930.

10. **The Pleasures of Poetry.** By Edith Sitwell. (Gerald Duckworth, & Co., Ltd., 3 Henrietta Street, London, W. C. 2) 1930.

11. **An Introduction to the Study of Literature.** By Anthony X. Soares. Third Edition, (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martins Street, London, W. C.) 1930.

On Myself is selection of ten famous European autobiographies of outstanding literary value, in a compact, handy and well

printed volume. It should form an admirable addition to the arm-chair library. The editor—Professor Jha—has done his work judiciously... Yet another number has been added to the Traveller's Library—*Selections from Byron*—and it thus maintains its leading place for attractively got-up, sound choice in books and steady increase in number. The selections from the prose and verse writings of Byron have been made by Mr. Hamish Miles, with fine and excellent taste.....In *The Pleasures of Poetry* Miss Edith Sitwell—herself no mean poetess—has given an excellent critical anthology of Milton and the Augustan age. It should deeply interest both the student and the scholar.....The Third Edition of Soare's *Introduction to the Study of Literature* is a thoroughly revised version, brought up-to-date in matter and terminology and has some of its parts entirely rewritten. We heartily welcome this comprehensive book which covers critically (in about 200 pages) the whole ground ranging from language and its origin to the present-day literatures in every European country. It is a most useful work for the student of comparative literature.

12. **Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts.** By Rai Bahadur A. C. Mukerji. Fourth Edition. (Macmillan & Company Ltd., Calcutta) 1930.

13. **A Short Account of the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine and Civilisation.** By Dr. D. Chowry Muthu. Third Edition. (Bailliere, Tindal and Cox, 7,8, Henrietta Street, London, W. C.) 1930.

14. **The Buddhist Pilgrim's Progress.** By Helen M. Hayes. (John Murray, 50, Albemarle Street, London, W.) 1930.

Ancient Indian Fasts and Feasts is in its fourth edition, revised, and under a slightly changed title for, says the author, the word Hindu was unknown at the time when these Fasts and Feasts originated. It is a valuable study of an interesting subject....Dr. Chowry Muthu's account of *The Antiquity of Hindu Medicine and Civilisation* is a work of one who is himself a practicising physician and knows the subject he is writing about; the value of his book is evident from the fact that a third edition of his book has been published. Dr. Muthu's book has done good pioneer work on the subject.....We do not know why—but so it is—that great men and books of the East have been, and are, compared to and named after those of the West: *The Buddhist Pilgrims Progress* is a particularly unhappy name for the translations of selections from *The Shi Yen Ki*—the records of the journey to the Western Paradise—of Wu Ch'eng-en. It is a drama of spiritual evolution, from stone monkey to Buddhahood. The chief characters are Sun the Monkey, Hiuen Tsiang the Master of the Pilgrims, Chu the Pig, the White Dragon Horse and the Monk Sand. From the ridiculous to the sublime, with laughter and the siren voices of temptation calling, and the solemn roll of Buddhist psalm, the story moves between two worlds and drifts at last into the Western Paradise; the author is the greatest allegorist of the Far East. This is another distinguished addition to the Wisdom of the East Series which we often had the occasion to notice in terms of highest appreciation.

15. **The Holy Cities of Arabia.** By Eldon Rutter. Second Edition. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 24 Bedford Street, London W. C. 2) 1930.

16. **The Meaning of the Glorious Koran.** Translated by Marmaduke Pickthall. (Alfred A. Knopf, Ltd., 37 Bedford Square, London, W.C.) 1930.

17. **A Book of Food.** By P. Morton Shand. Third Edition. (Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 30 Bedford Square, London, W. C.) 1930.

The Holy Cities of Arabia is an illustrated, one volume, edition of one of the greatest books in the literature of Arabia, first published in 1928. This quite amazing book has more atmosphere of the wild, gaunt desert in its quiet incredible pages than can be found in a hundred volumes of flamboyant adventure. No one can afford to miss such an addition to desert library.... Mr. Pickthall believes, like other believ-

ing Muslims, that the Koran can never be translated. And he is right. No great creative work, whether religious or poetical, can ever be translated into another language. The sounds of the Koran in Arabic move men to tears and ecstasy. But when it is translated, its sounds cannot be reproduced and so their emotional appeal is lost. But while admitting that the Koran cannot be translated, Mr. Pickthall has translated it into English for the benefit of English Muslims. In order to do his work well, he has sought the collaboration of an Egyptian scholar who knows English well. In the introduction, he has given a brief and eloquent sketch of the life of the Prophet. While not pretending to know the Koran in the original, we cannot help thinking that the translation is very good. We feel in its words the fervour of a true believer, which we do not feel in translations like Sale's. And we enjoy the beauty of its English which we cannot do in translations done by Indian and other Oriental scholars.....One of the very best works on the subject is *A Book of Food* by Mr. Shand, whose third edition has just been issued in the "Life and Letters" series : the gamut of its culinary suggestions is very extensive and the choice and judgment sound.

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(8) ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE AND MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

We have before us four volumes on Irish History and literature selected out of a rich and interesting catalogue of books issued by The Talbot Press Limited of 87, 88 Talbot Street Dublin Ireland. The publishers specialise in Irish books and their publications embrace every possible phase of life and literature at its best. *The Book of Irish Poetry* edited by Alfred Perceval Graves in Every Irishman's Library is an anthology of Irish poetry old and new, old and modern Gaelic poems in English verse translation and Anglo-Irish poetry of the last two centuries. The poems have been classified according to subjects and chosen with fine taste.....Mr. Stephen Gwynn has condensed into nearly half its size his *History of Ireland* which was published in 1923, and with additional data that has recently come to light it has been issued under the title of the *Students History of Ireland*. It is a clear, concise and succint account of the story of Ireland from pre-Christian times to the present day. An invaluable book for students....The Irish have a fascinating way of their own of telling stories : their language, their witticisms are peculiarly charming. *Irish Ironies* is a collection of short stories told by An Pilibin an Irishman.....The evolution of a nation is made possible by ideals and conceptions satanic no less than saintly. Translated from the Irish by Douglas Hyde *Saints and Sinners* is a bonquet of tales and legends, sacred and profane, of that land of mists, mystery and mysticism—Ireland. We congratulate The Talbot Press on the fine range, quality, and get-up of their publications.

Of recent years the progress in the art of reproduction and colour printing has given a tremendous fillip to the illustrated periodical. Every year we have a host of annuals each viewing with the other in the beauty and charm of its get-up and reproductions, and the interest of its topics. So far as descriptive illustrations of the east are concerned we can say without hesitation that the best of the batch, covering nearly all Asia, Egypt and East Africa is *The Annual of the East 1930*, compiled by H. F. Knapp F. R. G. S.(Published by the editor at 64, Cannon Street London, E.C. 4) The Editorial directorate—specially the well-qualified compiler—have personally travelled over the ground covered by the publication which describes and illustrates most attractively the life, sights, scenery, trade, industry, and sport as well as facilities for travel of the various countries of the East. The Indian section (142 pages) is quite good considering the vastness of the subject. Of the many charming pictures perhaps the best are the "Happy Debo" by Mr. H. C. Bevan-Petman and "The Invocation " by Abbany E. Howarth. This annual should help splendidly in alluring commerce and travellers to the East and prove a

unique medium for advertisement. We heartily congratulate the editor and printers on their achievement.

Probably this is the first anthology of bad verse of well-known poets ever published, *The Stuffed Owl* by D. V. Wyndham Lewis and Charles Lee, (J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., Bedford Street, London,W.C.I.). Generally the most distinguished poets—from Cowley to Tennyson—provide the nicest examples in this anthology. The first quality of bad verse, which the compilers have aimed at illustrating, is bathos ; " other sure marks are all those things connoted by poverty of the imagination, sentimentality, banality, anaemia, obstipation, or constipation, of the poetic faculty....and what Mr. Polly called 'rockcockyo'." Each poet's contributions are grouped together and preceded by a biographical and critical note at once in keeping with the usual features of standard anthologies and with the peculiar types of poetry here exemplified. These biographical notes, together with the cartoons by that famous caricaturist Max Beerbohm and Mr. Lee's Proem, form indeed an integral part of this original book. We recommend this book for intellectual recreation.

The Autobiography of Edward Gibbon, edited by Bernard Groom is a useful addition to the neat and handy volumes of the English Literature Series (Macmillan & Co., St. Martin's Street, London). The book is of interest as the autobiography of a great figure in the world of letters and if hitherto unread, should be purchased. While it is incomplete—Gibbon died before its completion—and has not a spark of humour or lightness on any page, and is brief in its description of the composition of the *History*, it does leave a remarkable impression as literature. The notes added by Bernard Groom, the editor, render the work suitable for schools and not in the least too academical for private enjoyment. It is a book that is essential in every library.

Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, have published *Famous Parsis* a companion volume to their *Eminent Mussulmans* and *Indian Christians*. It is also well illustrated and contains copious extracts from the speeches and writings of the celebrities described. As patriots, politicians, philanthropists, reformers, scholars, captains of industry, many Parsis have made their mark and it was but fitting that a record should be made of their activities and achievements. There are no more illustrious names in the roll of Indian patriots than those of Dadabhai, Mehta and Wacha; no more distinguished captains of industry than the Tatas and Petits ; no greater philanthropists than the Jejeebhoys and Wadias; nor more ardent reformers than Malabari and Bengali. This attempt to record the achievements of famous Parsis must be widely welcomed.

Mr. Ben Travers, the well-known humourist, has compiled *The Leacock Book*—selections from the writings of Stephen Leacock, the professor of Economics in an American University who is famous as a master of mirth, and whose *Nonsense Novels*, *Literary Lapses* etc., justly hold a high position in the literature of humour. Mr. Travers has made a careful selection from Leacock's writings—inadequate as he himself admits, owing to the limited space at his disposal, but sufficient to serve as a happy reminder of the high lights of the books themselves—and has also contributed an able introduction himself. The book should not only prove very useful as an index to any collection of Stephen Leacock's novels, but should make delightful reading in itself.

The Chandos Classics ever since they first came out in the early seventies have been immensely popular with the book lovers. Their latest re-issue by Messrs Frederick Warne & Co., Ltd., Bedford Street, London W. C. 2, is in a still more attractive form, printed on good paper, tastefully bound in limp cloth in a portable size which is more in keeping with the requirements of the present day. We have before us *The Complete Angler* by Walton and Cotton, that classic work on Angling and *Lamb's Poems and Essays*. The book-reading public would be indebted to the publishers for re-issuing

these classics in a such an attractive, portable and withal cheap edition.

It is well-known that Congreve's work is very uneven, it is difficult for that reason to make a selection. But F. W. Bateson in editing *The Works of Congreve* (Peter Davies Ltd., 30, Henrietta Street, London, W. C.) has done his work well in including in one handy volume the full and best text, with modern spelling and punctuation, of The Way of the World, Love for Love, The Old Bachelor, and The Double-Dealer; also Incognita and a Selection of the Poems. This volume should prove of much use to students as well as the general reader.

German Lyric Poetry by Norman Macleod (The Hogarth Press, 52, Tavistock Square, London, W. C. I) is a book which describes and illustrates with some sixty examples, accompanied by verse translations, the development of the German Lyric from the twelfth century to the present day. The volume should thus appeal, not only to students of German literature, but to those who, though unfamiliar with that language, are lovers of poetry, for some of the finest examples of the lyric are to be found in the German language. We heartily commend this book.

Messrs Alfred A. Knopf, 37, Bedford Square London, W. C., have published in "omnibus volume" *88 Short Stories* by Guy de Maupassant, just one third of the vast collection of wonderful tales of the great French writer, translated by Ernest Boyd and Storm Jameson. It is a handsomely bound volume and should prove a great boon to the large number of the lovers of this kind of literature, giving as it does in one volume most of the great stories by this famous French writer of short stories.

From Vinyard to Table is written by A.J. Koenen (61, Vine Street, Minories London, E. C. 3) himself an expert in Hocks and Moselles, and a wine merchant, to which position he worked his way through every branch of the wine industry, in due sequence, from the vineyards of the Rhine to the expert's laboratory in London. This book is of absorbing interest to the lover of good wines, giving as it does a deep insight into the technical and expert service that is pressed into the making of wines, and the description of the choicest vintages. We thank Mr. Koenen for guiding us round through the mysteries of the temple of the grape.

A Hindoo's Table, The Vestal's Choice and other Poems by Henry Bertram Lister (La Boheme Club, 1337 Twelfth Avenue. San Francisco, California, U. S. A.) is a fine book of poems issued in an autographed edition limited to two hundred copies. The cosmopolitan interests of the author, as revealed by the subjects and characters of his poems, should help towards its object—as described in the preface—"to defuse a little brightness, a little sweetness" in the gloom of international chaos and industrial strife.

The history of cremation, ancient as well as modern, is sketched in *Cremation* by Florence G. Fidler (Williams and Norgate, 14 Henrietta Street, London,) it also describes the process of cremation, its law and economics, and makes out a strong case for it from the hyigenic, ethical and aesthetic, as well as the practical point of view. We in India do not mostly require conversion, but the book should be of great interest in this country also, showing as it does that how even elemental truths have to struggle through against prejudice and convention.

Journalism as a Career, edited by W. J. Cranfield (Sir Issac Pitman & Sons Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C.) is a collection of articles by well-known journalists on the qualifications and training needed for this profession, the duties and conditions of work, and also the remuneration that may be expected. The range covered is very wide—from free lancing to parliamentary reporting. To those who wish to embark on the profession of a journalist this book should be of great assistance.

An Italian Phrase Book, by Alfred Hoare (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane London E. C.). This is a most useful

book. In English as in other languages there are many turns of expression which if translated into another language literally make no sense; these have therefore to be rendered into a corresponding (in meaning) turn of expression in the other tongue. A long and useful list of Italian equivalents is given in this book. It supplies a real need of the student of Italian.

The talented editor of the *Mysore Economic Journal*, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, has compiled in book-form the *Mysore University Convocation Addresses 1918-1920*, the value of the publication will be evident if we but mention out of the galaxy of savants, whose addresses are included in it, the names of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, Sir Brajendranath Seal, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir J. C. Bose and Sir C. V. Raman. It is a most valuable compilation.

Capt. L. H. Niblett has collected together in book-form his charming sketches of Indian life under the title of *Flashlights of India, Past and Present* (Pioneer Press, Allahabad). These charming studies appeared originally as newspaper articles, and Capt. Niblett has done well to reprint them. Their acute delineation of Indian pictures, their vigorous style and their interesting subjects, called for a more permanent form.

One Hundred Poems of Tayumanavar (Desabandu Press, Coimbatore, S. India) the well-known Tamil poet have been rendered into English—prose—by Mr. N. R. Subramania Pillai. These should be of much use to those who cannot read these truly noble and justly popular poems of the great Tamil Poet Mystic.

Geneva, 1930, compiled by H. Wilson Harris (League of Nations Union, 15, Grosvenor Crescent, London) gives in a small booklet of 100 pages, a clear and lucid account of the Eleventh Assembly of the League of Nations. It should be of great help to the busy man of affairs who cannot spare time to wade through the bulky reports of the proceedings.

Thy Servant a Dog, by Rudyard Kipling (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street London) is a fine production—good paper and elegant binding in cloth. It is beautifully illustrated by G. L. Stampa. It should be a source of great delight to all children, old and young, as also to animal lovers.

Mr. Sivashunrungam Pillai has compiled *The Life, Select Writings and Speeches* of Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, the leader of the so-called Depressed Classes in Madras. Mr. Raja is a well-known personality both in his province and in the Legislative Assembly. The book under review makes most interesting reading.

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PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU'S VERSATILE PERSONALITY

PANDIT Motilal Nehru who passed away on the 6th February, at the fairly ripe age of 70, was one of the most eminent of that group of Kashmiri Brahmins, domiciled in Northern India, of which other notable representatives are Pandit Shambhu Nath, the first Indian Judge of the Calcutta High Court, Pandit Ajodhyanath, the great Congress leader during the eighties and nineties of the last century and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, one of the most distinguished Liberal leaders. His father—Pandit Gangadhar Nehru—was the Kotwal (Police Inspector) at Delhi and as he used to reside close to a canal ('Nehar' in Hindustani) he took from it the name of Nehru. Pandit Motilal was a posthumous child and was born (on 6th May, 1861) four months after his father's death. The task of his up-bringing fell upon his mother, an educated and talented lady, and later on his eldest brother, Pandit Nandlal Nehru, who till his death in 1886, was a distinguished advocate of the Allahabad High Court.

Early Life.

Till the age of twelve, Motilal received education mainly in Hindustani, Persian and Arabic at Delhi. In his 13th year he was removed to Cawnpore and placed there in the Government High School, from which he creditably matriculated some years later, passing on thence to the Muir Central College at Allahabad. Here he came in contact with some of those who became distinguished later in life, notably the late Sir Sunder Lal and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Motilal studied at the Muir College up to the B. A. standard but did not care to graduate himself. Instead, after but three months' study, he appeared at the Allahabad High Court Law Examination and topped the list of successful candidates, receiving a medal as a sign of distinction.

As A Lawyer.

Thus at a comparatively young age of 23 Motilal settled down at Cawnpore to practise law, in the year 1883. Being a brilliant youngman, he was doing extremely well at Cawnpore, for a junior in the profession, but as fate would have it, he found himself called upon to shift to the Allahabad High Court, on the sudden death from cholera of his elder brother, Pandit Nandlal Nehru, in 1886. Here he came into prominence, as a successful advocate, by leaps and bounds. He became a great favourite of the then Chief Justice Sir John Edge —afterwards a well-known Judge of the Privy Council. And when in 1896 the Judges of the Court exercised, for the first time, their power of creating Advocates from amongst Vakils, Motilal was the youngest of the groups of four who were so honoured, and his elevation provoked at the time much criticism and controversy in the newspapers. From this time onward, his career at the Bar was a series of triumphs and he retained his eminent position till last year, when he was specially briefed by (the late) Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga to appear for him in a case at Agra. Although an advocate of the Allahabad Court, he specialised and became a master of the laws governing succession among Oudh Talukdars and during the last twenty-five years his services were as much in requisition in Oudh as in the province of Agra. We may add that when in August 1928 Pandit Motilal along with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, went to Patna to defend the "*Searchlight*," on the charge of contempt before a full bench of the Patna High Court, his advocacy was listened to with much appreciation by the Bench and the Bar. There can be no doubt that in the passing away of Pandit Motilal Nehru the legal world has lost one of its greatest ornaments and assets.

His Public Life

As regards public affairs, Pandit Motilal began to take interest in the Congress soon after he joined the Allahabad High Court in 1886. He joined openly

the Congress in 1888, when it met there for its fourth session under the presidency of (the late) Mr. George Yule. When the Congress met at Allahabad, for the second time, in 1892, Pandit Motilal was one of its office bearers. From that time onwards he was regularly connected with the Congress—though he was not too closely identified with it till much later when he was elected to preside over its session at Amritsar in 1919. He had, however, inaugurated as president, in 1907, the first United Provinces Provincial Conference held at Allahabad in that year. His presidential address was profoundly disappointing to the younger generation, as it was cast on lines of rigid moderation and contained a slashing and vigorous denunciation of the extreme views held at the time by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal and other "extremists". By 1917, however, his views had considerably advanced and he then enrolled himself as a Home Rule Leaguer, in the good company of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani. In 1909 when the *Leader* was established, Pandit Motilal became its first Managing Director. On the introduction of the Minto-Morley Reforms, he was elected a member of the provincial Legislative Council and he did useful work in that capacity for more than one term.

But he came to be an earnest and devoted public worker from 1919 onwards, when the whole country was galvanised by the Punjab outrage of that year. He gave up his practice and devoted months of his valuable time in the Punjab, and the people of that province naturally appreciated his services and elected him as the President of the Amritsar Congress. His inaugural address as president was widely appreciated and received commendation both from moderate and advanced nationalists. From this time onwards, he remained intimately associated and closely identified with the Congress movement over a session of which he presided for the second time in Calcutta, in December 1928.

In 1920–21 he was brought into close contact with Mahatma Gandhi with the result that he joined the non-co-operation movement. His contribution to that great national upheaval was incalculable. His defiance of certain laws led to his conviction and imprisonment for a term of six months, during the time of Sir Harcourt Butler. When he came out of jail, Pandit Motilal changed his views on the question of the boycott of the Councils and at the Gaya session of the Congress, held in 1923, he (along with the late Mr. C. R. Das) took a prominent part in inducing the Congress to sanction Council entry. Though he failed in his object at the time, he succeeded in his efforts soon after, at the special session of the Congress held at Delhi. And in pursuance of the Congress decision he entered the Legislative Assembly. Here he naturally became the leader of the advanced Nationalist party and his work both as the leader of the Opposition and an advocate of his country's cause enlisted admiration all round, and redounded to Pandit Motilal's credit as a skilful and experienced parliamentarian. He continued to do splendid work till, on the promulgation of the Council boycott again, he felt compelled to resign his seat. Thereafter, and specially on the imprisonment of Pandit Jawaharlal last year, he was the chief organizer of the Civil Disobedience movement, by reason of which he had to suffer a second term of imprisonment of six months last year—having got his release a little earlier by reason of bad health. There can be little doubt that the rigours and privations connected with his work as a leader of the Civil Disobedience movement told upon his health and hastened his end. For the last few months he had been a chronic invalid, and he has now left us beqeathing to the country a rich legacy of very great work accomplished and high ideals for the future.

PEOPLE IN THE PUBLIC EYE :-

The New Viceroy. *The New Education Minister.*

Lord Willingdon: The Viceroy-Designate.

THE Earl of Willingdon—the successor of Lord Irwin—has rendered many and conspicuous services to India, having had the unique distinction of two full terms of Presidency Governorship—the first in Bombay where he came from the House of Lords in 1913 and then in Madras. The news of his appointment will, therefore, be welcomed by those who are familiar with his wide and liberal sympathies and his breadth of outlook. The Viceroy-designate is 64 years old. A grandson of the first Viscount Hampden, famous as "Mr. Speaker Brand," Mr. Freeman Thomas, as he then was, went out to Australia in 1895 as A. D. C. to the Governor of Victoria, the first Earl of Brassey, whose daughter he had married three years before. On his return five years later, he entered Parliament as Liberal representative for Hastings (1900-06) and later represented Bodmin Division of Cornwall 1906 to 1910, when he was raised to the peerage as Baron of Ratton. He was Junior Lord of the Treasury, 1905-1912. He was appointed Governor of Bombay in 1913 and on expiry of his term of office in 1918, was appointed to the Governorship of Madras. He was raised to a Viscounty in 1924 and to an earldom in 1931. In 1926 he succeeded Lord Byng as Governor-General of Canada. His selection as Governor-General of Canada, was received with general satisfaction on account of his Indian record. A little over a year after the arrival of Lord and Lady Willingdon in India, the war broke out and it was in the crucible of the war that their fine qualities were put to the severest tests. Bombay was the real base of the many Indian contingents; and it received the greater number of sick and wounded, both British and Indian, from Mesopotamia and other Eastern theatres. The energy and resourcefulness with which he, as Governor of Bombay, promoted and sustained enthusiasm for the Allied cause, and did his best to prevent and mitigate the blunders and shortness of supplies in Mesopotamia were of immeasurable value. Lady Willingdon, as always, gave him her enthusiastic support, and worked incessantly to organise hospital and convalescent comforts. To the troops on the banks of the Tigris, in the dark days before the relief of Kut, she was, as Major-General Sir G. Younghusband wrote in his reminiscences, "a very kind lady with a heart of gold". Perhaps the greatest service Lord and Lady Willingdon rendered during their eleven years' stay in this country was in the promotion of British and Indian co-operation and good-will. From the first, by example and by precept, they set their faces against old traditions of social exclusiveness in European society based upon racial distinctions. The influence of this attitude in paving the way for new conditions under the reforms was incalnulable, and it was no inconsiderable factor in the general acceptance of removal from the Statute Book of race discrimination in the Criminal Procedure Code. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme was on the anvil, Lord Willingdon did not conceal his misgivings as to the suitability of the diarchal basis of provincial administration. Yet under his guidance in Madras, the system came nearer to the desired Parliamentary model then in any other province. Conditions favoured the evolution of a party system and Madras under Lord Willingdon's guidance made dyarchy fairly workable. It is interesting to recall some of the remarks Lord Willingdon made in a paper, he read at the Royal Colonial Institute, London, in December, 1924 at the end of his Governorship of Madras:—"When I was appointed by his

Majesty to be Governor of the Bombay Presidency, I had had no previous experience of India. I had never visited the country, and I went out to my work there with a completely open mind. But within a few months of my arrival, in the spring of 1913, two matters impressed themselves forcibly upon me and influenced my actions and outlook during all the years I lived in the country. In the first place it became clear to me that a principal cause of the ill-feeling between our two races in India was due to the assertion, often quite unconsciously, of racial superiority by the Britisher over the Indian and the difficluty he has found in associating with the Indian in the social side of life in the latter's own country; and in the second place I soon realized that, owing to the vast size of the great Continent of India, with its population of over 300,000,000 souls, with its diverse religions and languages, with all the rivalries and jealousies of the various communities, and the different characteristics of the people in its different parts, it was necessary to put aside the idea of working to secure the ideal of India as a nation, and to concentrate one's attention on the development of the province over which one had been placed in administrative control."



Mr. Jwala Prasad Srivastava.

Mr. Jwala Prasad Srivastava.

The Hon'ble Mr. Jwala Prasad Srivastava of Cawnpore, now the Education Minister of Agra and Oudh, is one of the greatest captains of industry that these provinces have produced. He was born in 1889, in a well-known family in the Basti district. His father, (the late) Munshi Janki Prasad, served Government in the executive service for over thirty years. The subject of this sketch was educated first at the Christ Church College (Cawnpore) and later at the Muir Central College. (Allahabad), at both of which he had a brilliant career. Whilst he was in the 4th year B.Sc. class, he was selected by the Provincial Government for a state technical scholarship. He was awarded this scholarship because of his great aptitude for scientific and industrial pursuits, and also because he was a particularly brilliant student of the Science Department of the College. That selection has been now amply justified. He proceeded to England in 1909, from where he returned, in 1912, after qualifying himself, as Master of Technical Science, at the Victoria University of Manchester, and obtaining the diploma of the Manchester College of Technology (A. M. C. T.)—indeed, a high distinction. He served the Department of

Industries of the Government as Industrial Chemist till September, 1919, when he was offered the position of Technical Director to the Western India Prospecting Syndicate Ltd., Bombay, which had been started with a view to pioneer industries in the country. Under his advice the Syndicate started two industrial concerns, namely, a Glass Works at Shikohabad, in the province of Agra, and a Sugar Works at Pachrukhi, in Behar. He worked with the Syndicate till July, 1922, after which he became connected with a number of industrial enterprises in Agra and Oudh. At the time of his appointment as Minister, he occupied a very high position in the industrial world of these provinces, not only as the Joint Managing Director of the largest Cotton Mill in this country—the New Victoria Mills—but also as the Managing Director or Director of four other important industrial concerns—having their headquarters at Cawnpore, Bombay and other places—dealing in turpentine and rosin, dyeing and cloth-printing, matches, and other articles.

Mr. Srivastava entered the Legislative Council in 1926 as a representative of the Upper India Chamber of Commerce, Cawnpore, having been on the Committee of this Chamber for nearly the last ten years. He was appointed Honorary Chariman of the Cawnpore Improvement Trust in June 1929. His politics which are extremely moderate do not find favour with many, especially as he was the Chairman of the Provincial Committee which cooperated with the Simon Commission. His wife—who had accompanied him to England, when he went there as a student—is a highly cultured, accomplished and talented lady and a great social figure, at Cawnpore and Naini Tal. She is now a nominated member of the Legislative Council. Both she and her husband take a good deal of interest in the educational and charitable work of the city of Cawnpore. His politics apart, Mr. Jwala Prasad Srivastava is a notable figure, in Upper India, in the industrial and social world. He has already achieved and accomplished much, but much more is yet expected of him, for he is still in the prime of life. His political career now begun as the Education Minister is, we feel sure, a precursor of yet higher positions in public life.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTHS: MOULANA MOHAMED ALI

Moulana Mohamed Ali.

IN the words of (the late) Pandit Motilal Nehru we " mourn the loss of Mr. Mohamed Ali as that of an old friend. We never fully agreed in politics, even when he had thrown his whole weight on the side of the Congress. His political ideals were deeply tinged with religion and he freely admitted that he was a Mussalman first and an Indian afterwards. But his death has deprived India of a striking and forceful personality ". This is an absolutely just estimate. Mr. Mohamed Ali was born at Rampur in 1878, the son of an officer of that State. Along with his elder brother, Mr. Shaukat Ali, he was educated at the Aligarh College from where he went to Lincoln College, Oxford. His subsequent failure to enter the Indian Civil Service was a keen disappointment to him which, and his discharge some years later from the Baroda State service seem to have soured and embittered all his life. When he left Baroda he started his weekly newspaper, the *Comrade*, in Calcutta, in 1910. Mr. Mohamed Ali was one of the founders of the Muslim League. He also worked for the establishment of the " National Muslim University ", for which he went about the country collecting funds. He then started at Delhi the *Hamdard*, a daily in Hindustani. In the year 1912 he came into much prominence when he led the All-India Medical Mission to Turkey to alleviate the sufferings of the Turkish soldiers during the Balkan War. Again, he championed the cause of Turkey, two years later during the Great European War. His articles in his papers regarding the alleged wrongs of Turkey, resulted in the forfeiture of the securities of both the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard*. In May 1915 the Ali Brothers were interned under the Defence of India Act, and the reason officially given for it later on was that they were interned " on account of the bad influence which their bitter propaganda against the British Government was having on a section of the Mahomedan community". The then Home Member, Sir William Vincent, replying to a question asked in the Imperial Legislative Council stated that restrictions had been imposed on the two brothers " not merely for violent methods of polititcal agitation, but because they freely expressed and promoted sympathy with the King's enemies thus endangering the public safety". They were ultimately released in December, 1919, when the Royal Proclamation was issued. Mr. Mohamed Ali's next public act was his active promotion of the Khilafat movement and his identification with Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement to carry out that purpose. In March 1920, he headed the All-India Khilafat Delegation which went to Europe to secure the modification of the Treaty of Sevres in favour of Turkey. In his disappointment at the failure of his mission he advised his co-religionists in October, 1920, to make common cause with the Hindus in their fight for the freedom of India. But this unity between the two sections—the Hindu and Muslim communities—began to show signs of breaking up in a very few months' time owing to the extreme views expressed by the Muslim protagonists. In the course of a speech, at Madras, Mr. Mohamed Ali himself declared that Englishmen would soon be compelled to leave India and that if the Amir of Afghanistan were to invade this country for its liberation "from the infidel yoke", it would be the duty of all Muslims actively to assist him. Again, the reiterated assertions of the Ali Brothers that they were "Muslims first and every thing else afterwards" excited alarm among many of those who had been most actively in sympathy with their cause.

In view of the character of the speeches, Government found themselves obliged to consider the question of prosecuting the brothers. Mr. Gandhi intervened and after a series of interviews with Lord Reading, the then Viceroy, prevailed upon him to suspend the prosecution on the Ali Brothers tendering an apology. But a few months later they were again on the war path. They made speeches at the Khilafat Conference held at Karachi in which, it was proved they called upon Mahomedan soldiers in the Army to desert, alleging that military services under the present Government was religiously unlawful. They called upon all religious leaders to bring home this doctrine to the sepoys. For this Mr. Mohamed Ali was put upon trial at Karachi, and the prosecution resulted in a conviction. For some time after his release he continued to take interest in Congress politics. He was mainly instrumental in bringing about a working compromise between the then two wings of the Congress, divided at the time on the question of the " Council entry." Later, he presided at the Coconada session of the Congress. Happily, his presidential address is now forgotten. The parting of the ways began with the publication of the Nehru Report from which he widely differed, particularly on the question of the rights of the Muslims. His bitterness increased at the time of the Calcutta session of the Congress, in 1928, when in his opinion some of the concessions, made to Mahomedans at its previous session at Madras, were whittled down. The cleavage became more defined when he took a leading part in the All-India Mahomedan Conference held at Dehli, in 1929. He was also against the Sarda Bill and joined the deputation which waited on the Viceroy to request him to withhold his assent to the Act. The last event in his public career was his association with the work of the Round Table Conference, in London, to which he went broken in health and quite unequal either to hard work or to the rigours of an English winter. Whatever be the merit of the cause for which he fought, he was a brave soldier and died gallantly on the battle-field.

The Hindustan Review deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—"Truth" London.

The Hindustan Review is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews", London.

The Hindustan Review is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogo us to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review."—United Empire" (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London.)

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FACTORS OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

By SRIJUT NAGENDRA NATH GUPTA.

WHAT are the forces at work for the moulding of a united nation in India? Primarily, the awakening of a national consciousness comes from within, and, secondarily, it is quickened by influences from outside. Both these agencies can be traced in the growth of the national movement in India. It was foreseen that the germs of a nation were in existence in India as they must exist wherever large groups of a homogeneous race are to be found. God said unto Abraham, " I will make of thee a great nation." The solidarity of the home and the family is the beginning of a nation. The family expands into a tribe and the tribe grows into a nation. Just as a family is held together by common interests and common advantages so is a nation built up by common aspirations and common ideals. Neither numbers, nor divisions, nor the profession of different religions can be a permanent bar to the uprising of a nation. China is a larger country and has a larger population than India, but it is not open to any one to deny that the Chinese are a nation. As regards religion the whole of China is not Buddhist. Confucianism and Taoism claim many followers; the inhabitants of Chinese Turkestan have embraced Islam. In Russia the Cossacks are Mussalmans but they are part of the Russian nation. The division of a large country into a number of principalities does not break asunder the bonds of nationhood. There was not the slightest difficulty in the various States and Kingdoms of Germany uniting under the German Empire and they are equally united under the German Republic. There is nothing whatever to prevent the people of India from uniting into a nation. Moreover, if a power from outside can hold all India together it is absurd to contend that India cannot unite from within and hold herself together as a nation.

It may be briefly stated that the history of the Indian National Congress is the

history of the national awakening in India. That history is still in the making and only the first few chapters have been written. The Congress is the main but not the only factor of Indian nationalism. It has been in existence for forty-five years and it marks the growing strength of the national feeling in India, but there have been also other forces from outside reacting on India, the sudden upheaval of a dynamic, democratic energy and an almost equally sudden disappearance of almost all the empires of the world. The Congress itself did not come into being owing to a sudden impulse or a temporary revulsion of feeling. It was a movement of slow growth, confined in its earlier stages to demands for minor reforms avoiding large and grave issues. For a considerable time it was either ignored or tolerated as an insignificant movement with no lager volume of popular opinion behind it. It was dubbed the Hindu Congress as the majority of the Mahomedans held aloof from it. This was not to be wondered at for they were the rulers of a great part of India not very long ago and the new order of things found them discontented and sullen, and unwilling to adjust themselves to the new circumstances. They were content to remain backward; they were slow to avail themselves of the English education introduced in the country; they were reluctant to compete with their fellow-countrymen, the Hindus, for such offices, as were thrown open to the people of India. They expected to be coaxed and favoured since they were the immediate predecessors of the British as rulers of India. Their own leaders as well as the authorities dissuaded them from joining hands with the Hindus and making common cause with them. The memory that the Mahomedans cherished was that of a ruling race which had lost its power and saw no way of recovering what it had lost.

One Viceroy of India, an accomplished orator, designated the Congress as representing a microscopic minority. It was a remark made to belittle the movement, but there is no reproach in a small beginning and great things are done from small beginnings. Microscopic atoms may grow into telescopic objects, for it is the tiny acorn that grows into the mighty oak. If the Indian National Congress had waited for the time when all communities and all classes would be inspired with a zeal for nationalism it would have never come into being. The pioneer does not turn back to see whether he has a large following at his heels. He goes forward undaunted and full of hope, and in course of time others follow in his steps. There would be no beginning at all if small beginnings were to be despised and not attempted because of their insignificance. Note has also to be taken of the quarter from which the criticism comes. No representative of the British rule in India will ever be found to admit that the Congress is a great and powerful movement, or that it truly represents the Indian nation. It is impossible for him to realise that there is nothing to prevent India from becoming like other nations. England has the strongest motive for wishing that India should never become a nation like herself. It is possible to conceive of an India which should be a part of the British Commonwealth like Canada or Australia without any drain upon her resources or revenues, but in that case she would cease to be a Dependency and it is extremely unlikely that England will willingly agree to such an arrangement.

As has been observed Indian nationalism has evolved slowly. Many centuries of foreign domination cramped the Indian mind and paralysed all thought of liberty. For several years Indian nationalism moved with uncertain steps. The mind's eye turned away from visions of freedom as if it were an evil dream. There was no definite goal in sight, no clear cut incentive to effort. The Time-spirit appeared like a blurred image and its voice was a confused sound conveying no clear message. It was only when Demos bestrode the world like a colossus and nation after nation broke the shackles of despotic power and asserted its indisputable right to supreme and sovereign authority that the scales fell from the eyes of all the nations and India realised that her place was among the other nations of the

world. Only the bolder and more earnest spirits responded to the call that was resounding throughout the world. Others found it difficult to overcome the hesitation and diffidence resulting from long centuries of subjugation. They felt no stirring of the spirit of a divine discontent within them, they were content with their inheritance of submission. Nothing could persuade them to make a bold bid for the rights that had been won by other nations.

The main factor making for the creation of a spirit of nationalism in India was the Congress. It was the locomotive that pulled the other carriages and wagons behind it, but there were some of which the wheels were clogged and the coupling chain broke, and these stood fast and could not be moved. Still behind the Congress there is an ever increasing array of nationalists consisting of the best men and women and the greater number of the youths of the country inflexible in their determination to come into their own and to win the inalienable rights of all nations. Their ears are open to the call that is being heard in every part of the world and they are prepared to make full sacrifice at the altar of liberty. In every age and in every country the few have always compassed the salvation of the many, the few have suffered in order that the many may be saved. There is no instance in history of a nation coming into being *en masse*. The barons who got King John to sign the Manga Charta were not very numerous and yet they laid the foundations of national liberty in England. A Declaration of Rights is prepared by a handful of men but it sets a whole nation free. The ferment of nationalism is a leaven that spreads gradually to the whole mass of dough called the people and raises it. A nation does not spring forth fully equipped like Minerva from the brow of Jupiter.

The first awakening of national consciousness in India was noticeable among the educated middle classes, specially lawyers and others earning an independent living. The wealthier classes consisting of the landed gentry and successful merchants were unaffected ; so was the great mass of the agricultural classes which form the bulk of the population. In one sense the wealthy people in India represent the most unprogressive section of the population. The landowners whose lands and wealth are inherited are the drones of the community. They spend their lives either in the pursuit of pleasure and wasting their substance, or in propitiating the authorities from whom they expect favours and titles. The agriculturists are the voiceless multitudes, which, from time immemorial have submitted patiently and uncomplainingly to the exactions of the rulers, whoever they might happen to be. Through many changes they have remained the representatives of the unchanging East, silent, docile, laborious, confirmed and resigned fatalists. If anything, every change of the rulers of the country has meant a harder lot for them. At the best, they live from hand to mouth and they seldom know what it is to have two square meals in twenty-four hours. In years of drought and famine they have no savings or reserves to fall back upon and death from starvation is a common feature of famines in India.

In spite of unfavourable conditions the spirit of nationalism took firm root in India and with the passing years the vision of a united and nationalised India became clearer and took definite shape. The aspiration for a self-respecting India which can hold up her head among the nations became stronger, the national party became more outspoken in its demands and the number of its adherents increased with astonishing rapidity. A time came when the world was amazed to find Indian women, supposed to be ill-treated and denied equal treatment with men, taking their full share in the national struggle, courting and suffering imprisonment with cheerful and unflinching courage. Even the miracle of an awakening among the peasantry was not lacking. They refused to pay taxes and calmly left their lands and homes, and migrated to other parts of the country. The national

urge for freedom was guided not by a revolutionary leader but by a prophet who refused to look upon any man as an enemy and whose only weapons were love and suffering. In this respect the Indian national movement is unique and is an object-lesson to the whole world.

In the ranks of the Congress will be found the flower of the manhood and womanhood of India, and all the enthusiasm of the youth of the country. It was fully to be expected that every attempt would be made to discredit the national party and to ascribe to it unworthy motives. As regards the bureaucracy which rules India its attitude towards Indian nationalism and the sweeping measures taken to suppress the Congress scarcely call for any remark. The monopoly of power is never surrendered without a bitter and desperate struggle, and this is now being witnessed in India. At the back and at the beck and call of the rulers of the country is a yellow Press, whose sole business is to caluminate and vilify the national movement in India. It is extremely irritating and exasperating and often succeeds in disturbing the equanimity of the leaders of the national movement in India. The Anglo-Indian Press, as it is called, faithfully reflects the spirit of imperialism and refuses to recognise the new forces at work.

The most prominent leaders and workers of the Indian National Congress are level-headed, sober-minded men fully aware of the magnitude of the task that lies before them. They are revolutionaries only in the sense that they are determined to change the system of government and to make it really representative and national. Many of them were leading lawyers who have renounced the profession and devoted themselves entirely to the service of the country. They have preferred poverty to affluence and suffering to comfort and enjoyment. Intellectually they represent the best culture of India and their patriotism is as pure as it is intense. Equally remarkable is the share that women are taking in the national movement. All those who are identified with the national movement in India are under no delusion as to the serious difficulties of their undertaking, but their faith never flags and their courage never fails. There is no fanaticism because there is no thought of violence and the national movement in India has proved all the more baffling because it does not pursue the usual methods of a revolution.

It is persistently maintained that the Congress represents a very small section of the people of India and that its influence does not affect the mass of the population and the landed aristocracy of the country. The Congress is only a party like other parties in India and its claim to represent the nation is extravagant. There are others belonging to the same station in life and having the same social position who call themselves Liberals, Moderates, Independents and so on. They claim to be as patriotic as Congressmen but they pursue safer methods and put a proper value upon personal safety. Among them will be found men who have held office and have received titles; they have a large share of wisdom, the wisdom that guarantees safety and keeps an eye to the main chance. It is, however, altogether wrong to assert that these other parties have the same standing or the same influence as the Congress. They are in reality scattered units with no cohesion, no following and no power to shape the opinions and convictions of their countrymen. They have no organisation, no propaganda, no programme for joint and combined action. These parties have only a nominal existence and are of no account as a political force. Except the Liberals the other parties do not even meet or pass any resolutions. No one ever hears of a meeting of Moderates or Independents. The so-called Liberal Federation is merely a gathering of a few hundred people and its proceedings attract no notice. A meeting of all these parties was once held in a room in a hotel and did not create the slightest public interest. More than once a publicly announced meeting of Liberals has been swamped by Congressmen and broken up because there was no chance of

the resolutions being carried. Neither the Liberals nor any other party has ever ventured to take up the challenge of holding a meeting open to the public and putting their resolutions to the vote. A Liberal or an Independent obtains a hearing only when he speaks in support of the Congress programme, otherwise the country has no use for him. Neither have the rulers of the country much use for the Liberals and Moderates except to parade their support and co-operation which are available under all circumstances, but which are of no help in neutralising or counterbalancing the influence and weight of the Congress. The moral and material support of the Liberals and Moderates is an intangible and unreal quantity for it is not even a feather's weight against the preponderating influence of the national movement. If any or all of these parties were to issue a counterblast to any part of the Congress programme they would be overwhelmed with ridicule. They cannot even dream of meeting propaganda by propaganda and agitation by agitation. They cannot set up a platform in opposition to the Congress platform. It is impossible to think of them as a serious factor in Indian nationalism.

If there were only Liberals and Moderates and Independents but no Congress in India there would be no serious administrative problem, nor such a crisis as the one through which the country is passing. The other parties in India belong to the race of the lotus-eaters and no strenuous effort can be expected from them. A little mild speech-making, an occasional letter published in the Press are sufficient to exhaust their small fund of energy. They do not stand for the great objects of human endeavour, the serious undertakings and enterprises that call forth all that is best and noblest in man, the spririt of sacrifice that regards life itself as a small thing and the determination that overcomes all obstacles. Eliminate the Congress and India remains the unchanging East, content to accept things as they are and reluctant to take the initiative for the fulfilment of her destiny. It is the Congress alone that has had a vision of nationhood and aspires to make India a nation among the nations of the world. It is misleading to say that the Congress is a party, or a mere school of political thought like the other parties in India. The Congress alone is a concrete manifestation of a national awakening in India. It is the one stream of national life into which flow all the rills and rivulets of patriotic feeling and unselfish ambition. It has not only resisted all efforts to denounce and suppress it, but has steadily grown into a large and powerful organisation whose influence is felt among all classes and in every part of the country. In response to its call men have unhesitatingly renounced wealth and prosperity and welcomed poverty and suffering ; thousands have cheerfully gone to prison without the slightest attempt to defend themselves ; ignorant peasants supposed to be entirely unaffected by any political ferment have abandoned their holdings of land and gone into self-imposed exile ; women who are supposed to have nothing in common with the men and to be treated as chattels have surpassed the women of every country in the world by their patriotic fervour and their zeal in seeking imprisonment and facing hardships ; boys and girls have no other creed than that of the Congress, and no other ambition than that of joining the struggle for freedom. What other party in India possesses even the shadow of any influence over the thoughts and actions of any section of the people of India ?

There are many simple and convincing methods of measuring the strength of the Congress. The Working Committee and every provincial and town committee of the Congress and all allied forms of activity had been declared unlawful associations. They were liable to arrest and imprisonment whenever they met and even when they did not meet. By a singular unanimity of inspiration magistrates all over India imposed heavy fines in addition to savage sentences of imprisonment. The offices of these committees were raided and the houses and property confiscated. The

wholesale arrests of men and women, Congress committees, associations of young men and women, picketers of shops dealing in foreign goods and spirituous liquors were described by the Anglo-Indian Press as a process of rounding up, in much the same manner in which thieves, apaches and gangs of criminals are rounded up. These satisfactory, if somewhat primitive, measures should have had the effect of sweeping away these organisations, but they continued to live and function as if nothing had occurred. Is this a sign of weakness or strength ?

Every meeting convened by the Congress party anywhere in India is attended by enthusiastic crowds in full sympathy with the aims and objects of the Congress. In unquestioning obedience to the mandate of that body all shops are closed and all business is suspended throughout India as a sign of protest against the imprisonment of prominent Congress leaders or some unpopular official measure. Have the other parties ever tried to issue counter-manifestoes for the opening of shops and the continuance of business as usual ? Is there any likelihood of the slightest heed being given to such instructions if ever issued ? Have the authorities ever succeeded in preventing these *hartals*, as they are called? When a public meeting or a procession was banned by the police or magistrates but the Congress announced that such meetings or processions were to be held were the crowds deterred by the fear of indiscriminate lathi charges in which even spectators were severely assaulted and grievously injured ? Every order and direction of the Congress is implicitly obeyed even at the risk of monetary loss, personal injury, insult and imprisonment. There is no other party which has the slightest hold upon the country or any section of the people. It is impossible to exaggerate the influence of the Congress. It is the embodiment of rational authority and national aspiration. Every leader of the Congress is a national hero and his appearance anywhere is the signal for deafening plaudits and scenes of incredible enthusiasm. The Congress has captured the heart and imagination of the populace and it gives the lead to the whole country. No other party can sway the multitude or inspire it with confidence.

There are none so blind as those that will not see and the people who declare that the Congress represents only a small party deliberately close their eyes and refuse to recognise the facts that are staring them in the face. It is essential to remember that the national movement in India has not thrived on encouragement. It is frankly and openly directed against the bureaucracy which rules India ; it seeks to change radically the present system of government. From the outset it has been assailed with ridicule and misrepresentation, calumny and abuse. There has never been any attempt to disguise official opposition to the movement. The Press which identifies itself with the rulers of the country has never ceased to gird at it. It is due to the pressure of this movement that what are called reforms have been occasionally doled out, but there is no intention of parting with any shred of real power or transferring authority to the trusted representatives of the people. The men that have been chosen for office and preferment are like clay in the hands of their masters and never venture to make a stand against the bureaucracy on behalf of their own people. When contempt and ridicule failed and the Congress set about embarrassing the authorities force was resorted to for its suppression. It never occurred to the bureaucracy that a movement which has weathered the storm for nearly fifty years cannot be extinguished by represssion. It has been tried in every country under autocratic rule and in every instance it has failed. So long as a nation lies supine the rulers may have their will and compel obedience to their decrees, but as soon as it raises its head and determines to stand on its own feet the old order comes to an end.

The Congress has developed an extraordinary capacity for sacrifice and patient suffering. It has definitely and finally rejected violence in any form for

enforcing its demands, but at the same time it has displayed an unlimited capacity for passive resistance. The prisons were filled by men and women who had resorted to Civil Disobedience. According to an official admission nearly twenty-five thousand persons were sent to prison, but the ranks were filled up as soon as they were depleted and there were thousands waiting to step into the breach at an instant's notice. It was a never-ending procession to the prisons. Committees and councils which had been declared unlawful were reformed directly one batch was sent to prison. Bulletins and news sheets pronounced to be unlawful were published with unfailing regularity in despite of repeated police raids and sentences of imprisonment passed on the editors and publishers. There was no reason why these unauthorised news sheets should bear any names at all, but since all activities associated with the Congress refuse to employ surreptitious methods every cyclostyled news sheet bore a name and there was no difficulty in arresting and imprisoning the bearer of that name. When the Congress is spoken of as a party it should not be forgotten that it is the only party which has any authority in the country and which commands implicit obedience from the largest number of people. Behind this party stand in serried ranks thousands upon thousands of all sorts and conditions of people. There is discipline, there is organisation, there is the will to win. There is no other party which bears the slightest resemblance to the Congress or has any fraction of its authority. Outside the Congress there is merely a loose, inadhesive mass of humanity, aimless, purposeless, easily browbeaten and cowed. The other parties are really individualistic for they cannot come together for any great undertaking. When they declare they are co-operators they are merely submissive. They cling to the little things of life with easy faith; they are incapable of daring and suffering; the stern call of discipline passes them by. From them nothing can be expected because they can neither do nor dare. When the time comes they will easily find their place as the least important in a new democracy.

Thus the Congress is easily the first and foremost factor of Indian nationalism. It supplies the most powerful leverage for the unification and uplift of the nation, it holds within itself the resistless will of a nation, the glowing fire and white flame of self-purification, the dauntless and unswerving determination to push forward to the goal of freedom. It is more than a political party, it is the concrete manifestation of the highest human aspiration for spiritual and moral freedom; it is the marshalling of spiritual strength against physical force, the emancipation of the soul from the tyranny of the flesh. Round about the Congress are gathered the legions of the spirit, the unseen but powerful forces engaged in raising humanity to a higher level. Even as India is the cradle of human wisdom so will it be the battlefield on which brute physical force will be vanquished by the unresisting suffering of the spirit.

The other great factor of nationalism not only in India but throughout the world is the rousing trumpet of democracy peeling from one end to the other of the world. Long have the nations suffered the despotism of the classes; when it is not the case of an alien rule. A handful of men monopolise all power and all authority considering the nation as of no account. The revulsion of feeling against this monopoly of power has found expression in various doctrines and organised bodies. Socialism, communism, syndicalism are all aimed at the destruction of this monopoly and making the nation itself the repository of all power. Nations have suffered because of their want of cohesion, the lack of guidance and the absence of a sense of responsibility. The greedy and the ambitious few quickly organised themselves, grasped the reins of power, created offices for themselves, levied taxes, waged wars and became masters of the country and the nation. The nation, indolent, lethargic, unorganised, submitted without protest to be led and ruled by the usurpers of power. This state of affairs

is coming to an end all over the world. There has been a world-wide awakening among the masses of the population. They are no longer content to entrust their destiny to the unfettered guidance and control of an oligarchy and to render unhesitating obedience to a minority, small in numbers but keeping all power in its own hands. The nations have realised that they are the real masters of their own countries and they have the unquestioned right of managing their own affairs. Why should the majority quietly submit to be held by the leading strings of the minority and to be driven about like dumb cattle? The nations have shaken off their lethargy and risen in their strength like giants awakened and refreshed. They are taking into their own hands the powers that belong to them and with which they should have never parted. Free nations have freedom merely in name so long as they are under the tutelage of a small number of men possessed of insatiable greed and ambition. When they wrest the reins of power from the unwilling hands of the handful of usurpers then alone will the nations be really free and that will be the beginning of real and abiding peace throughout the world. Individuals alone or small groups of men are invariably responsible for the violation of peace and the outbreak of wars, and all the misery and suffering in the world. Left to themselves and without being goaded by their rulers the nations would be at peace. All conquest and aggression are due to the restless ambition of the ruling class. If they were deprived of power the incentive to aggressiveness would cease to exist and the world would be a better world than it is today. India has devised a new and noble method for the attainment of freedom, but she shares with all the other nations an earnest desire for genuine nationalism, the ousting of cabals and cliques, the consolidation of the powers of peace, and laying a foundation for the federation of all nations. There is a quickening pulse of conscious power among the nations and the heart of India is beating in sympathy with this awakening. Thus is the spirit of nationalism being established from within and without, heralding the coming of a happier and diviner day.

SPECULATIVE FEDERATION AND INDIA*

By RAO BAHADUR SARDAR M. V. KIBE M. A.

THE appearance of a book on the subject of the federation of India written by that eminent statesman Col. K. N. Haksar and an erudite Professor, K. M. Pannikar, while the question is on the anvil is most welcome. Although the scope of the book is much more limited than its title indicates, yet it contains a most valuable material for determining the question in its widest ramifications. It is written in an impressive style and only if its premises were accepted it makes an admirable attempt for a constructive scheme.

However while reading it from cover to cover it becomes apparent that the diplomatic authors are speaking through their hats. They not only look at facts from a wrong point of view but try to make them as they wish to shape them. When some years ago the present writer sketched a scheme for the future relations between the British India and the Indian States, very much on the principles enunciated in the book under review, a high officer connected with the Secretary of State for India wrote to him to say that he (the present writer) wishes to substitute a power other than the British Government for the ruling of India. It was not many years ago and the high officer could not view with equanimity any such proposal as he feared was before him. The fact is that the learned authors are viewing the question from a wrong point of view. Even with regard to the Indian States the question is not "what they are prepared to surrender to the Federal Government, if one were to be established, but what the British Government is prepared to throw in the common stock for the Federal Government."

As has been pointed out in the book (p. 37) there is no power which any Indian State can exercise unfettered. This fact is as old as Lord Macaulay. Although the learned authors may choose to assume ignorance of Lord Reading's famous dictum in his threat to the Nizam, that it represents the present condition, is patent from the fact that even the Butler Committee has re-affirmed it. In view of it, is the following expression in my italics correct, as is asserted by the authors of this book (p. 12), "The Princes of Germany, *as are the Princes of India*, were sovereigns in their own rights" or for the matter of that what follows (p. 41). "A Federal constitution in India would merely involve the formal ratification of existing conditions, necessarily accompanied by the creation of appropriate institutions."

The authors clearly ignore the fact, noted among others by the Butler Committee, that conditions in India even as regards the Indian States are unlike those any where known in the world. Therefore the wealth of details with which other constitutions have been described in this book can offer no remedy for creating a constitution for India.

Whether with regard to British India or the Indian States the question is, what can be recovered from the Ruling Power for being administered by the people or the States. It has the legal rights to enforce its powers, which it derives from the British Parliament, and has the necessary force at its command to back it. Therefore the only question is how much of it will yield and in what stages, whether in pursuance of a policy which is unique in the British Nation, after weighing and judging the effects on the interest of the governors or the governed or whether the latter can wrest it from it by any means peaceful or otherwise.

* *Federal India.* By Col. K. N. Haksar and Prof. K. N. Pannikar (Martin Hopkinson: 23 Soho square, London) 1930.

As far as the Indian States are concerned the latter of the above noted two courses are out of the question. They can not have their aspirations of becoming autonomous States, the goal of every government, satisfied by any means other than by the good will of the Parliament.

They have neither the support of armies to enforce their demands nor the backing of their subjects, who are kept even by our authors in the back ground. The learned authors have not shown why the paramount government should surrender the undoubted rights it possesses, either in full or parts, as admitted by the authors on pp. 154 to 156 of their book.

Perhaps what they have at the back of their mind is that while the British Government owing to the condition of things in British India will be not only induced but compelled by the circumstances of the force of the public opinion all over the world, to part with some of or most of its powers, to a popular government in what is now British territory as such, in order to save itself from much complication owing to the peculiar nature of the territories of the Indian States, which are haphazardly situated and are in some cases inextricably mixed with British territory, will be willing to encourage some sort of federation between the two halves. But while it may do so, it will probably be in its own interests, if not owing to the peculiar nature of the traditional position, rights and obligations of the group included in the term Indian States, to retain greater control over them than on the other half. This will be true not only for the transitional period but for a long time to come.

What one expected to know from the learned authors was a less idealistic and more detailed scheme than what they have given in their book. That any progress to be made will be evolutionary, and it is not in the interest of India, as ages have made it, to have a revolutionary change, the only question being that of the pace of the evolution, whether slow, medium or rapid. It would, therefore, be a sad mistake to involve the Indian States by giving them more liberty than they can assimilate. At the same time for the less advanced the more advanced should not suffer. It would be uncharitable to suppose that the learned authors had not reserved the expression of their constructive view for the Round Table Conference at which one of them was a prominent member.

The questions that appear more practicable are, after assuming that the British Government will part with some of its powers in favour of a more autonomous Indian Government, consisting of Provinces, than at present, and when that time comes, (1) Whether it will be more advantageous to the Members of the group known as the Indian States to join adjacent groups and the Central Government individually or (2) should they first form a federation among themselves of such powers as they at present possess or will, in future, be allowed or able to exercise, forming groups of States according to the rights and duties enjoyed by, or pertaining to, them.

Although the former course contains a fissiparous tendency, yet it has the merit of immediate solution of certain questions and the advancement of the status of some members of the class. The second alternative involves much and steady constructive work and long working, involving much patience and perhaps risk. There are some statesmen of long experience who think that as was the case in Germany of the 19th century, there are sufficient materials for forming a confederation of the Indian States, under the supremacy of Britain and then such a confederation would federate with British India on its own terms. With all due respects to the advocates of this proposal, a doubt may be raised as to its beneficience either to the group or the country as a whole.

The Committee which has been appointed as a result of the Round Table Conference to devise means and methods for an All India Federation will have to consider and adjudicate upon the following three sets of topics or questions. In the first place there are subjects of common interests to

British India and the States either collectively or even individually which are of a commercial or fiscal nature, such as Posts, Telegraphs, Railways, Currency, and the Customs or Excise duties. In the shaping or administration of these the latter have no voice at present. In a federation they will at least have a voice in proportion to their interests, even political, in the matter. It has been found difficult, if not impossible, that they could stand aloof, owing to circumstances mostly geographical and partly administrative or political. Aloofness is beset with unsurmountable obstacles. Therefore in this matter the States stand to gain. The second set will consist of matters, which are purely administrative and political, such as the Army, Arms and Ammunition. In this the latter have no voice unless the conditions laid down by the paramount power are complied with. The States are almost entirely without means of defence except against fully unarmed people to a limited extent under the proposals envisaged at the Round Table Conference. The question of defence will be a reserved subject, outside the pale of the federation. If and when it comes within its purview, it is not unlikely that the burden on the States may become heavier than at present, thus cripling their resources either for being spent on the Ruler or the Ruled. The last set of questions refers to the setting of limits on the paramountcy. For achieving this object the proposal for the establishment of the Supreme Court is made. Apart from the question how far the predominant party will be willing to deny itself the rights acquired by it, it is difficult to think that the States will be conceded the benefits to be gained by the federation under the first set of questions and allowed to enjoy unfettered freedom to fritter away their resources in any way they like. The solution of this matter will depend upon what sort of internal sovereignty may be allowed to the Provinces and in what way the States may be autonomous, either individually in the case of respectably sized or equipped units, or in groups in the smaller States, that is, how much paramountcy shall Britain continue to exercise and how long over either of these parts. The most important consideration in this connection is that the Provinces have no treaties or engagements. They have to win their rights and privileges. But unless they keep the centre in tact and strong, they cannot stand alone in the world. In the case of the States the tendency is fissiparous and not leading towards solidarity, if too much insistence on rights flowing from treaties is to be laid. They must even though theoretically in existence, be sacrificed to a certain extent. Even in the United States of America, which can well be on the minds of the States a radical difference in the treatment of subjects led to the resort to war. Mere moral force such as may be exercised by a Court of Jurists cannot but fail in such circumstances. In order to avoid such conflicts that federation is the safest which gives the supreme authority either to one individual, such as the American President, or to a predominant power, as in Germany ; and also there ought to be some common laws running through all the component parts of a federation. Some such laws must be framed by the federal Body and others may be adhered to by the governments individually. In this way Pax Britania was established in the place of a confederation more than a century ago and there is no other way of achieving Pax India, which is the goal towards which all India is moving.

THE CHOICE BEFORE THE INDIAN STATES TO-DAY

· By Mr. S. SATYAMURTI

THANKS, to the impending constitutional reforms, thanks, to the heavily financed propaganda of Sir Leslie Scott and others, and thanks to the Butler report and the endorsement of its main findings by the Simon Commission, the problem of the future of Indian States looms large in the political horizon of India today. The Indian States originally thought that, if they passionately stuck to the Crown and demanded therefore the perpetuation of British autocracy and a British Army of occupation in this country for their protection against external or internal disturbances their sovereignty will be respected, and that they will have nothing to fear from the waves of democracy, either in British India or in their own States.

But, with the utmost will in the world to help them, the Butler Committee could not help coming to the conclusion that British paramountcy over the Indian States must be maintained ; and it is not without significance that most of the Indian Princes have declined to accept the conclusions of the Butler Committee. Before I deal with the question of their future in some detail, fairness demands—and I say gladly—that India should recognise with gratitude, the patriotic and far-seeing attitude which the Indian Princes have taken at the Round Table Conference towards the freedom of India. It is to be hoped that this attitude will be persisted in, and that, very soon, we shall be able to have a Federated India, the Indian States playing their honorable part in the government of the same.

The claim of the Indian States for direct relations with the Crown is historically unsound, politically unreal, and dangerous for their own future. "The treaties and engagements between the Indian States and the British people were entered into by the States with the East India Company, because it was the ruler of an important portion of India, and not because it was a British Trading Company ; and it was because the Government of the territories of the East India Company was transferred to the Crown, acting through the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General-in-Council, with the help of the other officials, responsible to the British Parliament that the Crown accepted the duty—among others—to recognise the treaties and engagements with the Indian States. Since the transfer of the Government to the Crown the relations with the States have been conducted by the Governor-General-in-Council through the foreign and political department, various local Governments, British officials in the State, and, except in important cases, without consulting the Secretary of State for India. The very fact that the Butler Committee's proposal to transfer the charge of Indian States from the Governor-General-in-Council to the Viceroy shows that till now the relations of the States have been with the Government of India and not with the British Crown."

That this claim is politically unreal must be obvious to any student of the British constitution. The Crown for all practical political purposes is the government of the day in Great Britain and in India, the Government of India and the Secretary of State. And although on ceremonial occasions the Viceroy is supposed to represent the Crown in his relations to the Indian States, in the day-to-day administrative and political work, it is the Governor-General-in-Council who has these functions. Lastly it must be obvious to the Indian Princes that their future is much safer with a Government of India which will be manned

by their own countrymen, than with any foreign government, however benevolent.

There are to day about 560 States and it must be obvious that no constitution can ever be framed in which these 560 states, with such fundamental diversities, can be placed under a single category capable of uniform treatment. Therefore it becomes obviously necessary to classify these states; and I agree with the conclusion of Dewan Bahadur A. B. Latthe, in his recent book on the *Problems of Indian States* wherein he says "It will thus be seen that about 20 States may be found to elect one or more members of the Federal Assembly, while the remaining full-power States, whose number will have to be ascertained but will not probably exceed 200, will have to be grouped together, to become units for representation in a federal Assembly. The problem of the remaining States and Estates with limited jurisdiction must be considered separately."

For these smaller States, the only possible future is that they must be content to be Indian Chiefs with such jurisdiction as may probably be conferred upon them from time to time, and having their relations direct with the federal government of India, without prejudice to their economic and financial interests.

The Indian States have nothing to fear from transferring their allegiance from the present British Government of India, to the Government of a united Indian Dominion. The Butler Committee and the Simon Commission have stated that British paramountcy must remain paramount, and they claim the full right for Great Britain to interfere even in the internal affairs of the States. The doctrine of paramountcy has become so undefined and so indefinable that the States have nothing to gain from helping to perpetuate that doctrine and therefore, one can freely agree that "except as members of a United Indian Dominion the Indian States can never hope for real life." And as the author whom I have quoted aptly observes "not only among the States, but even in British India there exists a keen desire that the States must live and that no attempt to jeopardise their existence is likely to meet with public support. It is in fact an essential element of Indian patriotism common to all parts of India that nothing should be done to damage the States though attacks on individual rulers may justifiably be made."

Therefore, the only obvious and honourable future for the States is for them to enter into an All-India Federation, with suitable machinery devised for the settlement, by consent, of all matters of common concern, for internal autonomy subject to the limitations which I shall mention later and for co-operation for the common defence and expansion of the Motherland. But as Diwan Bahadur A. B. Latthe himself points out that "The States' representatives or the Princes themselves, if they choose to go to the federal Assembly, will not be able to make their full weight felt by the Federation unless they are backed in one form or another *by their own people*."

This leads me on to the problem on which I know the Princes are very sensitive viz., their absolute autonomy in their internal affairs. But it is necessary that the princes should remember, I say this with all respect, that they can no more prevent the advance of the waves of democracy from British India into their own States, than King Canute could stay the advance of the waves of the sea. "It is physically impossible that they (British India and Indian States) could live independent lives. Both may remain under foreign domination. Both may enjoy the rights of self-government. But neither the one nor the other can be sovereign in its own borders, without the other being also sovereign. Nor can two or more independent sovereignties co-exist within the borders of India."

To-day, it is unfortunately true that the paramount power does interfere in very many details of the affairs of the Indian States. But if the Princes do not get the full support of either their own subjects or the people of British India in their protest against this interference, it is because many

people feel that "In the absence of anything better to secure good government, the dressing and treatment of the political department relieves acute pain, cleans the wounds when they are full of puss, and soothes the afflicted mind of the patient with hope." Is it not on the whole true that "by heredity, by tradition, by the influence of the environments and on account of the apparently unlimited powers enjoyed, the princes are absolute rulers subject to only one condition viz., the pleasure of the Paramount power acting through its Political Officers." The result is that abuses are inherent in the very nature of things as they exist, and therefore people feel that the right of intervention by the paramount power in such a scheme is an unavoidable necessity, though it be an evil of the worst type.

I express my full and complete agreement with Diwan Bahadur A. B. Latthe when he says "the only way to escape from the tightening effects of an unending tutelage—and Paramountcy means nothing else for the States—is for the States to pursue a path of constitutional reform wherein a power will be brought into existence within the State itself, to check the natural faults of autocracy, a power which will be an adequate substitute for external authority, seeking to serve the same purpose." From every point of view, therefore, the acid test by which the fitness of the State for autonomy and sovereignty will be judged will be the constitutional advance that the States may have made.

No doubt, some of the States are moving in this direction; but their number is not large enough and their pace is not quick enough. There are certain reforms which are overdue in several of these States, for example, the definite fixing of the privy purse, independence to the judiciary, and legislation by the consent of the people. These reforms cannot be really established, except by the creation of representative legislatures where the Government should be responsible to the people who should elect the supreme legislating authority. The independence of the judiciary cannot be secured, unless there is a vigorous public opinion to check the attempted control of the judiciary by the executive. Moreover the fundamental rights of citizenship should be secured to every citizen of these States, for example, the right of public meeting, the right of public association, freedom of the Press, and freedom from arbitrary arrest or imprisonment, which can all be secured only by a strong legislature, by vigorous public opinion and by the entire separation of the executive from the judiciary whose independence must be secured at any cost.

A duty lies also on the people of the Indian States. I recognise that they are moving with the times. They must take more vigorous and sustained action to see that their States do not lag behind, at least, the British Indian *Provinces*.

The Simon solution of the Indian Army has been rejected by British India. It should be more firmly and contemptuously rejected by the Indian States. Belonging as most of them do to distinguished martial races with heroic traditions, going back into the hoary past, they should be unworthy of their princely order, if they accept the humiliating challenge of the Simon Commission that India cannot defend herself except with the help of British soldiers and officers. As Mr. Latthe points out correctly "looked at from every point of view, the Commission's proposal to keep the Army out of the jurisdiction of the Indian Government, means a permanent crippling of the States and of British India, with no hope of their ever growing to nationhood."

I claim, along with my British Indian friends, to be a genuine friend of the Indian States. From that point of view, I invite them to look at their future with patriotism and with no fear but perfect trust in their countrymen, in their own States, and in British India. They have been under British rule and they know the result. Let them choose to cast their lot with British India whose freedom is bound to come sooner than our enemies fear or our friends hope, and they will find their future assured. As

the writer whom I have freely quoted above says "The choice for the States today is between the path which leads to internal stagnation and decrepitude, the path of ignoring the insistent demands of nationalism, and the path which will lie through a partnership with the rest of India. They might choose to live under the withering shadows of paramountcy and confine themselves to the narrow grounds of isolated but indolently pleasant existence, or they might join with one another and with the rest of their country, in a common life of growing nationalism. The price is the one which all unity and partnership entails. They must forego the pleasures of self-sufficiency and self indulgence, and become strong with the strength of their own people and their own country. The reward will be their own satisfaction, and the gratitude of the Indian Nation, for having stood the test of patriotism when the question of Indian self-government was hanging in the balance and the glory of partnership in a fuller, wider and stronger national life in the future."

May God grant the Indian Princes the wisdom, the statesmanship and the patriotism to realise the profund truth of these words and to act up to them.

THE RESULTS OF THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

By MR. C. R. REDDI.

Ex-Vice Chancellor of the Andhra, University.

AMONG the achievements claimed for the London Conference are, transfer of power, transfer of responsibility, responsible government at the centre. Is the success nominal or real—that is the question. It looks as though it is the shell without the kernel.

The power transferred is small and insignificant. The reservations and safeguards reduce it to a decorous formality. Power may be given to an Indian agency, but if the agent is not free and has to obey the master, the Viceroy, it is of little use to the country. We have had Indian Members, Indian Executive Councillors and Indian Ministers under the present regime but of what use have they been to the country? Places without power are a source of demoralisation. It is far better to have power without places.

Transfer of responsibility forsooth: From whom and to whom? Will the Viceroy's responsibilit undergo any diminution? Will the new Ministers be responsible to him or to the legislature?

And they talk of responsible government, limited no doubt but real, at the centre. The limitations are obvious but is the reality quite so obvious? Responsible government means government responsible to the legislature in the first instance and to the electorate in the last. Will the R. T. Ministry be in any sense responsible to either?

It is necessary to scrutinise what are the nature and limitations of the scheme formulated in London.

The point of view from which they ought to be examined is the nationalistic

demand of India for a transfer of real power to the representatives of the people.

Provincial autonomy has been granted and this is an advance over the existing constitution. But this does not touch except in a subsidiary manner the primary question of national self-government which is the real test to which the Round Table Conference results should be submitted.

Even in the sphere of provincial autonomy absolute powers of veto and absolute powers of administrative directions and control in respect of the interests of the minorities are vested in the Governor. To this extent they abridge the powers of ministers and the people's representatives and imply that the Governor is the real custodian of good government in the presidencies. Absolute veto is sought to be defended by the analogy of the United States and other constitutions in which such veto is vested in the head of the State. But in those constitutions, the head of the State is himself an elected functionary. In the United States the Chief executive is elected by the vote of the entire people and as such he can rightly claim to exercise his powers on behalf of the people. In India the Governors will be nominated by the Imperial Government. He is the agent of the Imperial Government and therefore the analogy fails. In the other constitutions of the world the Chief executive possesses only a suspensary veto. He can only refer the matter in controversy back to the existing legislative council and if he thinks that there is enough party division in the country to give him a chance of popular support he may empanel another ministry or dissolve the council. The verdict of the country given as a result of such dissolution is held to be binding. Without bringing the Governor's veto down to the level of a suspensary operation the substantial responsibility of ministers for legislation and administration will badly be weakened.

In the Central Government it is held by the apologists of the Round Table Conference that there will be under their proposals transfer of power to Indian hands. The issues are what amount of power and to which hands ?

The reservations are drastic and some of them cut at the very root of the main object of the nationalist agitation. The safeguards in respect of military affairs and foreign policy may be regarded as necessary for the time being. But even here provision should be made for giving the Federal Legislature some power to develop the military organization of the country on national lines so that when the new organization makes sufficient progress the old organization, and with it the Viceregal control, may be proportionately diminished. This will combine responsibility with safety. But it is in the field of fiscal and tariff policy that reservations of an inadmissible character are sought to be made. Without control of currency, exchange, credit organisations, transportation and tariffs, there can be no revival of the industrial and commercial life of the country. It is the bread of the people that is involved in this question and not merely political advance which under the circumstances can only mean more careers for educated Indians, hardly a compensation for leaving these vast and vital interests unprotected by the Federal Legislature. This is practically to ask the Congress and the Nationalists to sacrifice the merchants, the industrialists and the agriculturists to the tender mercies of foreign operators. Indian History on its economic side has been in the main the history of the exploitation of the masses by British Capitalists. This reservation therefore cannot be accepted *without defeating the very object for which Mahatma Gandhi has been fighting all his life through, viz., the economic betterment of the people. Mr. Jinnah has again and again declared that fiscal autonomy was an essential demand on which no compromise was possible. If, in addition to this reservation what is called equality of treatment to British economic interests, which in actual practice means preferential treatment to the detriment of Indian enterprise and development, is concerned, there will not be any the least advance over the present deplorable situa-

tion. The theory of economic trusteeship of Great Britain which has cost India so much will be continued to our distress and dismay.

II

The next question to be considered is into what hands the proposed transfer of power is to be made. Is it to the Indian democracy, or is it to an oligarchy which will be amenable to the imperialist discipline and with the aid of which the national movement may be crushed by the agency of Indians themselves?

The composition of the Federal Assembly is oligarchical. This is to consist, we are told, of delegates sent by the Indian States who will not be representatives of the people of those States but mandatories of the Durbars who will naturally be prepared to accept and carry out the instructions of those Governments. So the Federal Assembly cannot even possess the character of a representative institution. The number of such delegates or agents is sought to be fixed at the high percentage of two-fifths of the strength of the legislature. Even if by bargaining this proportion is reduced to one-third it would still mean a higher percentage of votes at the disposal of Government than what is now seen in the various legislatures. Add to this the members returned by the various types of separate electorates, communal, economic, racial etc., such as Europeans, Labour, Commerce and so forth. The nation is reduced to the position of dregs or a residue. The Mahomedan claims one-third representation by means of separate electorates. Even if the rest put together come up to one-fifths of the total, what is left, for what may be called real popular representation, may not exceed one-fifths of the entire legislature. It is likely to be less. If the total representation of the nationalist elements which have made all these tragic sacrifices could only be about one-fifths of the legislature or less, can it be said that this will satisfy the just and the legitimate interests of the country? Will it, not on the other hand, give an internal character to the present struggle and create an atmosphere of civil war more bitter and perhaps more cruel in its incidents than the non-violent agitation against the present system of British rule? It looks as though these proposals are an invitation to civil war.

Is the competence of the States' delegates to be confined to All-India subjects? Apparently not. They claim to determine the complexion of the Indian Government, as can be seen from the provision made in respect of censure and no-confidence motions. If they are allowed to take part and decide on the fate of Ministries, it follows that they will have a considerable, perhaps a predominant, share in settling what kind of Government British India shall possess. The iniquity of this is enhanced by their claim that there should be no kind of interference on the part of British India in their internal affairs including the composition of their Governments, if any; nor can British India interfere in their external affairs subsummed under Paramountcy. The States will be directly under the Viceroy, while British India is to be subjected to the interference of the States. Being directly under the Viceroy, it is not an uncharitable presumption that they and their agents will not be in a position to withstand the will of the Viceroy and will generally speaking act in subordination to the Imperial Government. Instead of an official bloc their will be an Indian States' bloc in the legislature ready to give support through thick and thin to the Viceroy and his Ministry.

The Viceroy's control of the Ministry is calculated to reduce it to a show and a shadow. He can dismiss the Ministers. But they cannot in effect be dismissed by the legislature and though, in theory, they are removable, in practice they will be beyond the reach of the legislature. It is laid down that a two third majority of a joint session of the Lower and Upper Houses is necessary before a Ministry can be dismissed by the legislature. This will be even more difficult to obtain than an ordinary majority under the present system of provincial dyarchies in which the official

bloc and the nominated members act as the bodyguard of the Government and its Minister. If the Ministers are dismissable by the Viceroy and secured from the legislature, it follows that they will have to act as the agents of the Viceroy and not as a popular Ministry. The general election will be reduced to a farce and the people, unable to secure redress through constitutional action, will be obliged to have recourse to direct action. Unconstitutionalism will thus become the only remedy available for the nation. Such are the arrangements, provocative of disorder, that the idolaters of Law and Order propose to make.

The surprising thing about this arrangement is that no such special majorities are required for passing the budgets or legislation. By a simple majority the legislature can veto the bills and the budgets. But it cannot dismiss the Ministry. Places are evidently more important than policies. Is it intended to overawe the legislature by the apparition of an irremovable ministry and force it to resign itself to impotent criticism? Experience shows that under these circumstances the Ministers will have ample power and opportunity to produce legislative demoralization by appealing to the cupidity of individuals and sections and building personal parties possessing little or no relation to principles and policies. So if, under this scheme, there is a transfer of power, it is from the right hand to the left hand of the Viceroy. There will be an oligarchy of vested interests and willing tools of Government enthroned in Delhi. Indirect bureaucracy subsisting on a putrid legislature is no advance on direct bureaucracy frankly independent of the votes of the members. Is it for this that the nation has sent sixty thousand of its most honourable and patriotic citizens, men and women to the jails ? Is the nation to be satisfied by a constitution breathing distrust of the people at every pore and aiming to reduce them to decorous impotence? Distrust of the people is called caution.

In the Round Table Constitution there will not be any legislative chamber to represent the nation as a whole and to voice its feelings. There will be the States' delegates and men returned by separate and special constituencies, not one returned with a right to speak for all the sections of the people. How is Dominion Status possible without any representatives of the Dominion as such? The Maharaja of Mahomadabad, Sir Ali Imam and the Bengali Muslims, always an advanced class, have very rightly pointed out that without a chamber to embody the principle of national representation, the legislature is bound to be weak and perhaps disunited and can never speak with the authority of the nation's representatives. With regard to the Hindu, Muslim as well as other special claims, those who have been fighters in the cause will agree more easily than the arm-chair critics, that if the Congress, the Jamait-ul-ulema and the Muslim League and other nationalist organisations convene a new conference it is very likely that a nationalistic solution will be evolved in it.

The location of residuary powers seems to have been left in a vague condition. So far as the All-India legislature, in the session in which it is competent for the Indian States to take part, is concerned it may not have the residuary powers because the States being sovereign bodies will give up only special subjects of an All-Indian character to be enumerated and defined to the control of the All-India session. But to proceed on this analogy and argue that the provinces also should be constituted into sovereign States is to introduce disastrous disintegration of the country. The British India legislature should have the residuary powers not given to the provinces. If this is made clear it would give a chance for British India to proceed uninterrupted on its course of progressive development.

A Federal Constitution necessitates the establishment of a Supreme Court and federal judiciary. It also necessitates the establishment of a federal administration for the subjects allotted to the federal government. What is to be the relation between the federal judiciary and the federal adminis-

tration and the judicial and administrative systems of the States and provinces ? In some countries the component States and provinces are required to act as agents of the federal government in respect of these departments. But this has been found to be a very unsatisfactory expedient. So far as administration is concerned the federal governments have generally had their own agents and departments even in the provinces. As regards the judiciary, in some constitutions the local judges have been empowered to deal with federal cases also while the appellate jurisdiction is naturally reserved to the Federal Supreme Court In America they have both State and Federal Courts functioning in the States and there has been a lot of litigation regarding their respective spheres of competence. This has led to an enormous increase of litigation and a country will have to be as rich as the United States to be able to stand the burden of such a system. In some constitutions the entire judicial system, local and central, is placed under the federal judiciary and there are no judges appointed locally though the Supreme Court would naturally appoint people recommended by local Governments. Such a judiciary will deal with litigations arising both under local and under federal laws. It is desirable to adopt this system in India so as to give the greatest possible confidence in judicial administration and bring about automatically a separation of executive and judicial functions. It is not known if these subjects had been dealt with in any detail at the Round Table Conference, and whether the Indian States are prepared to part with the necessary amount of administrative and judicial patronage and power in favour of the Federal State.

Every Federal constitution makes provision for constitutional amendments by means of referendum or special legislative majorities, the object being that the constitution should be elastic and responsive to the considered will of the country. It is obvious that the Round Table constitution can contain no such seed of self-development. It establishes an oligarchy and oligarchies will not consent to amend down their own powers and prerogatives. Once again there will have to be a terrible agitation bordering on revolution before this constitution could be democratised, and without a democratic constitution there will rever be a permanent cessation of political agitation. The country cannot concentrate on internal development until its rights and liberties are properly secured. The dreary prospect now obtaining is not likely to be shortened by the Round-Table constitution.

III.

The position of the Viceroy as settled by the Round-Table Conference is hardly different from that of an autocrat. He will continue to be the successor of the Grand Mogul. The main portion of the budget is his. He is in absolute control of the Indian States. He has enormous administrative powers. He appoints Ministers who are practically independent of the legislature. He has an absolute power of veto. He can legislate by means of ordinances and under the new constitution he has every facility to employ Indian hands to throttle Indian nationalism. He is a defender of special interests. He is the guardian of the services—he or his master the Secretary of State. He is a direct autocrat in respect of these subjects and in the Ministerial sphere he is an indirect autocrat. The only thing that is not safe from him is the interest of the country. On the whole it seems nationalism will be smothered under safeguards and vested interests and will not be able to breathe. Because direct elections are held to be impossible in the Indian States it is sought to impose indirect election to the Federal Assembly and make the provincial legislatures the constituencies for the All-India legislature. For the analogy to be complete, it ought to be Provincial Governments and they should send, not representative, but agents. Even the vision of a united India is thus taken away from the eyes and hearts of the people. It is all Simon in a new shape.

The better way of safeguarding personal rights and the cultural and other rights of

minorities is by vesting the necessary jurisdiction in the Courts. The tendency of a democratic constitution is to trust the judiciary and not the executive.

When the Viceroy is given so much power, negative and positive, the proper remedy is to give the Legislature the right of self-convention, *i.e.*, the right to be summoned by the President on requisition of one-fifths of the members or of the Leader of the Opposition, so that the Legislature may immediately deal with the situation created by the Viceroy. There should be no infringement of the Parliamentary freedom of the assembly—the Opposition Leader must be given the right to move votes of censure, of no confidence, as in the House of Commons. Thus only can the Legislature become a force for good in the country. At present the Councils are like meetings of Boards convened to register the decrees of the directors. It seems they are business bodies. It is best not to divulge the business in which they excel. However small an Opposition may be in numbers, so long as it is the official Oppositition it must enjoy the unfettered right to challenge the Ministry and the Government.

In spite of all these defects and shortcomings there are possibilities in the new attitude adopted by the British Government. Mr. MacDonald's speech raises hopes and that is something. The transfer of responsibility to Indian hands has been conceded in principle, though why this is made contingent on an All-India Federation is not quite clear, unless it be that Britain will not transfer power to nationalist India but only to its own instruments and channels. But a conference with the leaders of the Congress and the Jamait-ul-Ulema may lead to better and more satisfactory results. The Government must trust nationalist India. A constitution based on distrust of the nation's gallant leaders cannot be acceptable to the country. Still less a constitution which, whether so intended or not, will result in the rallying of certain elements in the country for an onslaught on the Congress. Even Government cannot fairly expect the Congress and nationalist India to enchange the country for showy careers.

The most important essential for the success of the new conference was that it should not consist merely of the invitees of the Government. The different political organizations in the country had to be asked to send up representatives with full powers, the political prisonars to be set free, the present councils dissolved new elections held and the representatives thus chosen given the right to select the members of the new Round Table Conference, special interests and communities also beirg accorded the same privilege on the same basis. Only the depressed class will have to be given nominated representatives. All the rest of the British Indian delegation including Europeans, businessmen etc., must enter by election. The Princes will of course send their delegates. But the British Indian members should have a representative character. If that is done—and a great step towards that has been taken by the Congress agreeing to take part in it, thanks to the splendid efforts of Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwn—there is hope of a satisfactory settlement being reached on most of these questions.

OUR FORTHCOMING BUDGETARY SITUATION.

By Mr. B. RAM CHANDRA RAO M.A.L T.

OUR financial year is bound to terminate with a huge and substantial deficit of an impressive size. With revenue items falling rapidly and increasing Governmental expenditure due to political turmoil and natural calamities such as floods, the financial situation cannot but be otherwise. So far as the Government of India is concerned further increase in the floating debt would be inevitable in the shape of defence Treasury bills to buttress the Government Exchange policy and their per-ratio—I.s 6d. and secure the needed funds for the Home treasury.* So far as the different Provinces are concerned ministerial pledges in the direction of expenditure on what are known as "secondary services" of the State mean additional levies which may ultimately prove a net gain to the community by increasing the net national dividend. As the normal economic forces in favour of expanded revenue are altogether conspicuous by their absence and as external conditions would continue to exert a depressing influence on trade and the general economic situation the position of the taxpayer is rather gloomy. A fall in commodity prices and a trade depression accentuated by world-wide causes, economic boycott and political uncertainty make the confusion worse confounded.

Unless the Government of India and the different Provincial Governments show admirable tact in dealing with the forthcoming budgetary situation the economic future of India cannot be bettered. Unless right tactics are adopted financial bungling would result. Mere "nibbling" tactics will not enable the Finance Members to cover the huge deficits. The alternatives are three in number. Reduction in expenditure, increase in taxation and the resort to the printing press. The task seems to be so hopeless that the greatest financial expert has been drafted from the League of Nations to help us in deciding what policy we have to adopt at this important hour. A right or wrong policy in matters financial, vitally affects the entire economic life of the country. The whole of thinking India would likely turn attention towards this important problem. My object is to indicate the lines on which we in India should try to regulate our financial policy.

Any unscrupulous use of the Printing Press as was made during the years 1918-1922, when the big cumulative deficit of Rupees 84 crores had to be tided over, is unthinkable. Of this big deficit Sir M. Hailey said that 27 crores were raised by fidiciary currency. In the year 1922-1923, the Printing Press was once again set into operation to cover a portion of the deficit of 15.02 crores of Rupees. After having received so much of currency education, which adverse and economically disastrous inflation taught us, it is not likely the people will permit this use of the Printing Press to cover this year's deficit in the budget of the Government of India. The policy of utilising or "raiding" the interest derivable from the securities of the Paper Currency Reserve and the Gold Standard Reserve for general revenue purposes can

* Up till January. 3rd only £ 7½ million have been remitted by the purchase of sterling. Another £25½ million ought to have been remitted by this method but exchange being so adverse the Government. are abstaining from the market. Ways and means advances from the London Branch of the Imperial Bank will not take it far.

N. B.—This article was written before the presentation of 1931-32 Budget by the Finance Member before the Indian Legislative Assembly.

be tolerated for that was done in 1923–1924, 1924–1925 and 1925–1926 also.

The raising of loans to tide over this deficit, for the prospects of the central budget would be more rosy provided no failure of monsoon occurs or political disturbances do not mar the situation, cannot be recommeded. As Sir Walter Layton says "a surplus in the central budget might arise as a result of natural growth of revenue from Customs and expansion of the industrial activities of the Central Government. (See page 274 Vol. II) "Loans" say the economic realists "ought to be raised for purely productive purposes." A revenue deficit cannot be covered by mere loans.

The only way out of the financial muddle seems to be the following of drastic and rigorous public economy. The extravagant and unproductive character of the Government's Civil and Military expenses is too well known*. The hard and uphill road of general retrenchment should be selected in spite of its inevitable unpopularity. The Simon Commission recommends the lowering of the standard of pay and paying Overseas Allowances to the British personnel. (Vol. II–p 224) Germany recently determined to reduce all official salaries by 6 per cent. and other industries had to follow suit. Both from the economic and social point of view this policy seems to be inevitable for our official salaries were increased by the Lee Commission at a time when prices were high and prosperity enabled them (*i. e.*, the Government) to maintain them. In days of depressed price-level this cannot be done. All over the world the tendency is towards reduction of prices.† and retrenchment in public expenditure as well as industrial and business establishment is the order of the day. Useful additional expenditure needed by the Educational Committee and the Agricultural Commission would have to be carried out.

The unwisdom of increasing taxation need not be pointed out at this hour. With abnormal stagnation in the export and import trade and a fall in the purchasing power it is not possible for the tax-payers to welcome any increase in taxation. Increased direct money contribution cannot be expected from the heavily burdened tax-payers.

As additional taxation seems necessary to cover a probable deficit of fifteen crores in the imperial Budget alone and assuming that the Provinces live upon past balances and reduce expenditure there ought not to be any lack of discrimination in the assessment of taxes, for this would have disastrous consequences. Any scheme of fresh taxation by the Central Government would have to bear in mind that the full taxable capacity of the citizen cannot be encroached upon by itself, for the Provincial Governments have to inevitably draw upon the same, in order to fulfil their pledges in the field of the nation-building departments.

The resiliency of the income-tax is a thing that cannot be doubted. The more important thing needed is to stop evasion. The levying of taxes on incomes accruing from foreign investments should be taken up immediately. This is one of the reasons aiding the flight of capital from this country. The possibility of levying sur-taxes on personal incomes chargeable to income-tax is there. Mr. (now Sir) Layton and all other critics of his suggest this self-same remedy for augmenting the financial resources which may be divided between the imperial Government and the provinces according to their respective necessities. But these do not remember that a high income-tax which they propose to levy by

* Until 1932–1933, there is no possibility of reducing or lowering the military expenditure to the Inchcape limit of 50 crores.

† It might be that prices in this country have not fallen so low as in the case of the United Kingdom and the U. S. A. But at present the prices of most commodities have fallen in this country. The fact that there would be disparity in price-level movements has however no influential bearing on our argument.

steepening the tax rates on higher grades of income would enable our banks to bargain the Government into a position where they must pay relatively high rates of interest on all the new conversion loans which they will have to float in the forthcoming years.

The levying of death duties is another tax not open to serious objections. Moreover it is not susceptible to business conditions. No financial purist would be offended by the levying of taxation on the unearned increment of land values. The levying of a tax on agricultural income is long overdue and cannot be postponed any longer. There would be new taxes and the propertied classes would certainly murmur against this burdensome imposition. The increase of various excise duties is another feasible measure which would directly benefit the provinces. Certain national excise duties can similarly benefit the Government of India. Increased duties on tobacco can be levied while imported cigarettes, cigars etc., can be made to pay heavier import duty. The plea that the poor have become habituated to use it in a crude form ought not to stand in the way.

Some further imposition of customs duties on cloth, matches and certain other luxuries becomes inevitable. China recently increased her customs duties against luxuries to 50 per cent. of the value of the article. About 597 articles were altogether classified under the head of free list and lightly taxed articles and the luxury articles have now to pay a 50 per cent. tax on their values. (Dec. 1930).

The recent increase of tariff protection by the Government of India to the Steel Industry is wisely conceived and liberally granted. But for the general consideration that Indian cotton producers should find a market in Britain and Japan there is no reason why the cotton mill industry should not be specially protected during the temporary period of this enonomic depression. The import duty of 15 per cent. on piece goods of the United Kingdom would not be sufficient protection to the cotton mill industry. This step-motherly treatment would I hope be removed in the present budget. The other odious feature of the Cotton Textile Tariff Act of 1930 would also be removed It is not Japan that is the real competitor but Lancashire. It is high time the Finance Member gives up his views as regards protection which were stated in the last year's budget as follows:— "It is desirable to encourage industrial development provided that this can be done in conjunction with and a supplement to the argicultural life of the country". Mere amalgamation or merger* for securing the well known internal economies would not solve the situation. Better transport facilities and a genuine policy of protection are needed to help the industry at this psychological hour when boycott and swadeshi have given the needed fillip to this much neglected industry of ours. All the fine trade done by Lancashire can ultimately be produced in this country.† But the cotton mill industry itself has to reduce the capi-

* It is interesting to note that the proposal for the amalgamation of the cotton mill engineered by Sir Ness Wadia on the lines of the Lancashire Cotton Corporation is progressing. About 10 crores of Rupees would be advanced by the Imperial Bank on the guarantee of the Government of India to provide working capital to enable the scheme of the Bombay Textile Mill Merger Committee to be formulated and carrid out.

† Mr. Pearse in his "Cotton Industry in India" says:—"that the technical equipment of Indian Mills has so far advanced that Indian mill-owners are not in the least afraid of the present situation and Lancashire's competitive capacity in goods made from yarns up to forties and are confident that Lancashire competition in finer goods need not be regarded seriously. It may take some years before Indian mills are able to supply their market entirely with their own manufactures but that time is sure to come. Statistics of yarn and cloth production show clearly that India will capture more of the fine trade in the near future."

talisation cost, and the top-heavy establishment charges, and speedily Indianise the technical staffs.

Any increase of postal or railway rates and higher duty in the shape of commercial stamps would need a lot of justification. We are at present experiencing an incipient price decline and a good deal of explanation has to be tendered for increasing postal and railway rates in this period of declining prices and cost of production.

The increase of salt duty is unthinkable. Social discontent would be greatly aggravated by such a measure. It is also unwise to convert the existing terminal duties into provincial ones. Any increase in indirect taxation and making the poor contribute more than the rich by means of extensive use of indirect taxation cannot be justified. What is needed is the "democratisation of finance" (*i.e.*) the proportion of direct taxes increasing and bringing about the salutary feature of everyone contributing to the State according to his ability. Without this tendency economic inequalities cannot be ironed out by means of taxation. More should be taken from our rich and more spent on the secondary services so as to benefit the poor.

The colossal problem of the floating debt needs adequate attention. Without better monetary and banking facilities there is no hope of a sound loan policy being pursued by the Government of India. For a number of years to come a series of previously floated loans have to be repaid as shown in the following table. Provision has to be made for such repayments or conversion into loans for a further period.

Table showing the future Repayments.

4 per cent. loan	to be repaid	in 1936
4 „ „	„ „	in 1934-1937
5 „ „ bond	„ „	in 1923-1933
4 and half per cent.	„	1928-1934
6 per cent.		1931
6 per cent.		1932
6 per cent.		1933-1936

While provision was made for a paltry Rs. 24 crores floating debt by the end of 1930-1931 official year in the shape of Treasury bills, these have mounted up already to the huge figure of 61 and half crores of rupees. To these must be added the necessity of raising further capital expenditure for the railways and irrigation schemes such as construction of harbour works etc. With the constant leakage of capital from our market to which must of course be mainly attributed the sagging of our exchange in spite of favourable trade balance it would need a herculean effort if the needed amount has to be raised by Rupee loans and Rupee treasury bills. But very heavy overseas borrowing would complicate the economic situation further and make the transfer problem a grave issue at the current stabilised ratio of Is. 6d per rupee. The increasing burden of interest payments would be staggering and would tend to produce an unsatisfactory condition of public finance. Construction proposals would have to be slowed down. But the only way of reducing the debt charge is to reduce the debt itself. Although the world rate of interest will be lowered in the near future no such contingency can arise in our case as the uncertain political conditions endanger the confidence element of the capitalists. It is likely that the Government of India would have to pay 5 per cent. in London and six per cent. in India for the loans floated in the respective centres.

Conclusion.

While the broad foundations of federal finance have to be levied in the near future any present-day shuffling of funds or methods of raising of taxation should only be of a minor character and should not place insuperable obstacles in the carrying out of the scheme in the near future. Any arrangement should have this long-view before it, otherwise it would be tantamount to a mere leap in the dark. Minor alterations in the customs duties, drastic cuts in expenditure and increase in direct taxation and a careful arresting of the pace of capital expenditure even on productive objects would balance the respective budgets.

IMPLICATIONS OF ECONOMIC FREEDOM FOR INDIA.*

By Prof. P. A. WADIA & Mr. V. K. R. V. RAO.

WE have taken upon ourselves the task of placing before you our views on what may be regarded as the essential economic conditions that should accompany the entry by India upon a new era of a self-governing institution—conditions that are essential in the sense that no self-governing institution can achieve the purposes of our national existence in their absence. We have ventured on this statement in the conviction that you will be called upon to decide on the proposals that have evolved from the deliberations of the Round Table Conference, and that you will realise the full economic implications of the tentative decisions that have been arrived at in an atmosphere of tense enthusiasm, under an urge of early settlement of vital issues, on the solution of which the country has been prepared to stake its all—the lives of its citizens and the sense of security.

We believe that the craving of India for self-government is a craving for the fulness of life, that it is the expression of its desire for re-entering upon its heritage of culture and civilisation, that political freedom is only the opportunity for service, so that the India of the future can once again contribute its share to the making of a new humanity. But freedom as an opportunity for the fulness of national life is not confined to the use of political institutions, as the democracies of modern Europe are realising to-day; the reorganisation of our political institutions must be based on the power of moulding our economic destinies; there can be no good life possible for a country whose people have not the opportunity for lifting themselves out of the poverty that enervates their bodies and deprives them of the leisure that alone can foster the creative urge of life. We would plead with all the earnestness at our command that, in the desire to obtain the political machinery of a responsible government, our leaders should not forget the urgent necessity of securing for ourselves the powers of economic self-determination, the means of removing the depressing influences of growing poverty through a policy that should be governed by no considerations except the larger interests of a self-respecting India.

II.

We shall briefly indicate the nature of the conditions that are to be the instruments of our economic regeneration and without which the exercise of political privileges would be a mockery and a standing witness to our inaptitude to govern.

The power to determine what amount of money we shall require for the reservation and promotion of our economic life, and the power to determine how we shall raise this money from year to year, must be vested in the supreme legislature of our country, if we are to enjoy the opportunity of moulding our economic destinies. Complete control over the purse vested in an elected legislature is an inevitable implication of economic freedom; and it is all the more necessary in the case of India where the revenue raised from a people living on the margin of subsistence have been and are being spent for purposes other than those that would promote the well being of the people. The central problem of Indian public finance to-day is the problem of reducing the public expenditure. The funds that we shall require in increasing proportion for the building up of our economic life in the immediate future cannot be obtained by substantial

* A Memorandum placed before the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress.

additions to our taxation. The burden of taxation is heavy and is unwisely distributed; and the only way in which our needs for funds can be met seems to lie in the direction of reducing existing expenditure. Our present public expenditure contains items that are capable of drastic retrenchment and economy. These include the military charges, the charges of the imperial services and debt charges, and yet these are the very heads of expenditure which the pronouncement of the Premier would reserve in the hands of the Viceroy and render immune from control by the legislature. Taking the figures for 1927–1928 the expenditure under these heads amounted to 92 crores of rupees out of a total net revenue of 170 crores. The figures are aggregates of provincial and central expenditure and are as under :—

	(Rs. in lakhs.)
Military Service	5634
Interest on ordinary Debt (central) ..	1651
Interest on ordinary Debt (provincial)	289
Superior Services in Civil Administration (Central)	786
Superior Services in Civil Administration (provincial)	786
Superior Services in currency and mint (provincial)	3
Territorial and Political Pensions (central)	29
Superannuation Allowances & Pensions (central)	216
Superannuation Allowances & Pensions (provincial)	74
Total	9,208

This means that any reservation of the heads of Defence, Debt and the Services will result in excluding from Indian control (including the provincial and central legislatures) not less than 54 per cent. of the total net Indian revenues. A reservation of these heads will remove from popular control the heads of expenditure most amenable to retrenchment and will make it impossible for the Indian ministers of the future to expand the nation-building departments. The financial reservation then will convert responsible cabinet government into a mockery ; for the ministers, lacking the financial sinews necessary for economic reconstruction, will find themselves more helpless than they are even to-day and the nation's leaders will throw themselves open to the charge of having betrayed the national interests. Unrestricted and unqualified power of the purse, then, is a necessary condition which should accompany any real grant of responsible government.

Even more important than financial autonomy is the need of fiscal autonomy for any effective economic rebuilding of this nation. The popular connotation of fiscal autonomy is identified with the power to impose heavy tariffs, and on that assumption we have been assured that the Premier's announcement grants fiscal freedom to this country. Nothing can be farther from facts when it is remembered that power to impose tariffs is in itself of no avail unless it results in the creation of national industries. Recent tariff history, however, would seem to prove that high tariffs in themselves are not a sufficient condition for the creation of national industries ; and that they may tempt foreign capital to leave its home and crossing the tariff barriers establish itself in this country. The match industry of India is an instance in point. If, therefore, real fiscal autonomy is to be secured to this country, we must not only have the power to impose prohibitive tariffs; we must have the power to levy differential excise duties on the industries owned and managed by foreign concerns. We must also have the power to formulate and enforce nationalist economic legislation such as, for example, the coastal Reservation of Traffic Bill introduced by Mr. S. N. Haji in the last Assembly. If one can judge from the trend of the discussions at the Conference and the resolution moved by Lord Peel claiming equality of treatment between Indians and Europeans, the fiscal autonomy offered by the Premier is confined to the power of regulating our tariffs. We hope that those who will have occasion to consider this

question will not be too ready to barter away an essential condition of economic freedom for the glamour of political concessions.

As important as the two items mentioned above is the necessity for freedom to this country to formulate its own currency and credit policy and organisation. This would imply.

(a) The power to organise our Reserve Bank and to create it with such functions and endow it with such resources as we deem desirable. The creation of a Reserve Bank must follow, rather than be a condition precedent, to the establishment of responsible self-government in this country.

(b) Freedom to reconstruct our currency on a genuine gold basis so as to secure stability in the purchasing power of our monetary unit. This would involve the power to determine the ratio of our rupee to the new gold coin, to convert our paper currency into a currency in terms of gold, and to transfer, if necessary, our Gold Standard Reserve from England to India, so that on the basis of such gold reserves as we may build up we can command credit and capital for our national requirements.

If the Premier's pronouncement is correctly interpreted the reservations it makes about currency and the Foreign Exchanges would seem to be equivalent to a refusal to part with the powers hitherto exclusively exercised by our Rulers.

Another essential condition for the effective economic utilisation of political power is freedom to formulate our loan policy undeterred by considerations other than those of Indian interests. This would mean in practice freedom to raise rupee loans or sterling loans or dollar loans or franc loans at such rates of interest, and on such terms as we choose. The British delegation to the Conference, however, would not give us this right, but would leave in the Viceroy's hands the power to determine the loan policy of the Indian Government. Such a procedure would be inconsistent with India's economic freedom and may favour plans for confining India's loan operations to the London market on conditions favourable to the British investors. We must also have freedom to subject to the Indian Income Tax the interest paid by the Indian Government on its Sterling obligations held by British Citizens in England. The Sterling debt of India exceeds £350 millions and we are losing about a crore of rupees per year by exempting the interest on these securities from Indian taxation. In short, we must have power to determine the amount of loans we shall raise, the interest we shall pay, the period for which the loans shall run and the terms on which they will be repaid.

III.

As important as any of the considerations mentioned above, from the economic point of view, is the freedom to determine our commercial relations with foreign countries. We must have power to enter into trade agreements with foreign countries, and if necessary grant them trade preferences, if it be in India's interests. We must also have power to appoint Trade Consuls and Commissioners at any places we like. Under the terms of the Premier's announcement, however, external relations form a reserved subject in the Viceroy's hands; with the result that we shall be deprived to this extent of the power of moulding our economic destinies.

It is unfortunate at a time like the present, when this country of ours is about to enter on a new life, that prejudice should be created by irresponsible references to the repudiation on the part of India of her foreign debt. The foreign debt of this country is a heritage from the past that includes items like the cost of Wars incurred by the East India Company and the Crown to expand its dominions in India and its influence abroad, and the interest on the guaranteed railways. The desirability of including these items has been often questioned and now that this country is claiming economic freedom it is inevit

able that it should also claim the right to refer these issues about the distribution of the burden of the debts as between Britain and India to an impartial tribunal.

These are the considerations to which we would draw the attention of the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, now that they are asked to pronounce on the value of the proposals made at the Round Table Conference Institutions are instrumental to life: political institutions on a democratic basis may be within our reach as the result of the Round Table deliberations, but unless these political institutions are associated with the power to mould our economic life, and therefore to provide the opportunities in the shape of leisure and freedom that subserve the purposes of the good life, they may give us the shadow of power instead of the substance, and we may awake to find that even that which we had was taken away from us. We have briefly indicated the lines along which our economic demands are to be formulated, if our claim to national existence is to be recognised. It is not for us to say more—if we are instrumental in calling attention to what we consider to be a vital aspect of the present situation, we have done enough. The rest is in the hands of God.

THE FINANCIAL SAFEGUARDS IN THE ROUND TABLE SCHEME.

By SIR COWASJEE JEHANGIR.

FROM the discussions I have had with my friends, it becomes more and more apparent that there is some misunderstanding in the minds of many who take a genuine interest in the political future of our country, giving rise to apprehensions which could be allayed by a correct realisation of the results of the Round Table Conference. It was with this object that the delegates on board the *Viceroy of India* issued a statement immediately on their arrival. Some of the points explained in this statement can now usefully be emphasised and further elucidated. I propose here to touch only upon such points as have been criticised on account of what I consider to be a misapprehension of the real situation, and for this I propose to rely mostly on quotations from the speeches of Lord Reading.

Some paragraphs in the report of the Federal Structure Sub-Committee appear to be vague and liable to varying interpretations. The following is one of these.

'In the sphere of finance, the sub-committee regard it as a fundamental condition of the success of the new constitution that no room should be left for doubts as to the ability of India to maintain her financial stability and credit, both at home and abroad. It would therefore be necessary to reserve to the Governor-General, in regard to budgetary arrangements and borrowing, such essential powers as would enable him to intervene if methods were being pursued which would in his opinion seriously prejudice the credit of India in the money market of the world.'

Lord Reading explained in the committee of the whole Conference what exactly he meant when he suggested this safeguard. The following is a quotation from his speech.

'When you pass the control in respect of internal loans, the point arises on these words ....(the words are quoted above.) Now the whole object of that is not in the slightest degree to interfere with the discretion and judgment of the Finance Minister. What is intended and what we have in mind—certainly

what I had in mind, as a result of considerable amount of discussion with some of the best experts in the country and in relation also to Indian finance—was that it would be necessary to have some such provision when you are making a change, in order that it should not be thought here with regard to the credit of India that internal loans might be raised in such a manner as to prejudice India's credit, which would of course affect her here as it would elsewhere in the world. That is the sole purpose of it.

'With regard to budgetary arrangements there is no intention to interfere with the budget unless it happened that budgetary arrangements were being made which seriously interfered with the financial credit and stability of India in the markets of the world and particularly here. No other safeguard is suggested. I do think there has been a considerable amount of misapprehension. If you look further in the report, you will see that by these limitations the sub-committee do not contemplate any differentiation between the position of the Finance Minister and that of any other Minister responsible to the Legislature. I hope that may allay some of the apprehensions that have been in the minds of a number of members of the sub-committee over which Lord Sankey presided and in the minds of some of the members of this committee.'

I asked Lord Reading as to when and under what conditions and circumstances he thought the Governor-General should have the power to intervene. I am not burdening this statement with what different delegates said and their criticisms of the safeguards which resulted in the explanation I am quoting. Lord Reading said :

'Supposing an internal loan is being raised no question would arise unless it is being raised at a rate which it is thought will interfere with the credit and stability, when it is not necessary, when it is thought it could be raised at a lower rate.....

'I should imagine that once this constitution is in operation, there would be discussions. The Governor-General would be told what it is intended to do, and presumably he would say, supposing he thought a third or fourth loan was being raised at too high a rate, or that it was done with some purpose to bolster up a budget which in point of fact is not being balanced—I do not mean for one year but supposing that there was a condition of things that lead to the borrowing of money year after year for the purpose of balancing the budget instead of raising the revenue as it should be raised in the ordinary course—well then, the result would be that that must affect financial credit and stability.'

The above quotations clearly show that the intention underlying the safeguard is that the Governor-General can interfere only when the credit of the country is seriously prejudiced by deficit budgets which may ultimately depreciate the security of the existing loans and thereby make it impossible for future Governments to raise further loans.

There was no intention to give the Governor-General power to interfere at the time of raising any or every internal loan or to deprive the Finance Minister of any of the powers enjoyed by Ministers in other departments. I would repeat what has been already said in our joint statement. It is intended that the Legislature shall have full control over all questions of taxation, fiscal policy, including tariffs and expenditure on all subjects other than defence and external affairs.

II

The sub-committee have also recommended the establishment of a Reserve Bank as early as may be found possible, and until such a Bank comes into being it is suggested that full control of the currency should not be transferred to the Legislature. There was not much criticism in the committee of the Conference of this provision as no serious doubts were raised as to the practicability of the establishment of the Bank; and most people admit the advisability of the inauguration of a Reserve Bank. Since arriving in Bombay I find the gold reserves of Government are being depleted, which is likely to have a prejudicial effect on the early establishment of the Bank. So far as I know, the provision was accepted on the understanding that the

Bank could be inaugurated even before the new constitution would come into force. The following quotation from Lord Reading further explains the position:—

"If you will bear with me for a moment I should like to refer to the question of the Reserve Bank; as questions have been asked about it, I will at once express my views. Here again the object of making the provision in the report is to preserve the credit and stability of India. I did ask this in the structure sub-committee and I will ask members who are not familiar with what happens in the world of Finance..to bear in mind that you cannot make alterations in exchange until you are in a position to make provision for them; and all that we are seeking is that during the period which must intervene before you set up a Reserve Bank—which in my opinion should be set up as speedily as possible—you should not interfere with exchange..when once you have done that, of course it would be open, as I conceive it, to the Legislature to pass any bill that it chose with regard to the rate of exchange.....

From the above it will be seen that Lord Reading did not have any doubts about the possibility of the inauguration of a Reserve Bank, and that the safeguard was inserted to make certain that a Reserve Bank would be established in India.

There was some discussion in the minorities sub-committee and at the full conference in committee, with regard to the position of the British commercial community resident in India. They demanded trading rights equal to those enjoyed by Indian born subjects. Some delegates argued that this might not be possible in special cases *i. e.*, in some key industries. After private discussion a draft was prepared which was ultimately accepted, the principle being *generally* agreed to. It was also agreed that an appropriate convention, based on reciprocity should be entered into for the purpose of regulating these rights. I would specially draw attention to the word 'generally' which appears not to have been given the weight it deserves. It will also be noticed that these rights will be regulated when the convention is being framed.

The services sub-committee decided by a majority that the recruiting and controlling authority in the future should be the Government of India and the provincial Governments. A minority, which included the Conservative party delegates, were of opinion that the recruiting authority should continue to be the Secretary of State. It was forcibly pointed out that this would cut right across the path of the transfer of power and responsibility at the centre, and would deprive the Central Government of the direct control over the Indian civil and police services, which has been the cause of so much friction and agitation in the past. The existing members of the services are to continue to enjoy the rights and safeguards which they have at present. Statutory Public Services Commissions are to be set up in every province and also for the Central Government, and all recruitment for the public services shall be made through such commissions. In the case of the Indian civil and police services the majority were of opinion that some recruitment of Europeans should continue.

The Franchise sub-committee held that adult suffrage was the ultimate goal but there was some difference of opinion as to how far we could go immediately in this direction. The majority of the sub-committee were of the opinion that 25 per cent. of the total population should be enfranchised. It was decided that a Franchise Commission should be appointed with instructions to evolve a scheme to enfranchise up to 25 per cent. of the population if that should, on a full investigation be found practicable and desirable. It is further provided that the rest of the adult population should be grouped together in primary groups of about 20 or in some other suitable manner for election of one representative member who would be entitled to vote in the provincial elections either in the same constituencies as the directly qualified voters or in separate constituencies to be found for them. It will be noticed that the whole adult population of India will get a direct or indirect vote. I could not bring myself to agree to these recommendations, but did suggest another scheme which I hope to have occasion to deal with in the future.

INDIAN COMMUNAL PROBLEMS.

By DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M. A., Ph. D.

Suggested Solution.

IT is a matter of national humiliation that the delegates to the Round Table Conference and its Minorities Sub-Committee, even under the consummate direction of the Prime Minister, failed to achieve a solution of the Indian communal problems. It was chiefly because these problems were approached and sought to be solved from a purely *communal*, and not from the *national* viewpoint. Each community felt it its duty to push its own claims to their limits. with the result that the differences between communities, instead of being bridged or abridged, became wider and deeper, and the Minorities Committee, instead of achieving concord and conciliation, had to break up in a violent clash of opposed and exaggerated opinions.

This communal problem, apparently laid to earth by the Congress of 1916 at Lucknow, has since travelled from place to place, from Calcutta to Bombay, from Bombay to Simla, and from Simla to Delhi, until it crossed the seas for rest. From London it has now been returned to India for solution. It has been throughout forgotten that the communal problem can yield only to a strictly national point of view.

This view may be embodied in the following propositions:—

(1) Communal Electorate is a negation of democracy and completely incompatible with Responsible Government with a Ministry of persons coming together as belonging to the same *party*, and not as belonging to the same creed.

(2) Communal Electorate or Reserved Representation is neither adequate nor approved means of protection of Minorities.

(3) All Minorities, as citizens and nationals of the same state, should work a *common* electorate with Majorities to build up a genuine Democracy.

(4) Majorities cannot fairly claim reserved representation as a statutory guarantee for their dominant position.

(5) Minorities should not claim protection by weightage of representation secured by reducing the weight of other communities.

(6) Minorities are entitled to full protection but only on the lines settled by the League of Nations as the most impartial tribunal.

It will appear that the Hindus are likely to assent to these six propositions from the cables sent on the subject in January last to the Prime Minister from a representative meeting at the Calcutta Town Hall and also on behalf of the Hindus of U. P., and of Bihar and Orissa, by their accredited leaders, like the Hon. Raja Sir Rampal Singh, and Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Ex-Finance Member of the Bihar Government.

This means.

(*a*) that the Hindus, even where they are Minorities, as in Bengal and the Punjab, will not claim any protection through Communal Electorate or Reserved Representation;

(*b*) that, in these two provinces, they will be prepared, even as Minorities, to work a Common Electorate with Muslim Majorities in the interests of a popular, responsible government;

And (*c*) that they take this position in the expectation that the Muslim majorities in these two provinces will not seek the artificial protection of statutory guarantees for their natural position as Majorities by any kind of reserved representation.

It may be noted that all these six propositions have now received the authoritative approval of no less a person than the Prime

Minister of England who declared it in no uncertain terms in his last speech on the subject of the Round Table Conference at the debate he initiated in the House of Commons. This will be evident from the following quotations from his speech :—

'If every constituency is to be earmarked as to community or interest there will be no room left for the growth of what we consider to be purely political organisations which would comprehend all communities, all creeds, all classes, all conditions of faith. This is one of the problems which has to be faced because, if India is going to develop a robust political life there must be room for National Political parties based upon conceptions of *India's* interest, and not upon conceptions regarding the well-being of any field that is smaller or less comprehensive than the whole of India. Then there is a modified proposal regarding that; a proposal is made that there should not be community constituencies with a communal register, but that there should be a common register in the constituencies; but that with a common register, a certain percentage of representation should be guaranteed to certain communities. It is the first proposal in a somewhat more attractive, democratic form, but still essentially the same.·····

'It is very difficult to convince these very dear delightful people (advocates of communal representation) that if you give one community weightage, you cannot create weightage out of nothing. You have to take it from somebody else. When they discover that, they become confused, indeed, and find that they are up against a brick wall.'

The position, indeed, could not be stated better and more forcefully by a nationalist Indian than by the British Premier, because it is the only position which is compatible with Nationalism and Democracy. What adds special weight to the Premier's conclusions is that they embody not his casual remarks in an after dinner speech but his well-considered and deliberate judgment based on his first hand experience of the issues he had himself handled, and failed to settle, as Chairman of the Minorities Sub-Committee of the Round Table Conference, and delivered in his official capacity as Prime Minister to the House of Commons, to rank as a state document of the highest authority.

But Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, as the spokesman of his Majesty's Government, spoke there also as the mouthpiece of the House of Commons which endorsed his views in that debate. Nay, he spoke as the mouthpiece of British opinion in and outside the House of Commons. That well known publicist, Mr. H.N. Brailsford, one of the best brains in British Journalism, has recently written in the same strain, for instance, to the *Nation* and *the Athenaeum* from his first hand study of the communal problems in India. He writes (January 10, 1931) :

'The advance will be perilous and unhappy unless the new constitution brings with it the reality with the forms of democracy.

'On one condition there ought to be no hesitation, Parliamentary institutions cannot function on the basis of separate communal electorates. While these remain, no stable parties can be formed, nor can the electorate be trained to vote on the social and economic issues which clamour for constitutional handling. If the Muslim diehards veto any voluntary settlement with the Hindus, the British Government must be prepared to dictate. That way out of the *impasse* even the Muslims in their hearts might welcome. So much, in a talk which I had at Delhi, their ablest leader confessed. Back and forward we had argued when at last he startled me by blurting out: "A Government should govern. You all believe in a single electorate. Why don't you impose it?

'With this one change, the possibility of genuine democratic government would begin for India. Parties would be driven to seek support for programmes, where to-day it suffices to appeal to religious prejudices.'

These views are, indeed, typical of entire British political thought. More than a hundred years ago Edmund Burke sounded the first note of warning in his own inimitable language.

'Parliament is not a Congress of Ambassdors from different and hostile interests, which interests each must maintain as an agent and advocate against other agents and advocates, but Parliament is a deliberative assembly of *one* Nation with *one* interest, that of the whole; where not local purposes, not local prejudices, ought to guide but the general good resulting from the general reason of the whole'. (From Bristol Speeches.)

A well-known judgment of the Privy Council delivered by Lord Shaw (Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants vs. Osborne, L.R. 1910, A.C. 87) quoting the above words of Burke, has gone so far as to hold that the principles of community representation can find no place in the body of English public law.

II

And yet English opinion is up against what is a very mild form of the evil. The evil has assumed its most dangerous form and proportions in India, where different communities and Minorities are out to claim that the Legislature is to represent not *regions* but *religions*, not areas or interests, but castes and creeds, by a strange electoral system based on the grouping of voters by religion in separate communal electorate.

The system is so strange and impenetrable to the western mind with its democratic outlook that the Prime Minister was hard put to it in making it intelligible to the House of Commons at the recent debate. He said :—

'It is a very curious problem, and if hon. members who are interested in these constitutional and political points care to read carefully, the Minorities Committee's Report, I promise them one of the most fascinatingly interesting studies which they have undertaken.....

'You build up a Legislature, as this is built up, by constituencies. Voting in constituencies is not to take place and cannot at the moment take place in the way that voting in our constituencies takes place, where you might have an aristocrat as one candidate and a working man as another. You would have your constituencies divided up into sections with a certain number of working class constituencies where no body but working men could run as candidates, a certain number of, say, Church of England constituencies where no body but communicating members of the Church of England could run, until you filled up the hundred per cent. of your constituencies in this way. Then, *before* any election took place it would be perfectly *certain* that Church of England people would have, say, 15 per cent. of the seats here, working class, say, 25 per cent., and so on.....

'Another problem that faces us from that point of view is, if your legislature is to be composed in these watertight compartments, these community-tight compartments, whom are you going to appoint your Executive ? The claim is put that the Executive, *i. e.*, the Administration, the Cabinet, shall also be divided into watertight compartments.'

Is not such a system the very negation of democracy or responsible Government which the British Government are pledged to grant to India ? If, for instance, the Moslem communal claims are conceded in Bengal and the Punjab and statutory standing Moslem majorities are established in the Legislature of these two provinces, the Ministry that must be formed out of such a majority will not be responsible to the whole House but only to a particular section of it, thus transforming Responsible Government into Communal Government, and the Legislature into a Parliament of Religions, a mere mechanical collection of fixed communal *blocks* in place of *parties* forming, growing, and changing on the basis of live and current national issues, social, economic, and the like.

Besides destroying the democratic character of the Legislature, communalism also affects Administration in ways which are thus graphically described by Mr. Brailsford in his article referred to :—

'The absorbing concern of each communal party is to secure for its own co-religionists as high a proportion as possible of jobs, large and small, ranging from Ministerial Portfolios down to the humblest

appointments in the Customs, the Police, the Post Office or the Railway. Where entry is by examination, the struggle is transferred to the schools and colleges ; and Moslems who are in the mass rather poorer and much worse educated than Hindus, will fight to secure the reservation of a fixed percentage of places, irrespective of merit, in every Governmental Training College. Not only must there be a Moslem member in every Ministry ; one-third of the students in a Veterinary college must look to Mecca for salvation.'

(And yet a meeting recently held at Delhi of the Working Committee of the All-India Moslem Conference had the hardihood to condemn the speech of the Prime Minister as unfair and offensive.)

III

To disallow communal electorate and representation is not to disallow protection of Minorities. On this subject, the position already taken by many Nationalist Indians is that nothing better can be done than to follow the scheme of the League of Nations produced by the collective wisdom and statesmanship of the leading Nations of the world to inaugurate the New Order of Peace. This scheme is embodied in standardised settlements called the Minorities Guarantee Treaties which the League has now forced upon more than 20 different states of Europe including Turkey as condition of admission of each state to its membership. Each of these states is thus one party to the transaction and the other party is the League represented by its original members, each of whom is a signatory to it. Among these original members are both India and his Majesty's Government who have thus already signed and bound themselves by hat settlement so far as it concerns other sovereign states. The question is, why should they not apply it to themselves ? How can India be denied the justice and benefits of a settlement which she has herself approved and enforced for other countries ? Nay, more: the League has laid down the international law that questions concerning Minorities are to be treated as matters of international concern and not the domestic concern of a particular state.

India has suffered most by her isolation from world politics. Even her membership of the League is not allowed to fully operate as a remedy. It is sought to be made out that Indian Minorities are strange creatures, very different from the Minorities of Europe, as if Indians form a separate species of mankind ! On the contrary, the problem of Minorities is a more burning problem in Europe, where it led to the conflagration of the Great War, and remained a standing block to peace, in all its conceivable complications, difficulties, and diverse features, until it was taken over and satisfactorily solved by the League of Nations. There is no possible aspect of any Minority, Indian or European, which is not covered by that comprehensive solution. The principal features of that solution may be summarised as follows :—

The scheme of the League of Nations begins by first defining a Minority. In India it is left undefined. The result is a multiplicity of Minorities and a race for privileges. In India Tom, Dick and Harry can get up one fine morning, form themselves into an Association, and proclaim :—' We are a Minority : give us special treatment '. The League does not permit Minorities to spring up in this way. There must be very grave and good reasons for which a group of citizens and nationals of the same state can claim any kind of separation and differentiation from the rest. The League lays down the following conditions for a legal and politically recognisable Minority and provisions for its protection :—

(*a*) That it must form ' a considerable proportion of the population ' which must not fall below the irreducible numerical limit of 20 per cent. of the total population of the country concerned. It is to be noted that this limit applies only for the state or country as a whole. For its local areas, it is higher. Special treatment is not economically and administratively feasible for microscopic minorities. The Estonian Republic requires a Minority so to distribute itself that it can appear as a majority in local areas to claim special treatment.

(*b*) That, where a Minority comes up to the prescribed standard of density in its popu-

lation, it must satisfy the further condition that it differs from the rest of the citizens in such fundamental features as (1) Race (2) Religion and (3) Language, and not in any accidental, assumed or artificial features of its own creation.

The only legal Minorities which the League thus recognises are Linguistic, Racial, and Religions Minorities. The League rules out Minorities formed on any other principles or interests, political, social, economic. The principle of differentiation for a group must be limited to Language, Race and Religion that it may call itself a Minority. Groups forming on other principles are to be distinguished as *parties* which should not be confounded with Minorities. It is also clear that the condition (*a*) which requires a Minority to form 'a considerable proportion of the population' necessarily follows from (*b*) which requires the Minority to differ from the rest of the population in only three respects and no other, viz., Race, Religion and Language. A group of citizens must be sufficiently large in size to form a separate race by itself and develop its own language and religion.

(*c*) That for a minority legally eligible for protection under conditions (*a*) and (*b*) aforesaid the protection legally permissible must be confined to the three aspects or bases recognised for a Minority, viz., Race, Religion and Language That is to say, a Minority can claim that it must have its racial features and characteristics protected by the state, its particular social customs and personal law expressing its racial individuality ; that it must have full liberty to pursue, preserve, and promote its own religion (where it does not offend against public morals and conscience) ; and that it must be allowed to cultivate and promote its own language by its own resources through its own schools and other organisations. Denominational schools may be granted state-aid provided the number of pupils forthcoming for such schools comes up to the limit prescribed in the League's scheme, viz., 40 for a primary and 300 for a secondary school.

(*d*) That besides the three kinds of protection, the Linguistic, Racial and Religious protection of Minorities, no other kinds or means of protection are permitted to Minorities.

(*e*) That the following measures for the protection of Minorities are ruled out by the League of Nations viz:—

(1) Communal electorates, *i.e.*, grouping of voters by religion.

(2) Communal Representation in the Legislature, *i.e.*, creating religious groups or blocks in the Legislature.

(3) Reservation of seats in the Legislature to different religions.

(4) Common electorate coupled with reservation of seats for each religion.

(*f*) That the threefold protection of Minorities, Linguistic, Racial and Religious, is to be secured by statutory safeguards, but in all other matters and interests different groups must enter the Legislature by a common electorate, dropping their respective religious or communal labels, and form themselves into parties to promote secular welfare on the basis of their special party programmes.

A study of these and other provisions of the Minorities Guarantee Treaties set up by the League of Nations will show that 'it was not certainly their intention.' (in the words of Sir Austen Chamberlain speaking at the League Council on Dec. 9, 1925), 'to establish in the midst of a nation a community which would remain permanently estranged from national life but to secure for Minorities that measure of protection and justice which would gradually prepare them to be merged in the national community to which they belonged.' The French representative who followed also said that they must avoid 'creating within a state a group of inhabitants who would regard themselves as permanently foreign' to the general organisation of the country.' The Polish representative uttered the same warning : 'We must avoid creating a state within a state. We must prevent the Minority from transforming itself into a privileged caste and taking definite form as a foreign group, instead of being fused in the society in which it lives. If we take the exaggerated conception of the autonomy of Minorities to the last

extreme, these Minorities will become a disruptive element in the state and a source of national disorganisation.'

It will thus be seen that, in pursuance of these principles, provisio s for protection of Minorities in the League'ns scheme were so framed as to remove all possible disabilities, chances of injustice, or inequality of treatment due to differences of Race, Religion or Language, and *not* to build up any structure of positive privileges which might emphasise and perpetuate the aloofness of a Minority and lead to its progressive consolidation as a permanently alien group in the state. This will be clear from the following sample Provisions taken from the Lausanne Treaty with Turkey of 1923 which was also signed by India and England and other original members of the League :

'Differences of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance, admission to public employments, functions, and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

'Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem Minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslems.

'In Particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage, and control *at their own expense* any chritable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religions therein.

'All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals.

'The Turkish Government undertakes to take, as regards non-Moslem Minorities, in so far as concerns their family law or personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs of those Minorities.'

It may be observed that, even this last month of February, 1931, the British Government, as the Mandatory Power in Palestine, has settled on the aforesaid lines of the League scheme the bitter dispute that recently broke out between the Jews and Arabs of Palestine regarding 'safeguards for their civil and religious rights.' The Prime Minister's last letter on the subject states that 'these words indicate that in respect of civil and religious rights the mandatory is not to discriminate between persons on grounds of religion or race and that this protective provision applies equally to Jews, Arabs and all sections of the population.'

It is to be hoped that the safeguards for Indian Minorities in the coming constitution will also be framed on these lines given effect to in this the latest decision of his Majest'y Government for Palestine, 'guaranteeing to Minorities,' in the words of M. Briand, 'their language, their culture, their religion, and their tradition,' in a word, 'freedom of national-cultural development' or 'cultural autonomy.'

IV

We may now in conclusion sum up the applications of the scheme of the League of Nations concerning Minorities to India in the form of the following propositions :—

(*a*) The Minority problem is not a Moslem problem but a Hindu problem in India. The Moslems in the different provinces of India are either in a majority or are in a hopeless minority below the numerical limit fixed by the League; for example, about 6 per cent. in Madras, 10 per cent. in Bihar and Orissa, 4 per cent. in C. P., 14 per cent. in U. P. and 19 per cent. in Bombay. Hindus are in the majority in all the provinces except Bengal and Punjab where, however, they are in a Minority which forms 'a considerable proportion of the population', as required by the League, more than 45 per cent. of the population, which is much higher than the minimum percentage fixed by the League for a Minority.

The Minority problem is a Moslem problem where the whole of India is concerned, of which the Moslems form about a fourth of the population, and thus satisfy the numerical test imposed by the League.

(*b*) The Hindu Minorities of Bengal and Punjab are not entitled to any special electorate or any reserved number of seats in the Legislature. They are entitled only to the kind of protection, Linguistic, Racial, or Religious, which the League permits.

(*c*) Thus the Hindu Minorities of both Bengal and Punjab must be prepared to work a common electorate with Muslim Majorities in those provinces without any reserved representation for themselves in the Legislatures or statutory guarantees as to the number of seats they must obtain in the Legislature through the avenue of the common electorate.

(*d*) The Hindu Minorities in the two provinces aforesaid are however entitled to the full protection of their language, their religion and their racial characteristics, their social customs and personal law. They can even claim denominational schools out of public funds if they can produce sufficient number of pupils to take advantage of them, 40 in the case of Primary schools and 300 for secondary schools.

(*e*) If in any local area within the province a Muslim Minority appears to be numerically larger than 20 per cent. of its population, it will be entitled to all the three kinds of protection, Linguistic, Racial, and Religious, on the lines indicated above.

(*f*) Similarly, if the Sikhs who form only about 11 per cent. of the population of the Punjab, and thus fail recognition as a legal Minority, form more than 20 per cent. in certain local areas, there they will be entitled to full protection as indicated above and to denominational schools for purposes of the training of their children in their mother tongue and religion from public funds.

The Sikh position has been made clear by the patriotic declaration of the Sikh representative to the Round Table Conference, Sardar Ujjal Singh, at its last plenary sitting to the effect that the Sikhs will withdraw their demands for separate electorate or any reserved or weighted representation if the whole of the Punjab is thrown open equally to all creeds and communities for building up a genuine democracy on the basis of a common electorate, or constituencies representing only localities or special interests.

It is to be hoped that the whole of India, irrespective of creed or community, will declare itself with one voice against communal electorate or representation which is the very negation of democracy and is entirely incompatible with, and completely contradictory to, any form of popular, responsible Government, or Dominion constitution, which British policy stands pledged to grant to India.

Will not the different communities and minorities of India, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Parsis, Anglo-Indians, and Depressed Classes rise to the height of the occasion, and, placing country before community and creed, achieve for their common motherland a sound, stable, and strong democracy comprehending in a common citizenship and nationhood her many races and communities or will they, against the law and constitution of every civilized country in the world, carry their communal differences beyond their legitimate sphere to legislature and administration to split them up into sections and thus permanently disfigure and disable the entire body-politic?

ZUBAIDA :

THE CONSORT OF CALIPH HAROON.

By Mr. A. Hameed Hasan, B. A., LL.B. (Alig.)

I

I am one of those who wish to " revolutionise the teaching of History to socialise it, to rationalise it, to strip it of Romance and drape it with the sack-cloth of Reality" Unfortunately Legend and Romance have interwoven the lives of several heroes and heroines of Islam. I am writing these short stories for the intelligent but not for the intelligentia. I make no claim to profundity of scholarship : I fully realise my own limitations. The pen pictures of the heroines of Islam, which I intend to contribute one after another, are written solely with the purpose of affording a certain measure of entertainment to those persons who are interested in the historic drama of the past.

II

Caliph Haroon-ur-Rashid is the hero of the *Arabian Nights*. His name is familiar to the East and the West alike. The stories in the *Arabian Nights* are imaginary and legendary, but even so both Haroon and his Consort Zubaida have suffered a great deal in reputation owing to these tales. Empress Zubaida, as depicted in the *Arabian Nights*, is altogether different from the real and historical Zubaida. This is an attempt to present a pen-picture of the real Zubaida whose name is a household word in Arabia and in the Muslim world. Like the tales of the famous *Arabian Nights* wherein Haroon-ur-Rashid is the hero, his consort Sultana Zubaida alleged to be at once fearful and relentless is the villain. Her alleged responsibility for the assassination of Jafer Baramaci has unfortunately secured for her a permanent position among the great villains in history. But it is true that nearly all these villains in history had their wickedness falsely exaggerated and Zubaida was no exception. I have striven earnestly to be fair and impartial. Zubaida as she lived was not so black as her critics have painted her. The poet Sadi of Shiraz has immortalised her in a couplet:—" Na misle-Zubaid ast har bewa-e" or in other words "every widow can ot be a Zubaida." She has gained a unique place in the history of Muslim womanhood owing to her piety and charitable acts. Zubaida's original name was Ammatul Aziz. Her father was an uncle of Caliph Haroon-ur-Rashid. As a child she was very pretty though burly and stout. Her paternal grandfather, Caliph-Mansoor, used to make her dance on his hands and often used to say "Thou art Zubaida, Zubaida". 'Zubaida' in Arabic means the machine which is revolved to separate butter from the milk. Thus the Caliph gave her that pet name, and she has become famous in history by that name. It was for the first time in the history of Islam that that name was used by the Arabs for an Arab girl, but it has become so popular that it is now a common name. It is not exactly known when she was actually born but her marriage with Haroon took place in 165 Hijri when he was a young prince This marriage proved highly auspicious to Haroon as it brought triumph after triumph in its train. His father Caliph Mehdi, was so pleased with Haroon's achievements that he made him his heir apparent in place of his eldest son Hadi. Haroon had a number of palaces for his queens and slave girls, but Zubaida was his regal consort. Her will dominated the

Haram. If the Caliph listened to any person's advice, it was Zubaida who influenced him considerably. History records that a few queen-consorts have ruled their husbands' countries, and a few have ruled their husbands. But the majority have done neither. Zubaida not only ruled her husband but dominated his Court.

III

The alleged romantic wedding of Caliph Haroon-ur-Rashid's favourite and affectionate sister Abbasa, with his Persian Minister, Jafer, who was his constant companion, and their alleged assassination at the instance of the Caliph are nothing but legendary and are historically false. This story is one of the narratives designed and planned by the authors of the *Arabian Nights*. The Arab historians do not believe this incident. The assassination of Jafer was on political grounds as explained by the learned translator of Misbah. He states authoritatively that Jafer was never wedded to Abbasa, sister of Caliph Haroon. It is true that Haroon loved Jafer immensely. It is true that he loved his sister, Abbasa, also intensely. He loved her as much as he did Jafer. He could hardly endure to have either of them out of his sight, though the rigid Muslim convention compelled the princess to leave the royal chamber on Jafer entering therein. It is alleged that he, therefore, decided to unite them in matrimonial alliance so that they could legally and religiously meet each other and he could enjoy their society without violating the laws of his religion and the religious etiquette. But there was one great obstacle in the way. It was impossible for the pure blood of the Imperial Family, which traced its descent direct from the Prophet, to become tainted by admixture with the Persian strain, however noble. Jafer was a Persian. Haroon hit upon a strategic plan. He made Jafer and Abbasa to understand that their marriage was only intended to make it possible for them both to appear before the Caliph at the same time and they accordingly swore solemnly at the time of their wedding that they would remain man and wife in name only, that they would never meet except in the Caliph's presence. In other words it was a 'companionate marriage' without any conjugal duties on either side. Jafer honourably fulfilled his part of the said marriage contract. Although he met his wife constantly in the Caliph's presence, he never ventured to look at her face or to talk to her. He scrupulously avoided taking any notice of her. But his wife, Abbasa, was a woman after all. She was young and accomplished, fair and attractive and Jafer too was very handsome and a well-built strong man. She had true feminine vanity and wanted to win the heart of her formal husband. From the very commencement of her marriage contract she actually fell in love with him and his handsome face and his charming and witty conversations won her heart. But Jafer was manly and honourable and never looked at her or encouraged her by any action his part. It infatuated her still further. She now made up her mind to brave even her brother's displeasure, if necessary, and to have access to him in his bedroom by fair means or foul. By a judicious mixture of bribes and threats she secured the active support of Jafer's mother in her nefarious plan. One night, through her instrumentality, she entered his mansion disguised as a Persian slave girl and after midnight she was introduced to Jafer with all the blandishments she could command. Youth was then ran riot and these two, intoxicated with wine and sexual desire consummated their marraige, though Jafer did not know the identity of his wife. When he woke up next morning and recovered from the effects of the wine which had been freely administered to him he found Abbasa lying in his arms with her bewitching beauty enhanced, happy and contented by her nuptials on the preceding night. He immediately recognized her and jumped from his bed and out of her arms. He bitterly reproached her for having played the trick on him and for having ruined them both as they must now be ready forthwith to go to meet the anger of the Caliph. But she was equal to the task. She infatuat-

ed him again with her bewitching face and sweet reasoning. They, thereafter, often met secretly and two sons were born to her in wedlock. These two children were smuggled out of the City of Baghdad and sent to Mecca where they were properly educated. Haroon remained unacquainted with their doings. The ladies of the Haram if they knew this incident, held their tongues. But Jafer had reckoned without the jealous and powerful Zubaida. Powerful favourite as Jafer was of the Caliph's Court, he had scores of bitter enemies who tried to poison the Caliph's ears against him. Jafer's love of pomp and the ever increasing splendour of his family excited the envy of the Caliph himself. It was universally believed that Jafer's wealth equalled that of his master. Anonymous letters began to pour to the Caliph against Jafer and he one day consulted his wife, Zubaida, about these allegations and complaints. Zubaida then dinned into his ears : " Master of the Faithful, you and the Barmecides are like drunken men drowning in sea. If, however, you have recovered from your drunkeness, and escaped the drowning, I will tell you something much harder for you to bear than what you have heard. But if you are still infatuated with the Barmecides, as ever, I will not open my mouth ". He immediately commanded her to explain what she meant. Zubaida then told him how Jafer had betrayed his wedding covenant. She ridiculed the idea of the so-called 'companionate marriage' which had actually resulted in the consumation of nuptials and even children. Caliph's anger knew no bounds. He went to his private apartments to think out a suitable form of punishment. That night with Masroor, his faithful servant, and ten workmen, he entered his sister's apartment and condemned her to death. She was killed in cold blood and buried beneath the floor of her own room. Next morning Jafer was greeted cordially as usual and in the evening he was enticed away from his bodyguard and conducted by Masroor to a special tent where his head was struck off inspite of all the bribes with which Jafer tried to tempt Masroor. This is the romance which must fascinate the readers but it is nothing but a romance. The incidents referred to in this tragic drama never actually happened. It is devoid of any reality or historical truth. It is true that Jafer was assassinated at the instance of the Caliph, but his assassination was altogether on political grounds. Full particulars relating to the assassination of Jafer will be found in Misbah who quotes Arab historians in support of his contention.

IV

Abu Nawaz was the famous wit and humourist in the service of the Caliph Haroon-ur-Rashid. Although his position in the Caliph's Court was not akin to that of Birbal and Mullah Dupiaza in the Court of Akbar at Agra, Abu Nawaz was very popular at the royal court, and in the Harem. One day he found the Caliph very sad and gloomy in his Palace. Failing to cheer him up he suggested to the Caliph to amuse himself with the young and beautiful damsels of Georgia, Hijaz, Iraq and Palestine who were in his Harem. When he left the presence of his royal master, Zubaida came into that chamber and asked her husband to tell her what the humourist had been saying. The Caliph narrated the suggestions of the humourist which enraged Zubaida against Abu Nawaz. That same night she despatched a number of her slaves to his house who gave him a good thrashing. In fact he would have been beaten to death but for his wife who begged the slaves to spare his life. The humourist made himself scarce for a number of weeks from the Durbar but one night Masroor came to fetch him. When he came to the Caliph's Court he found a curtain hanging on one door which was partially opened and his instinct immediately made him understand that it was Zubaida who was seated in that room. The Caliph asked him to repeat what he had told him some time ago about the advisability of amusing himself with the young and charming damsels. The humourist stopped the Caliph short and said that he was speaking to him on that day about the inadvisability of having more

than one wife. He desired the Caliph to be content with his Consort, Queen Zubaida, who was the best flower in his garden and was a worthy companion and comrade. He dissuaded him from thinking of other damsels in preference to his most beautiful wife. This enraged the Caliph and he commanded him to tell the truth, otherwise he would be immediately beheaded. Just at that time laughter burst out in the front room and a sweet voice said. " O' Abu Nawaz ! You are speaking the truth. You would have not given him a different admonition than what you have to-day. The Caliph's mind seems to be depressed". He was surprised to find that night those very slaves of Zubaida came to honour him with robes of honour and other valuable presents.

V

When Zubaida performed the pilgrimage of Mecca for the first time when a widow during the Caliphate of her step-son Haroon-ur-Rashid, she found the route from Baghdad to Mecca unsafe and devoid of satisfactory arrangement for water for drinking purposes. After her visit to Mecca where she stayed for a number of years she was responsible for two famous canals dug in her time at Mecca and Madina which have come to be known after her. Water is a valuable commodity in the deserts of Arabia, and water in the Peninsula of Arabia is very valuable and auspicious. It is said that Zubaida's canal at Madina was brought from the River Tigris. This may appear as legendary but it is true that her two canals are the wonders of Arabia. Before these two canals water used to be sold at Mecca for one good Dinar to satisfy the thirst of one man. It is her canal which supplies abundantly the pilgrims to Mecca with water. This canal was dug out of mountains, hills and sandy places 1200 years ago, and it is still serving the needs of the City. It is a well-known narration of her labour of love that for digging this canal and also for the garden in which she was interested, she spent money like water and paid her workmen most liberally. She had wells dug on the route from Baghdad to Mecca and erected several resting places. It was for the first time in the history of Arabia that she introduced gold and silver plates and crockery at the royal banquets and feasts. Even during her widowhood her bodyguard of women slaves was a well-known feature of her life at Baghdad as well as Mecca. She died at Baghdad in 260 Hijri happy and contented with her widowed life. Although she was highly grieved on the death of her beloved son, Amin, she never complained for a single day about her step-son, Mamoon-ur Rashid. Mamoon loved and honoured her more than his own real mother. When Mamoon's marriage took place in 210 Hijri, Zubaidn shared with her co-wife, mother of Mamoon, the responsibility of all the arrangements made for his wedding. During her widowhood to assuage her sorrow for Amin she occupied herself in mastering the science of Islamic service and the efficacy of Islamic philanthropy. Her name has been immortalised by her canals at Mecca and Medina and she will always appeal to Muslims as a virtuous and philanthropic Muslim lady.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE OF INDIAN STATES*

By DIWAN BAHADUR M. RAMCHANDAR RAO.

NOW that a Federal Constitution for the whole of India, including the Indian States, is under consideration, I should like to invite the attention of the members of the Conference to a question of supreme importance to the people of the States. It has been assumed that the rulers of the Indian States, who are now members of the Round Table Conference and their Ministers, represent the views of the people of the States and that there is an identity of interest, between the people of the States and their rulers in regard to the problems now occupying the attention of the Conference. It is unnecessary to discuss in any detail whether this position is sound, though there are many considerations which might lead one to an opposite conclusion. In framing a new Constitution, the interests of the people of the States in some of the matters now under discussion are likely to be overlooked on this theory of identity of interests between the Rulers and their people. On the other hand, some of the rulers of the States have themselves admitted that the expression "the State" does not mean the ruler alone. For example, his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner publicly stated in his Legislative Council two years ago that the term "State" includes not the Ruler alone, but that "the Ruler, his Government and his subjects are all component parts of, and all go to comprise, a State." He amplified the same idea by saying "that if the independence of a State goes, the subjects of that State forthwith lose their integrity and individuality. If the State gains fiscally, it is not only the Princes, the Governments and subjects of the State gain most. If the State loses in such matters, such loss is shared by the State with the Princes and the Government."

In these circumstances, can it be seriously contended that the people of the States have no stake or should have no voice in effecting a change in the existing relations between the States and the paramount power or in the evolution of a new Constitutional tie between British India and Indian States based on the federal principle? In this connection, attention is invited to the memorandum of the Indian States People's Conference submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission, where it was contended that the integrity and independence of the States is as much the concern of the people as of the Princes, and that any change in the existing relations between the States and the Paramount Power should not be effected without their consent. The States are not at present British territory, and their subjects are not British subjects in India. The subjects of Indian States are treated in British India as "foreigners" for certain purposes, and they have sometimes been deported from British India to the States under the powers conferred on the Government under certain existing enactments. Similarly, the Indian States authorities have expelled British Indian subjects from their States and the latter have no remedy. The people of Indian States are subject to the law of naturalisation in British India, though I am not aware of a corresponding law in any Indian State in regard to British Indian subjects. A federal Constitution for the whole of India must materially affect the status and position of the people of the Indian States. What

* This memorandum relating to the fundamental rights of the people of Indian States in the future All-India Federation was circulated by Diwan Bahadur M. Ramchandra Rao, the first president of the Indian States' People's Conference, among the members of the Round Table Conference in London.

will be their future rights and obligations to their own States and to the new Government of a Federated India ? The terms on which this double allegiance is to be imposed must receive careful consideration. It is, therefore, unfortunate that the people of the States have not been afforded suitable opportunities for expressing their own views on the subjects dealt with in the Conference, and it is to be hoped that at least at subsequent stages some attempt will be made to ascertain their views in regard to the new constitutional arrangements now contemplated.

Before dealing with the rights and obligations of the people of the Indian States in the future Constitution, it is perhaps necessary to briefly state the present position. The expression "Indian State" does not connote any particular form of government. The authors of the report on Constitutional Reforms have summarised the present position in the following words :—

"They are in all stages of development, patriarchal, feudal, or more advanced, while in a few States are found the beginnings of representative institutions. The characteristic features of all of them, however, including the most advanced, are the personal rule of the prince and his control over legislation and the administration of justice."

So long as this characteristic feature of personal rule does not undergo a material change, the expression "Indian State" must be taken to mean the individual ruling prince of the State concerned and has no reference to the nature of the administration of the State. The most characteristic feature of the States is the absence of the rule of law. This is admitted. At the meeting of the Chamber of Princes held in February, 1928, the Chamber adopted a resolution in favour of the introduction of the rule of law in the States, and at a subsequent meeting, held in Bombay in April, 1928, the Princes re-affirmed "their abiding determination as recorded in the last session of the Chamber of Princes to ensure the rule of law in their States and to promote the welfare and good government of their subjects." It is unnecessary to dilate at any length on the bundle of rights, privileges, and obligations summed up under these compendious words "Rule of law" which is admittedly absent from the States. At present there is no liberty of person in the States, and if a person is put in prison, there is no remedy by way of a writ of *habeas corpus* against the officers detaining the person concerned in prison. Two years ago, his Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner publicly stated that he has been considering the question of extending the principle of *habeas corpus* in the Judicial administration of his State. There is no security of property. The State, in its corporate capacity, cannot be sued in the municipal courts of most of the States. The rights of association and public meeting do not exist in almost all the States. Many of the Conferences of the people of the States are held outside the States on account of the restrictions placed on the holdings of public meetings. There are very few newspapers in the States. The Press in all countries is one of the great instruments of good Government ; it does not exist in most of the States, and where a few newspapers exist, the most stringent Press regulations have been enacted, with the result that criticism of the measures of Government in the Indian States is almost impossible.

I have so far referred to the broad features of the present system of government in the Indian States, not in any spirit of hostility to the States or with a view to casting any reflections on any individual prince or the Prince's order, but solely with the purpose of drawing attention to one of the most important features of a Federal Constitution, namely equality of citizenship rights to the people of the federating States. So far as the people of British India are concerned, they have demanded for some years that the basic principle of the new Constitution must be a declaration of fundamental rights and that those rights must be guaranteed in a manner which will not permit their withdrawal under any

circumstances. It is not necessary to set out here fully the historical and political aspects of this question and the grounds on which this demand for constitutional guarantees has been put forward. Political India is unanimous on the matter.

The Nehru Committee appointed by the All Parties Conference has discussed this subject at length in Chapter VI of their Report. They are of opinion that such a declaration of fundamental rights should be one of the important features of the new Constitution, and that safeguards and guarantees contained in such a declaration are necessary to create and establish a sense of security among those in India who look upon each other with distrust and suspicion. Every school of political thought in British India has advocated for some years that with a view to secure the full enjoyment of political, religious and communal equality, a declaration of rights should be embodied in the new Constitution. The Government of India have referred to this matter in paragraph 50 of their despatch, and have pointed out that " the minority communities attach great importance " to this matter. They have not been able to express any considered opinion on the subject, but certain difficulties have been pointed out, and the opinion is expressed that the Conference will probably deal with the whole subject.

If a declaration of fundamental rights is necessary in the case of British India, it is even more necessary for safeguarding the rights and liberties of the people of Indian States, where the rule of law has not been as yet established. It is also obvious that such a declaration of rights cannot be enacted only for British India but that it must apply as well to the Indian States joining the Federation.

I do not wish to refer to the detailed provisions to be included in such a declaration of rights. They are set out under 19 heads in the Nehru Report (page 101). These may form the basis of discussion and they will be equally applicable to the people of the Indian States. It may be that they may have to be modified in some particulars, but they come under one or other of the following heads :—

(1) Inviolability of person and property.

(2) Freedom of religion and conscience.

(3) Right of public meeting and association.

(4) Equality of all citizens before the law.

(5) Right of the citizens to have a writ of *habeas corpus* and trial according to law.

(6) Right of the citizens to public employment and the exercise of any trade or calling, irrespective of religion, caste or creed.

(7) Freedom of combination and association of all citizens for the maintenance and improvement of economic conditions.

(8) Right to bear arms to all citizens.

(9) Right of all citizens to receive free elementary education.

(10) Equal rights to men and women as citizens.

(11) Equal rights of access to all citizens to the use of public wells, public roads and to all other places of public resort.

Attention is also invited to the analogous provisions in some of the older Federal Constitutions like the United States of America and Switzerland, and Germany; and also to the fundamental Constitutional law of New Germany. The Constitutional law relating to some of the new governments in Eastern and Central Europe also contain many provisions relating to the fundamental law of citizenship. The Polish Constitution lays down that fidelity to the republic is one of the foremost duties of Polish citizens. Poland guarantees to all its citizens full protection of life, liberty and property without distinction of extraction, nationality, language, race or religion. "Equality of citizens before the law is among the most cardinal of the rights accorded them under the Polish constitu-

tion. All have access on equal terms to public office, and no distinctions of birth or estate are recognized. Hence titles, as they are retained in republican Poland, have no more significance than in republican Germany or republican France. Freedom of the person, of domicile, of migration and emigration, of choice of location and vocation ; freedom of speech, petition, association and union; freedom of religion and conscience and secrecy of correspondence, are all guaranteed within legal limits. Particular attention is paid to the right of *habeas corpus* and to immunity from search without warrant, sundry safeguards are placed about the citizen to prevent him from being denied access to legal justice. No censorship of the press is permitted, and daily papers and other publications printed in Poland may not be debarred from the mails or denied the right of free circulation throughout the country. There is also a constitutional guarantee of freedom to publish any results of learned investigation and research. Thus the guarantees of individual freedom seem particularly broad; their actual enforcement through the Polish judiciary will, without doubt, raise some difficulties and be apt to define in a more detailed manner the extent and limitations of such rights. In general, however, it may be said that the Polish constitution establishes individual rights in a very far-reaching manner, going further in some respects than any other contemporary constitution." The fundamental rights of Esthonian citizens are set out in the constitutional law of the Esthonian republic. It is declared that all Esthonians are equal before law. The usual legal rights of citizens to inviolability of person and domicile, to trial by no courts other than those designated by law, the grant of right of *habeas corpus* are clearly provided. Freedom of religion and conscience are also provided. The provisions of some of the other modern constitutions may also be referred to and it is not necessary to go into them in great detail.

It is therefore suggested that the rights and obligations of the citizens of the federating States and of British Indians to the new federal government of United India should be carefully examined, clearly defined and that these fundamental rights should be embodied in the constitution. The judicial machinery for enforcing these rights remains to be considered. Indian States have been demanding for some time that a Supreme Court should be established for the purpose of obtaining the decisions of an independent body in regard to the disputes between States and States and between British India and the States. They have advocated the establishment of such a body for some time and this Court may be empowered to deal with violations of the fundamental rights that may be guaranteed by the constitution to the people living under the Government of a Federated India. It may be admitted that there are difficulties in investing the Court with jurisdiction in these matters, but the subject requires careful consideration.

It is a matter for satisfaction that Sir Mirza Ismail has, in his scheme, recognised the importance of providing for fundamental rights in the Constitution and it is to be hoped that the other members of the delegation will see their way to agree to the proposal.

OUR TAX BURDENS : AN ALLEGORY

By Mr. J. S. PONNIAH M. A.

[SEATED on a high dais Father India as Justice. Counsels for the People : The Right Hon'ble Sir Equity and Mr. Economy assisted by Prof. Statistics. Counsel for Government : Mr. Steelframe Barrister-at-law.]

Part I.

People : Help us, O Judge. We are over-taxed and crushed by our burdens.

Justice : Set forth your cause. It shall have our careful hearing.

Merchant Prince : Our fortune is the envy of the rich and the delight of the Government ; while every effort is made to reduce our wealth, the Government would have us more to tax us more !

Sir Equity : Holding my just balance as I do, I do not grudge my client paying the bulk of the income-taxes (66%) of the probate duties (over 40 lakhs) of luxury taxes amounting to 31% of the whole and a large proportion of the fees and taxes on transactions. Nor do I complain of the heavy local taxes. But your Lordship, I submit that the rates on income are *relatively* higher, this being a poor country. Business losses are not given an equitable set-off on a three-year-average basis as in England. Further the fluctuation of incomes of young businesses are put on a par with the steady incomes of a profession. Another most relevant consideration is that such heavy taxation is too early for a new industrial country. I daresay that if such a tax had been introduced in the England of Gladstone, the Great Prime Minister would have been torn to pieces !

Mr. Economy: My client's case needs further consideration. His business is young, unorganised, lacking in technical skill and scientific equipment. Labour is inefficient, and world competition is fearfully intense. The burden on industry is destructive of enterprise and of the accumulation of capital in which this country is woefully lacking. I plead for mercy!

Justice : You make mebe lieve that his case is as depressing as his business at the present time. (Turning to the next man) What is your complaint, O high Official ?

Official O Father India, for the protection and well-being of your people, I have laboured and am still giving the best years of my life. I am also over-taxed. Our preparation for life has been tedious and the position has been won by hard toil and sheer merit : but as soon as the highest ladder is reached, our term of office ceases and we retire with a feeling of despair. We invest in Government securities and subscribe to all public loans. Yet we are treated like the rest of the people. Consider our

accumulated tax burdens, which we have paid from the very start of our life—profession tax, commodity taxes and income taxes. We ought to get relief at least in the evening of our lives for the 'meritorious services' done to the country.

Sir E. I have nothing to say in this case. I rather wish that such 'patriotic' souls would pay more taxes cheerfully.

Mr. E. A poor plea for this my client, your Lordship. In fact I consider him doing many disservices to the country. He draws fabulous salaries which this poor country cannot support.

(Official within himself ; Good heavens ! We are just a handful as compared with the legion of our European brethren. And our present salaries are not sufficient enough to support our high standard of living, the education of our sons in England....)

Mr. E. He invests his money in foreign banks ; does not support Indian industries but rather consumes foreign goods; monopolises offices by influence or favouritism and does not pioneer national industries. With all that in the interests of social economy, I plead for the State to provide him with better facilities for useful service as in other countries.

Justice : Your case raises many complicated issues and I should require time to ponder over them all. Further hearing will be resumed tomorrow.

PART II.

Justice : What is your complaint, Mr. Middle-class, alleging to be the most over-taxed ?

Sir E. & Mr. E. O learned Judge, no cause do we plead with so much force as this one. This is a rising class just coming up in arts, industry and politics. They pay the bulk of the income taxes. There is no differentiation though most of their earnings are from salaries or profits of small businesses. There is no abatement (owing to the Joint family system there are many hangers-on to each educated member of the family). Their social obligations rooted in their Dharma are numerous and exacting. Their standard of living required by their professional duties is relatively high. Their children are to be educated at a great cost but only to be landed on the shoals of unemployment. (Nothing is done by the State to relieve this national crisis). Take again the innumerable commodity taxes on necessities and conventional necessities and comforts which may be placed at about 40% of the total customs revenue. The lower grades of the professionals do not pay income taxes but their cost of living in towns is very much above their incomes and many of them effect economies in food and comforts and so reduce their efficiency.

Justice : The Middle-class appears to me to be ground down between the upper mill of "standard of living" and the lower mill of "poor incomes". But what is this huge army of ragged and miserable-looking folk ?

Mr. E. O Learned Justice : This is the "tax-paying multitude".

The masses composed of the small traders, the town labours, artisans, Fakirs, etc., etc. God forbid : We don't pay taxes. It is that Parsi Industrial Magnate and that Ayyar Politician that have dragged us to the Forum here. We don't pay taxes. We don't complain. We are content with our lot. Please let us off, O Venerable Father !

Sir E. (within himself). What a strange illusion! That is why I have been insisting on the levy of direct taxes only. (Turning to the people) Patience, my people. Let me argue your case.

Sir E. Do you eat salt ?

P. Yes we do. Who does not ?

Sir E. It is a taxed commodity. The total yield is about 7 crores—over 3 annas per head of the population.

P. Most of us don't get so much income per head per day !

Sir E Who drinks liquors ? They are taxed and the revenue is about 6 crores in Madras, 4 in Bombay, and together with other places totalling about Rs. 20 crores.

Labourers. Do so *few* of us pay so much into the coffers of the State ? Good heavens, thrown away in drunken orgy the sweat of our forehead !

Sir E. You purchase many sundries—novel foreign goods, etc., glass ware, etc. Don't you ?

P. Yes we do. Are they also taxed at 15 % as is said ?

Sir E. Do you use kerosine oil for your lamps ? The revenue collected from this source is a considerable amount.

P. Heaven help us ! Should salt and light be taxed ? What for are they taking so much money from us poor dumb creatures. We have been humbuged so long !

Artisans. The Labourers have work to do and earn enough to drink and pay taxes cheerfully. But we have none. Our arts and crafts are declining. We are sinking in poverty and misery.

Justice. Pitiable! What is the Government doing for them ?

Mr. Steelfrme. Recently a Special Officer surveyed the position of cottage industries and has produced a report. A committee has studied it and its recommendations are before the Government.

Peasants. Our case comes last ; but let it be considered most favourably O noble Judge. Ours is an increasingly hard lot : Steeply indebted, sunk in illiteracy and without any medical, educational or recreational amenities.

Sir E. Purely from the distributional point of view I consider the burdens of this class to be not very heavy, since the other classes also are over taxed.

Mr. E. But the cumulative effect of their taxes is great. The technique of assessment is at fault, since the rate is empirically decided by the whims of the official. There is no popular control. The harassing of the people and the considerable dislocation of business in times of re-settlement (I am inclined to call the whole thing an unsettlement) are serious defects. The efforts of the various departments, Agriculture, Co-operation, etc. are futile, scattered and are like the seeds that

fell on the rocky soil. They pay many indirect taxes also like the rest of this crowd. And what is worse they pay the bulk of the stamp revenues, court fees and other fees.

Justice. To-day's proceedings are gloomier than those of yesterday. Let us have the defence of the counsel for the Government.

Steelframe : Not to weary your lordship I beg leave to submit my defence as briefly as possible for the government which is represented by me and in me. We do not pretend to claim perfection for our system : it is the result of many historical accidents, political necessities and constitutional readjustments ; hence, its defects and many anamolies. But to allege that the tax burdens are oppressive arises wholly out of prejudice or hatred and is not based on scientific reasoning or actual facts.

The taxation of the people should be at least ten times more if her ful' expenditure needs are to be met adequately. Scarcely any money is now left for the most urgent and pressing needs of the many social services. The primary expenditure can hardly be denounced as excessive. A high authority observes "Japan with a population of about one sixth of that of India spends on her naval and military forces nearly twice as much as India does". India's sea-borne trade amounts to about six hundred crores and yet her annual contribution for naval defence is not more than rupees 15 lakhs". (1) The per capita burden according to the same authority is 8 shillings whereas it is £20. 2 or over forty times that in Great Britain and 26 times that in the U.S.A. (2) In relation to her national income it is about 5 times as much less as in the United Kingdom (3) Between 1891 and 1921 the increase of per capita burden is almost negligible; the difference being only 2. 7 (4) In view of these indisputable facts I cannot admit the charge of over-taxation. Coming to individual taxes my ground is firmer. With a few qualifications I make bold to repeat the findings of a great authority on Indian finance. "The land revenue is not a tax; it is what would be called in other countries a rent (even if it would be, a tax, the burden, as the Taxation Tribunal has shown, is only from 6 to 24 per cent. of the annual value). Opium is a tax on the Chinese consumer. The customs receipt from export duties is a tax on the foreign consumer. There remain therefore only salt, stamps, excise, provincial rates, customs duties on imports and registration receipts in return for services directly rendered and are not taxation. The salt and customs duties fall on the inhabitants of native states as well as on

(1) G. Findlay Shirras. Public Finance p. 57.
(2) Ibid p. 644 Table XX.
(3) Ibid p. 646 Table XXII
(4) Ibid p. 648 Table XXIII

those of the British territory" (1) The high income-tax about which the industrialists and the professionals grumble is the necessary weight to maintain the equilibrium of tax burdens. The revenue from excise (intoxicants) is no taxation but a penalty on intemperance. I have therefore no hesitation in re-affirming that the tax burdens of India are grossly exaggerated, misrepresented and overestimated. The burdens are perfectly equitable.

Sir Equity: I am pained when the rich paint me as a multi-headed monster devouring up their wealth. But my heart sinks in me when my fair name is invoked to justify the taxes of Mr. Steel-frame's government. For I stand for equity in expenditure first and foremost. I do not allow taxation of even a single pie if it could not be made to yield an equal benefit of one pie. On this ground I emphatically assert that the tax system of India is the *most iniquitous in the world.*

Mr. Economy: I still maintain, your most noble lordship, that even the direct money burden of taxation is relatively high on this poor country. There are other equally weighty arguments. The so-called non-tax revenues constitute an additional pressure. Nowhere in the world is justice—the primary function of government—sold at such an exorbitant price as to make a huge profit: the Taxation Tribunal justifies this unjust exaction by arguing "that the litigant who has infringed the law should make a *special contribution*". The stamp *revenue* is equally exorbitant, being in the majority of cases ten times as much as in the U. S. A. What of the numerous other fees and cesses with their aggregate burdens? Our financiers exult in the railway and postal revenue—a surplus of about nine crores annually. This indeed is a fool's paradise. The people of India have been taxed for railway capital which was squandered away to guaranteed companies amounting to a loss of nearly £25 millions within 35 years. Even now as the Inchcape Committee has remarked "Capital raised at 6% does not even yield 5 %; the heavy working expenses eat into the profits". The expenditure on the services of law and order and general administration is woefully excessive. The departments are top-heavy and suffer from all the maladies of duplication, extravagance and inefficiency. If in addition to this over 93 % of the posts carrying a salary of Rs. 1000 and more (as the Public Services Commission estimated in 1916) are held by non-Indians the enormous drain appears in its true proportions. Let me make just a passing reference to that great sink, the bottomless pit, I mean the military expenditure which is kept at all times at full war strength and even to over-flowing. This country so far as this expenditure is concerned should be placed on a par with

(1) Biggs, Grammar of Indian Finance

the Dominions and not wtih United Kingdom, Japan or France. (I am amazed at the economic sense of that high authority quoted by Mr. Steel-frame). I need not tire your lordship with a list of charges of extravagance and waste made by the Inchcape Committee in all these spending departments. Compared with the aggregate exhaustive expenditure, the so-called developmental expenditure is just a trifle amounting to less than a tenth. Even there ninety per cent. of it is swallowed up in the pay and establishment of superior officers. Thus the direct real benefit to the people vanishes as a thin mist into mere nothingness. Even the trifling effort at educating this new dark continent ruled by the modern Belzebub—Illiteracy—is useless. As the recent Hartog Committee puts it "Throughout the whole educational system there is waste and ineffectiveness". Yet the amount spent is less than on political pensions and superannuation charges. When I reflect on the past financial history everything is one loud and unrelieved lamentation. Even when the people of India were afflicted by famine the government like a cruel commercial doctor exacted heavy fees for its proferred services. Every important public service, which in other countries is rendered free from general revenues, is in this unfortunate country met by direct special fees. And, finally permit me, your lordship, to add that the trade, industries and even agriculture of this country are being exploited and the profits sucked up by the foreigners and thus the wealth of this country is suffering a progressive diminution. The sons of the soil are being reduced to hewers of wood and drawers of water.

People : (with a loud shout) Intolerable Burdens! Reduce Taxation !!

Judgment.

In pronouncing my judgment upon this most difficult case I have taken full account of the over-ruling of political factor but not to the absurd extent of obscuring all the relevant economic considerations. One important point suggested by the counsel for people, namely, the many financial injustices done to the country by her administrators about which much ill-feeling still prevails, I am inclined to set aside as wholly irrelevant to the case, since it is "projecting the ideas of the present into conditions of the past".

I see no grave objections to the existing taxes, though all of them need improvement in the technique and in details. The land tax is unavoidable in a mainly agricultural country ; but I should think that the provincial governments could pass legislation fixing the maximum and the minimum rates and leave the administration to the district local government units. A sheer 5 % increase in the productiveness of your agriculture would convert the existing burden into a benefit. When the interest on rural debts in the Punjab alone is 19 times the land revenue, it is absurd to talk of the burden of the land tax. Land is subject to much heavier burdens in other countries. When you abolish the taxes on intemperance the balance sheet shows an awful reduction in receipts so as to absorb the windfall from military and civil expenditure under a national government. The tariff wall is not huge enough : the price now paid is part of your education and acts as a check on the extra-

vagances of your middle classes. It it a a disgrace on your business community that advantage has not been taken of to develop and set up many new industries. The much abused salt tax again! I am most anxiously watching the present struggle waged on this score. May I however recommend its adoption in your national government? "It is levied with perfect ease and facility. It involves no inquisitional enquiry and causes no irritation, annoyance or oppression". Can you not put the 7 crores from it into a universal free and compulsory elementary education. The income tax is highly complicated, but the real remedy appears to be the provision of greater state assistance for industrial development.

In your national government you shall need these taxes and many more for the increasing needs of the many social services. To be masters of this aspect of your finance, wherein lies the iniquity of the burdens, you need win Dominion Status. Let your economists, politicians and the public awake to the realities of this new era. For in imperial co-operation and world economy I have appointed the destiny of my fair and dear land.

INDIA—PAST AND PRESENT

By Mr. C. N. ZUTSHI, M. R. A. S.

Sometime Editor of the "Sunday Times".

"It is not too much to say that the mind of the West with all its undoubted impulses towards the progress of humanity has never exhibited such an intense amount of intellectual force as is to be found in the religious speculations of India. These have been the cradle of all western speculations and wherever the European mind has risen into heights of philosophy, it has done so because the Brahman was the pioneer. There is no intellectual problem in the West which has not its earliest discussion in the East, and there is no modern solution of that problem which will not be found anticipated in the East".—DR. MATHEEN.

It is impossible to adequately appreciate the aims and aspirations of India to-day without an intimate knowledge of her glorious past, her hoary civilization, her ancient religion and philosophy, in which they have their root and of which they are blooming flowers.

Far back in vast ages there were four great civilizations of the world; the Egyptian, the Chinese, the Babylonian and the Aryan. All these civilizations developed a high degree of culture, social and political institutions, religion, philosophy, science and arts. It is India with which we are concerned here and the story is that of an Aryan race to quote R. C. Dutt, a great authority on Ancient India, "working out its own religion and social institutions, its literature, laws and science; and it forms one of the most instructive and interesting chapters in the annals of human progress and culture". It is the story of a civilization about which Prof. Kenneth Moris during the course of his lecture delivered at the Raja Yoga College. Point Loma, California, said, "I doubt Alexander carried here any cultural impulse in the ordinary sense; it is our Euro-American conceit to imagine that the Greek was the highest thing in civilization in the world at that time. We may take it that Indian civilization was far higher and better in all essentials."

II

Going back to the remotest past, say sometime before 2000 B. C., we find that the first settlement of these Aryan people came about in the Punjab whence they began their conquest of Northern India, gradually broadening down to the south until the whole of India became a Hindu Empire. The history of the Hindu section is portrayed in the most ancient scripture called the Rig Veda. The life of the people in this period was a united family life, the father being the high priest and the chief of the tribe and his office was hereditary and elective, women were assigned a very high position in society; they were honoured and respected and given equal opportunities with men. They used to take part in philosophical and literary discussions with men and were joint rulers of the house with their husbands.

There are also various mechanical and industrial arts mentioned in the Rig Veda; there were goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and carpenters, all following their respective trades. There was thus a highly ethical and philosophical civilization with a highly developed social polity.

Passing to a later period extending roughly from 1400 to 1000 B. C. one finds the whole of the Gangetic basin turned and consolidated into a Hindu Empire. This period gives the picture of these cultured races, to quote R. C. Dutt again, of: "The cultured Gangetic races with their brilliant courts and schools of learning, with their great tournaments and feats of arms, and with all their elaborate social rules and religious rites".

In course of time colonisation went apace until by the fourth century B. C. the whole of India including Ceylon came under Hindu Civilization.

Much of the information about the life of the people at this time is to be found from the records of the Greek travellers who had entered into trading relations with India from very ancient times. Magasthene's account of the life around him is a very faithful one in which he shows entire admiration for the Hindu character. He paints a very graphic picture of the internal condition of India. He testifies to the great fertility of the soil, the system of irrigation and the scarcity of famines. He gives an account of the flourishing condition of manufactures, commerce, arts and science and the wealth of the people.

We pass on to the time of the world-famed Hindu Emperor Asoka, a great lover of art. The whole history of India at this period reveals a highly developed civilization altogether ultra-modern in many socio-political aspects. The edicts of Asoka testify to the ethical and charitable projects undertaken by him of great public utility. Although the ultimate control of affairs was in the central Government the constitutional liberties of the subjects were not tempered with. Each village was a self-governing unit under a headman and a council with complete freedom in all internal affairs. The business of the council was to control taxation, settle disputes, protect personal property, safeguard individual rights, check crime and keep order. Thus the village system in India ever since the dawn of history was self-government in all its purity.

Mr. H.G. Wells has portrayed the Mauriyan Empire and given his estimate of the place which Asoka occupies in the history of mankind, in these words: "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, the name of Asoka shines as a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured".

The one guiding principle of the founder of the Mauriyan Empire was the establishment, not only of human brotherhood but of the essential fellowship of all sentient beings.

In the fifth century Fahein describes prosperity and contentment writ large in India. The people he says were gentle, learned, courteous and tolerant, had great skill in art; the taxation was light and there were no harrassing regulations.

In the sixth century which saw the reign of the renowned Vikramaditya of Ujjain "the arts of peace flourished, science and literature obtained a fresh start, poetry and drama lighted their magic lamp and shed a lustre over this Augustan period of Hindu history. Religion itself gathered strength and life and modern Hinduism flourished under his fostering care." So says R. C. Dutt in "Ancient India." This was a period of very great prosperity in India. According to Mr. Vincent Smith, "probably India has never been governed, better after the Oriental manner, than it was during the reign of Vikramaditya".

In the 7th century too the condition of India was good. India under Saladitya presented a picture of a prosperous country. The civil administration was of a high character. Taxation was light, the payment of officials good, no forced labour demanded of the subjects, and education was widely diffused.

Then came the rise and fall of the Rajputs, the Marahthas and the Mahomedans all in their turn added a stone to the edifice of ancient civilization. Under Akbar there was constitutional security of equal political rights to all his subjects. The general condition of India tended to be prosperous, for whatever conquerors came and went the Indian Revenues were all spent in India and over India. Disorganisation and disintegration followed in the reigns of the puppet emperors, and the reactionary policy of some of the successors of Akbar undid the work of the Great Moghal Emperor and paved the way for the English. The essential feature in which English conquest differs from all the former conquests is that the latter only scarred the surface of India and left the essential life and the heart of India untouched while the former has brought about catastrophic changes over the land, sapped her resources, demoralised her people and undermined her political and social institutions, the relic of the past.

III

India to-day after a period of disorganisation and disintegration is rapidly awakening to a new realisation of self-consciousness and has set herself to reconstruct her national life. Conscious of her ancient greatness and proud of her great historical past going back to 2000 B. C. when European nations were wandering painted in the woods, India has resolved to break the spell of Imperialism and foreign domination which has forged on her fetters of slavery for the last 150 years. The history of British rule in India for the last 150 years is the history of aggrandisement and exploitation, and of a series of blunders and broken promises and pledges to India. The evils of western materialism into which India has been steeped for so long have at last opened her eyes to the intrinsic worth of her own spiritual conceptions and made her alive to the necessity of untrammelled expression in art, science, literature, industry and other activities to take an honourable place among the nations of the world. She no more cringes and begs for favours, she claims her birthright to be free. Her superiority complex has blinded Britain to suitably respond to her call. The principles of honour, justice, morality, progress, on which Britain takes her stand, as she gives out to the world to do, all demand that she should recognise the validity of India's claim as no nation is good enough to rule another nation, especially a nation which has had a vast and glorious past, and unique civilization and noble traditions.

India to-day stands at the cross—ways. She stands with her face towards the way to slavery on the one hand and the way to freedom on the other. Happily she has chosen the path of freedom. England also stands at the cross—ways. Does England want India to be a millstone round her neck or to be a tower of strength in the Empire? It is time for England to consider which one she choses as her ideal. If England even now rejects the opportunity India will untimately achieve what is her rightful due—the emancipation of her people from the foreign yoke which has proved too galling to her—and England

will be courting the disgrace and downfall of her own Empire. To quote Edward Carpenter: "The cry of 'Empire' is the crazy cry of imbecile and tottering authority, not only in England but in all the government-bestridden nations of the west. The case of India—the ruin of India, where if ever nation had splendid opportunities England had—proves the falseness, the craziness of the cry".

It is because, as H. M. Howsin says: "The vision is with India. The power of its spirit is upon her. Her contempt for suffering places her beyond the domination of earthly weapons. The hypnotism of foreign control is at last broken: she has snapped the spell and trodden her weakness underfoot. Each day world forces lift her nearer the goal, and confident in her strength she presses on to meet her destiny, perceiving, with an illumined devotion which shrivels all personal enmities and unworthy suspicions in the flame of its purity, the realisation of *Swarajya* to be the incarnation of her Divine Lord". This is my own conviction too.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SIKHS

By SARDAR UJJAL SINGH

THE Sikhs are a distinct community living almost entirely in the Punjab Province and in certain Indian States which are in the Punjab area and ruled by Sikh princes. They constitute over 11 per cent. of the population of the British Punjab. At the close of the eighteenth century on the disruption of the Moghul Empire the Sikhs established themselves strongly under the powerful leader, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and the Punjab became an independent Sikh kingdom. Though Sikhs formed only a small portion of the population of the Punjab, they both established a strong Government at Lahore and kept unruly tribesmen on the frontier under their sway. Indeed, at one time they carried their arms to the gates of Kabul.

The death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 deprived the Sikhs of a strong leader. Serious dissensions ensued. The Sikh army came into collision with British forces, and after some of the fiercest battles that the British ever fought in India, the Punjab was annexed in 1849. From that day onward the Sikhs, instead of showing resentment, have heartily thrown in their lot with the British. In the past seventy years there has scarcely been a British campaign of serious importance which does not testify to their sterling qualities as soldiers. During the Great War, in addition to the thirty thousand Sikhs already serving in the Army, they supplied over eighty-nine thousand combatant recruits. With a population of about two and a half millions in British India, they provided a much larger proportion of recruits than any other community in India. Nearly one-third of the total awards to the Indian Army for deeds of valour, daring and sacrifice on the battlefields were won by Sikh soldiers.

When the Minto-Morley reforms were introduced in India in 1909, the Moslem minorities in various provinces received separate representation, but the Sikh Minority in the Punjab obtained none. Consequently, in two elections no Sikh was returned to the Punjab Council, and in one election only one Sikh was returned. The Sikhs were naturally perturbed by this situation and put forward their claim for

one-third representation in the Legislature of the Province of which they had been masters in living memory. The Hindus and Moslems, however, entered into what is known as the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and entirely ignored the claims of the Sikhs, to their great dissatisfaction. In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report hopes were raised by promising to the Sikhs, in the Punjab, the same concessions as were granted to the Moslems in other provinnces, but to the dismay of the Sikhs when the actual proportion of representation came to be fixed, the Lucknow Pact was taken as a guide. The Moslems in the Punjab obtained reserved seats in separate electorates and the Sikhs were given only about 19 per cent. The Moslem minorities in other provinces, however, got a much higher representation, *e. g.*, in Bihar and Orissa with less than 11 per cent. of the population the Moslem minority were given about 26 per cent. representation. On a corresponding basis the Sikhs should have secured about 30 per cent. of the elected seats in the Punjab. This injustice is keenly felt by the Sikhs.

The entire Sikh community is united in the demand that their special interests in the Punjab should be effectively protected. They insist upon protection being provided for them of the kind that is given to the Moslem minorities in other provinces. They cannot agree to a theory of representation designed for the protection of a majority community in the Punjab. To place one community under separate communal electorates in a position of statutory majority is beyond all conception of popular Government. Such an arrangement creates a position which will never allow such a majority to give up its position of statutory advantage. Communalism in that case will come to stay permanently in the political life of the country.

While the existence of three distinct communities—Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs-in the Punjab differentiates the position there from that of other provinces where two communities—Moslems and Hindus—have to adjust their claims, the question cannot be considered without some regard being paid to the general position under the coming reforms. The Moslems ask not only for protection in a particular way in provinces where they are in a minority, but also seek the creation of a new Moslem majority province by the separation of Sindh from the Bombay Presidency. Further, the introduction of reforms in the North-West Frontier Province, where the population is overwhelmingly Moslem, is demanded. If these claims are conceded the Moslems and the Hindus will be in a position to protect their respective minority interests by reciprocal action, by virtue of their majorities in different provinces. The Sikhs on the contrary can look for no outside help of this kind, since they are concentrated in the Punjab. Hence it is a reasonable conclusion that their minority interests can be protected only by their holding the balance as between the Hindus and the Moslems of the province. No impartial observer can deny that the existing representation of about 19 per cent. for the Sikhs is too low, in view of their historic, military and economic importance. The Sikhs pay 11½ million rupees land revenue out of a total of 44 million rupees, and they hold it to be unjust that in a province where they fill so important a place they are relegated to such a position of electoral inferiority.

They ask for adoption of the democratic principle in the effective sense of the rule of the people by the people—Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs combined. They claim that they must be placed in the Punjab Legislature in such a position as to be able to make an effective appeal to other minorities against communal tyranny. This is more essential now, when the provinces of the future will be autonomous and the Provincial Legislatures will enjoy wide powers. There can be no doubt that a just settlement of the Sikh grievances will have a beneficial effect upon general administration, for it will avoid the possibility of one section of the population dominating other sections.

The Sikhs also urge that provision should be made for one-third representation of their community in the Cabinet of the

Punjab, and also their due share in the Services.

The Sikhs are also not satisfied with their existing representation of 2 per cent. in the Central Legislature, and demand that it should be raised to 5 per cent. It is only fair that where 150,000 Europeans and Anglo-Indians are enabled to secure 10 per cent. of representation, the Sikhs, numbering 2½ millions in British India, should be provided with at least 5 per cent. of the totnl elected seats in both the Upper and Lower Houses of the Central Legislature. It should be remembered that though the majority of Sikhs live in the Punjab, members of the race, and important Sikh shrines, are found in every part of India. The Sikh community provides no less than 15 per cent. of the total strength of the Indian Army, and has continually made great sacrifices for the consolidation and maintenance of the majestic fabric of Imperial India built up under the British Crown.

MOTTO—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell: M. P., on "The Critical Faculty."*

BOOKS OF THE MONTHS.

(A) MYSORE ADMINISTRATION AND ETHNOLOGY.*

IT took years of work to bring out five volumes of the new *Mysore Gazetteer*, because the rapid progress made by the State in various directions during recent years was required to be fully reflected in the new editions. The set, will replace Lewis Rice's two-volume gazetteer, published in 1876. As this work was both out of date and out of print, the value of Mr. Hayavadana Rao's labours does not need explaining. Taken in conjunction with Rao Bahadur Ananathakrishna Iyer's *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, of which three volumes have already been published, the new gazetteer will make the contrast between Mysore and the rest of South India, in the amount of available and reliable literature about them, even more marked than it is now. In Mysore accurate and up-to-date information is now available on all points, and there is no doubt that in deigning to explain itself to the world Mysore has made the wise choice

In these four volumes the outstanding and most impressive fact that is brought out is the adaptability of the Mysorean, although the basis of life in Mysore lies in ancient times and modes of thought.

Out of the structure of Brahminism Mysore has now set itself to build up a modern and model State. This ambition was well expressed by H. H. the present Maharaja twenty years ago. The bold and persistent efforts that have been made to put his Highness's aims into practice are so familiar that they need no repetition. Apart from emphasizing the claim of Mysore to consider itself the model State, these volumes show that Mysore is as wonderful an example as any that can be found in India of the adaptation of old ideas to new conditions.

The first volume is descriptive of the State as a whole, and the general principle adopted in compiling it has been to entrust each of the chapters to an authority capable of adequately dealing with its subject-matter either by reason of special study or official experience This volume is particularly noteworthy because of the specialist contributions on Geology, Meteorology, Botany, Zoology, Ethnology and Caste, Language,

* *Mysore Gazetteer.* Vols. I, to V. Edited by C. Hayavadana Rao. (Government Press, Bangalore, Mysore) 1930.

The Mysore Tribes. Vol III. By (the late) H. V. Nanjundaiya and L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer (Mysore University, Mysore) 1930.

Religion, Population and Public Health and Vital statistics of the State.

The second volume is Historical. It is issued in four parts to facilitate easy reference. The first of these parts includes chapters dealing with the sources of Mysore History—such as Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Architecture, Sculpture, Stone monuments, Palm-leaf and other Mss. Literature, etc. The three other parts deal with successive periods of the history of the Mysore State from the earliest times to date; these are based on authentic materials, and are carefully documented. Other features of this volume are the chapters on "Mysore in Modern Literature" and the " Roll-of Honour," which includes brief biographies of these people of Mysore whose names have passed into history.

The third volume which deals with economics will be read with peculiar interest as the policy adopted by the Mysore Government with regard to the economic welfare of its people compare favourably with that followed in almost all other parts of India. Among the more important chapters in this volume are those on the Mysore Economic Conference; Agriculture; Irrigation ; Forests ; Mines and Minerals ; Arts ; Industries and Manufactures ; Co-operative Societies; Means of Communication; Rents, Prices, and Wages ; Famine ; and the Condition of the People. The information brought together in these chapters is both succinct and up-to-date.

Vol IV is devoted to topics relating to the administration of Mysore and make as study of the evolution of the administration of this model State. This volume includes, besides a general survey of the systems of administration pursued in the State from the most ancient to the most modern times, the description of each Department as it now exists, with complete details as to its origin, development and present position. There is, besides, in this volume, a Glossary of Revenue, Judicial and other official terms in current use.

Lastly, Vol. V, which is the Gazetteer proper, contains detailed accounts of each of the eight districts of the States in alphabetical order. While each volume is provided with a separate Index, carefully compiled, the Historial one has numerous useful Appendices giving in brief compass a variety of information useful alike to administrative officers and historical students. Up to date statistical details have been included in all the volumes in the appropriate places. When it is remembered that even in a Province like Bombay the Provincial Gazetteers are considerably out of date one appreciates specially the efforts of Mysore to provide such an authoritative, comprehensive and up-to-date reference book.

The State and the editor are to be congratulated upon the excellence of the new gazetteer, which is indeed a splendid achievement.

II

The Mysore Tribes and Castes is the third volume in the series of ethnological studies by the authors named above, and published under the auspices of the Mysore University. It contains a detailed and exhaustive account of the origin, numbers, religious practices, social scheme, laws, customs and marriage rites and divorce of the various tribes and castes, in the Mysore State. The occupational divisions of castes and the peculiarities of the various sects provide interesting reading. There are divergences in marriage customs and divorce laws—extending from the extremely rigid to the casual. Polygamy is not prohibited in any section of the community, but in practice no one marries more than one wife—except in exceptional cases. Polyandry is throughout unknown. Extraordinary stories about the origin of the tribes are related. Almost invariably they have some mythological beginning. Inter-connection is traced between the various tribes and their counterparts in different parts of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and even in the United Province and Delhi. The book is profusely illustrated and is a most illuminating record of a deeply interesting subject.

(B) THE HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.*

TEN years have elapsed since the first volume of the *Cambridge History of India* was issued. Sometime later came the third volume, and now we are presented with the fifth. This is a very leisurely method of publication and we are still left wondering what has become of the second and fourth volumes, and how long we shall have to wait for the sixth and last.

Some may call the work a ponderous one, for this volume alone runs to nearly 700 pages. In days to come, however, the completed series will doubtless be an indispensable book of reference for students of the subject. The Editor, Professor H. H. Dodwell (who is also one of the principal contributors), has spared himself and his collaborators no pains in providing in this volume a compendious record of the period from 1497 to 1858. The book is packed with facts of every sort and description and the authorities upon which the text is based are, generally speaking, beyond question. But need the authors have gone into such a wealth of detail? In scanning the book one has some difficulty in seeing the wood for the trees. The ordinary reader, I am afraid, will find most of it rather heavy stuff for normal consumption. The two previously published volumes were illuminated by numerous plates and maps, but we have to get through the present volume without any such aid. A few maps, at any rate, would have been as valuable as the elaborate bibliography which fills forty-four pages.

The various writers are fully qualified to deal effectively and reliably with the spheres repectively allotted to them, and they may be said to have done their best to avoid the perils of prolixity. Indeed, in some cases the method pursued becomes so concise as to furnish little more than a catalogue of dates and events. The immensity of the field to be covered made this inevitable. If the contributors had stopped to philosophise on every page the work would have been interminable.

II

This is not the place to discuss in detail the contents of a volume so comprehensive in its scope. It is a pity that so much space has had to be given to wars, tumults, assassinations, revolutions and conquests. The old chroniclers thought there was little else that was worth recording. The unending struggles between races and dynasties almost fill the picture, and superimposed over all else is the gradual consummation of British rule, with not too great an emphasis on some of the means by which that rule was consolidated. One looks in vain through many of the chapters for information as to the condition of the common people in the centuries covered by the narrative. Countless millions lived and died to whom nearly all the happenings recorded in this volume meant even less than they do to us today. The date of course is missing. The generations in their passing have nothing to do—except to suffer with what are called the events of history.

Clive, Warren Hastings and Burke are naturally outstanding figures in the story of the eighteenth century. The part they played in the great drama is fully described, and with every desire to arrive at and state the truth. Indian reader may see in the chapters dealing with the two first-named a decided tendency to lay on the whitewash, but the Englishman's pre-

* *The Cambridge History of India.* Vol. V. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E. C.) 1929.

judice is, on the whole, fairly transcended by the historian's partiality. Writing of Clive, Professor Dodwell says that "his principal defect was a certain bluntness of moral feeling which enabled him to perform and defend actions which did not commend themselves even to his own age." But the writer claims that there was nothing small or petty about him. Though he made an enormous fortune he was not mercenary; though he tricked Omichand and was addicted to other like practices, we are asked to believe that "he was trusted implicity by Indians of every class." Indians who were his contemporaries probably knew less about him than we know to-day, otherwise they might have been less trustful of the man himself and less impressed with what the Professor calls the "happy course of events" by which the Company's power was established in Bengal and Behar.

Indian readers will find in the volume a good many disputable points and challenging conclusions, but taken as a whole it represents a painstaking effort to present the facts in a spirit of detachment. It is a labyrinthine story, and not a very cohesive one either. But that was inevitable with such an array of contributors, despite Professor Dodwell's able editorship. We must give them credit for doing the work well, having regard to their natural limitations, and they have certainly made a valuable addition to historical literature dealing with India.

(C) THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY*

WE have lying before us four volumes—V to VIII—of the *Cambridge Ancient History*. The fifth volume of this monumental work bears the name of *Athens*, because the political and intellectual activities of that city are the main subject of the history of the fifth century, and mattered most at the time and have mattered most to posterity in Europe. After an account, by Mr. Marcus N. Tod., of the economic conditions under which Athens accomplished her great achievements, the volume proceeds to the main theme of the political history of the period: the story how Athens acquired and maintained and then lost her Empire. The story of the Confederacy of Delos, the struggle between Athens and the other Greek powers, and the Periclean democracy is related by Mr. E. M. Walker; the chapters on the breakdown of the thirty Years' Peace and the Archidamian War are from the pen of Professor Adcock; and Professor W. S. Ferguson completes the history of the succeeding stages of the Peloponnesian War, including the Athenian expedition to Sicily. The history of Sicily itself is taken up by Mr. R. Hackforth at the point where he left it in volume IV. The intellectual activity of the period was no less remarkable. The drama of Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes is dealt with by Mr. J. T. Sheppard, Socrates and the Sophists by Professor Bury, Herodotus and Thucydides by Dr. R. W. Macan, and art and architecture, including the Parthenon, the temple of Aphaia and the statues of Polyclitus, by Professor Beazley and Mr. D. S Robertson.

The next volume—the sixth—is not inaptly called *Macedon*, as it is chiefly concerned with it. This volume may

* *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vols. V-VIII (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London).

be divided into three sections. The first describes the events which paved the way for the supremacy of Macedon. After an account by Mr. W. W. Tarn of what is known of Persian history from Xerxes to Alexander, Dr. M. Cary tells the story of the ascendancy of Sparta, the Athenian League and the rise of Thebes and, in general, of the failure of Greece to achieve unity. In the three following chapters Professor Bury writes on Dionysius of Syracuse, Dr. H. R. Hall completes the history of Ancient Egypt and Dr. S. A. Cook carries on the history of the political and religious development of Palestine. We now enter upon the central epoch of the volume, the rise of Macedon under Philip, described by Mr. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge. This is followed by an account by Mr. R. Hackforth of the history of Sicily from the death of Dionysius I to the death of Timoleon and by a chapter on the Athenian philosophical schools by Mr. F. M. Cornford. In the final section Mr. Tarn describes the great events of the age of Alexander. The volume closes with a discussion of Greek political thought and theory in the fourth century by Dr. E. Barker and a chapter on Greek art and architecture by Professor Beazley and Mr. D. S. Robertson.

The seventh volume called *The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome* is higly interesting, as it marks the transition from the Greek to the Roman section of the History. The early chapters deal with the organization of the three great Hellenistic monarchies of Macedonia, Egypt and Syria, and their history is continued down to the Peace of Naupactus in 217 B. C. In chapter X there begins a continuous account of Rome from the foundation of the city to the outbreak of the Second Punic war. Thus the volume provides a contrast between the nature and sophisticated statecraft of the civilized Greek East and the process by which the less educated political instinct of Rome built up the Roman constitution and mastered Italy and Sicily. Other events covered by this volume are the appearance of the Celts in the Mediterranean world and the expansion of Carthaginian power which brought Spain into the orbit of world politics. Such is, in short, a conspectus of these three volumes of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, the best of all the histories that the Cambridge University Press has published. The work, as a whole, is "a remarkable feat of knowledge and expression", as very happily described by a competent critic.

The eighth volume deals with and is called *Rome and the Mediterranean 218-133 B. C.* The main theme of this volume is the impersonal effectiveness of Republican Rome, thus the emblem of the fasces on the cover is peculiarly appropriate. This volume takes up the history from the time when the last volume left it with the three great Hellenistic monarchies, Macedon, Syria and Egypt, in a balance of power, dominating the lesser Greek and Eastern States, and the Great Powers of Carthage and Rome on the eve of a struggle for the mastery of the West. The volume deals with a most interesting and important period of History —the political and military triumphs of Rome, the maiming of the old culture and the building up of a new spiritual, social and economic life which, adapted from Hellenism, was to mould the whole structure of the life of the West. This is a most valuable addition to the imposing array of learned volumes of this work—a joy for the student and the scholar alike.

THE GROWTH OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.*

By " HISTORICUS ".

THE Cambridge University have embarked upon another great enterprise. *The Cambridge History of the British Empire* has been planned in eight volumes, of which the first three will relate the general history of the British oversea expansion and imperial policy, volumes four and five the history of British India (these two volumes, edited by Prof. H. H. Dodwell, being also published as part of the *Cambridge History of India*,) and the remaining three the history of Canada and Newfoundland, Australia and New Zealand, and South Africa. The scope of the work is truly comprehensive. It is proposed that the *History* shall give special attention not only to the stages in the Empire's growth and political organisation, but also to commercial and economic progress, to the influence of personality on the growth of the Empire, to intellectual movements connected with colonisation, and to the relation between Great Britain's internal development and her imperial policy.

The work is so planned as to be fairly exhaustive. Volume I covers the first phase of British expansion when the centre of the outer empire lay across the Atlantic and when only the beginnings of British power had been made. In planning it the editors have endeavoured to keep in due perspective the progress of the mainland and island communities of the west and to place the general growth of the Empire in its relation to the conflicts of Europe. They have also paid considerable attention to commerce, always the life blood of the Empire, and to the development of its naval power and policy. The volume does not contain, however, any maps or illustrations, which is a departure from other "Cambridge histories."

The second volume will deal with the expansion of the new Empire (1783–1870), the third with the Empire Commonwealth (1870–1921), the fourth and fifth with British India (as stated above), the sixth with Canada and Newfoundland, the seventh with Australia and New Zealand, and the eighth and last with South Africa. Thus all the constituent parts of the great British Commonwealth will be brought under survey. The history of the various parts of the dependent Empire will be treated in the first three volumes in connection with the general story of the Empire's growth and policy. The volumes on the history of the Donminions are being for the most part written by scholars of the Dominions, and the editors have had the great advantage of the co-operation, as advisers, of Professor W. P. Mac Kennedy for the volume on Canada and Newfoundland, Professor Ernest Scott and Professor J. Hight for the volume on Australia and New Zealand, and Professor E. A. Walker for the volume on South Africa. Each of these volumes will form a separate unit with a specific interest of its own. The result is likely to realize the hopes of the editors that "this book will exhibit the present state of knowledge of the subject and lay a foundation on which future generations of students may build."

Though—as is the case in composite works—each writer is responsible for his monograph—the editors have succeeded in preserving unity of plan and scope. The story told in this volume describes not only a phase of British expansion, but also the origins of one of the greatest States of history, and makes fascinating reading. American scholars have worked

* *The Cambridge History of the British Empire.* Vol. I (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) 1929.

indefatigably at their own history, and the editors are fortunate in having the assistance of Professors C. M. Andrews of Yale University in the field of colonial policy which he has made his own.

In the result, the work produced represents the ripe scholarship of Britain and America. It is truly monumental and embodies in its pages the high-water mark of historical scholarship. It has set a very high standard for the volumes to follow and the work, as a whole, when completed will redound once again to the great enterprise of the Cambridge University for issuing high-class composite works.

BIRD'S-EYE-VIEW CRITICAL NOTICES

(1) RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE.

Hindu Law in its Sources. 2 Vols. By Dr. Ganganatha Jha. (Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad) 1930-31.

Dr. Ganganatha Jha's *Hindu Law in its Sources* is a scholarly work and a valuable contribution to the scientific study of the legal literature of the Hindus. The first volume deals with all the subjects under the Hindu law, except Inheritance, which is the subject-matter of the second volume, and the work surveys the whole range of the civil and criminal laws of the Hindus as laid down in the ancient, original texts. Dr. Ganganatha Jha—the Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University—is known throughout the realm of letters for his sound scholarship and vast learning. In the present work he has traversed the subject from entirely a new view-point. There are several learned treatises on Hindu law; but this book is the first of its kind, dealing, as it does, with the subject in its sources, and it contains all that the original writers on Hindu Law have said regarding the various points of dispute. It gives the original texts in Sanskrit, the translation of these into English and notes elucidative of these texts, from all the commentaries and digests that are generally available,—also from a few manuscripts not generally known. There is also an exhaustive index of all Sanskrit texts quoted in the book. The book will be indispensable for all earnest students of Hindu law, who may desire to make a scientific study of the subject. The author gives "an exact account of what is contained in all the available law books of the Hindus". He has drawn upon all the available authorities (from the Vedas down to the latest digest writers) and he has allowed them to speak in their own words. In thus presenting "a true and intelligible account" of Hindu legal literature, Dr. Jha has not omitted anything which may be considered by "the wiser present-day Hindu to be a blot on his glorious culture", and he has added to the value of his work by quoting texts relating to judicial procedure and evidence, as also to crimes against society and individuals. The book is thus a truly monumental one—exhaustive, exact, learned and sound all through.

Tagore Law Lectures 1921 and 1925. Modern Theories of Jurisprudence (2 Vols.) by K. Basu, M. A., B. L.; and **History of the Law of Priomgeniture** by Radhabinod Pal, M. A., D, L., (University of Calcutta, Senate Hall, Calcutta) 1929-30.

The Tagore Law Lectures—which owe their existence and continuity to the generosity and munificence of Prasanno Coomar Tagore—constitute the only series

of standard works on various branches of Indo-legal literature. They date from 1870-1. Except that they have appeared very late—years after their having been delivered—the two courses (for 1921 and 1925) lately issued, fully sustain the high reputation of the long series of Tagore Law Lectures. Mr. Karunamay Basu's-*Modern Theories of Jurisprudence* is a fairly exhaustive sketch of the great and important subject it deals with. The learned lecturer is a master of the subject, and his discourses are marked by a thorough grasp of the intricacies, the ramifications and the historical development of the various theories of Jurisprudence. For students of the scientific study of the origin and development of legal incidents, Mr. Basu's book would be invaluable. Dr. Radhabinod Pal's book will serve the double purpose of satisfying the requirements both of the student and the legal practitioner. Though it purports to be a historical survey of the law of primogeniture, it treats the subject also with especial reference to ancient and modern India. The historical sketch is comprehensive and ranges from ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Greece and Rome to the modern countries of Asia, Europe and America. But apart from that, the legal discussion of the law of primogeniture, as it obtained and still obtains in India, is characterized by learning and scholarship of a high order, and the book as a whole redounds to the credit of the learned lecturer. Both these learned and luminous treatises are valuable contributions to legal literature and will enhance justly the reputation of Indian lawyers for legal learning, research, scholarship and critical acumen.

The Development of Local Government. By W. A. Robson Ph. D. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. Museum Street, London, W. C.) 1931.

Dr. William Robson has successfully established his reputation as a lucid expounder on legal subjects. His *Justice and Administrative Law* was appreciatively reviewed at length, on its appearance, in the *Hindustan Review*. But he may be regarded as an authority on the subject of local government in England, and his *Development of Local Government* is a valuable contribution to the study of that important branch of English law. The author, who has had wide practical experience and has carried out extensive original research in the domain covered by this book, discusses in it the largest and most interesting questions relating to local government—the municipal structure, the functions of local authorities, public health administration, the cultural and aesthetic activities of local councils, and many other matters of prime importance. The book will be indispensable to the Councillor or officer who wishes to keep in touch with modern tendencies, and will appeal to all who are interested in a vital field of citizenship. It will also be of very great utility to Indian students of the system of local government in England, from which we have yet to learn much in this country.

The Trial of Harold Greenwood. Edited by Winifred Duke (William Hodge & Co., 12 Bank Street, Edinburgh) 1930.

It is not the object of that great series of books, justly called "Notable British Trials," to pander to any morbid taste, but to put on record, whether for the law-student, the criminologist, or the ordinary reader, those trials which have made a profound impression upon the public of their time. The latest volume to be issued in the series is *Trial of Harold Greenwood*, which makes interesting reading. It is ten years since Greenwood was acquitted of the charge of poisoning his wife, and now for the first time the written words in which the jury gave their verdict are made public. It goes without saying that like all the volumes in this remarkable series, this one also gives a *verbatim* report of the trial, an analytical introduction, and, in appendices, documents and other relevant matter. Each volume of this series enriches that great mass of literature with which English law is particularly well endowed.

(2) HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL WORKS ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.

1. **The Englishman and his Books.** By Amy Cruse. (George G. Harrap and Company Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway London) 1930.

2. **A Literary History of England.** By Bernard Groom (Longmans, Green and Co., 39, Paternoster Row, London) 1929.

3. **The Making of Literature.** By R. A. Scott-James. New and Cheaper Edition. (Martin Secker, Ltd., 5 John Street, Adelphi, London) 1930.

4. **The Philosophy of English Literature.** By J. Ingram Bryan (Maruzen Company Ltd., Tokyo, Japan).

Of the many books that have been written to stimulate an interest in books and their readers Mrs. Cruse's *The Englishman and his Books* is likely to prove one of the most successful. It deals with the period between 1790 and 1837, when books of many types were coming into existence. "To watch these books pass into the hands of the reader, to note his reaction to them, and the reaction, in turn, of his liking or disliking, his enthusiasm or his indifference, on the output of new literature" is what Mrs. Cruse here attempts to do; and she also discusses the theatre of the time. Among the chapter-titles are: The Subscribers to Camilla, Wordsworthians and Anti-Wordsworthians, The Clapham Sect, The School Room, the Minerva Press, Young Gentlemen at the University, Books and Politics, Working-men Readers, A Performance of The Road to Ruin, Lecturers and their Audiences, London Readers in the Days of the Regency, The Waverley Novels and their Readers, A Supper at Charles Lamb's, Melodrama at the Sarvoy and Tragedy at Covent Garden, Drawing Room Books. Altogether it is a very pleasant and instructive work.

A very useful book for the school Library and for those studying English Literature is *A Literary History of England* by Bernard Groom. It gives a short critical account of the more eminent English writers in the proper social, political or intellectual setting which helps to explain their work. The period embraced is from Chaucer to the present day.

Before the publication of the first edition of Mr. Scott-James *Principles of Criticism of Literature and Art* in 1928 there was no book which dealt comprehensively with the subject and which could be used by the student. Dr. Scott-James's book received much hostile criticism but the new and cheaper edition issued under the title *The Making of Literature*—vouchsafes the demand for it and its usefulness. It it not a history of criticism, nor a statement of a philosophical theory of art: the author here examines inductively "the central problems of the art of literature as they have presented themselves to men experienced in the arts"—from Homer to Hardy from Aristotle to the modern critics. Though the function of criticism is examined from many points of view, the author is specially concerned to discover principles of art based upon the conscious evidence of the greatest creative writers. But in turning to them for light he has at every stage kept in view the demands and critical questions of to-day. At the end, the author draws some general conclusions applicable to the art of literature. We welcome this new and cheaper edition.

The Philosophy of English Literature, by J. J. Bryan is original in its treatment: and it is unique in almost every respect. It is the first attempt that has been made to appraise the history and content of English Literature by the fundamental principles of aesthetics, which are common and applicable to all arts. The author has produced a work that must prove invaluable to all students of English Literature, as well as to the general reader.

5. **The Criticism of Literature.** By Elizabeth Nitchie (The Macmillan Company, 60-62 Fifth Avenue, New York U. S. A.) 1928.

6. **Criticism in the Making.** By Louis Cazamian. (The Macmillan Company, 60-62 Fifth Avenue, New York U.S.A.) 1929.

7. **The Development of English Humour.** By Louis Cazamian. (The Macmillan Company, 60-62, Fifth Avenue, New York, U. S. A.) 1930.

8. **The Course of English Classicism.** By Sherard Vines (Leonard and Virginia Woolf: The Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London) 1930.

9. **The Outline of Literature.** Edited by John Drinkwater (George Newnes Ltd., Southampton Street, Strand, London) 1931.

10. **A Hand-Book of Canadian Literature.** By V. B. Rhodenzer (Graphic Publishers Limited, Ottawa, Canada) 1930.

The purpose of Elizabeth Nitchie's *Criticism of Literature* is to show how criticism should be made. It is primarily intended for the class-room. But besides students and teachers it should prove of much help to that large group of readers who desire to know fundamental principles to guide them towards appreciation and real enjoyment of the classics and discrimination of current literature. The illustrations and selections—drawn both from older and from contemporary writings—are chosen with excellent judgment.

Criticism in the Making is a collection of lectures and addresses by Louis Cazamian in which he tells of the changing methods of criticism. He takes the reader through the different thought-modes that have influenced criticism at different periods—psychoanalytical, impressionistic, philological, historical and comparative—and shows that though all these have left a body of positive results, criticism is in a state of flux although progressive. It is a scholarly study and of immense value to the student of comparative criticism. Another collection of lectures by the same author is *On Development of English Humour*. The subject is dealt with in a serious vein, and traces its growth as part and parcel of the moral and mental progress of England. He is not out to amuse. He is there to instruct. So he pulls *Beowulf* and our old friend the Exeter *Book of Riddles* to pieces for our benefit, next takes us in a survey of the first Normans whom English dourness (from which the humour results) overthrew at Agincourt—thus setting them free to laugh. But not too free, for Master Nicolas's *The Owl* and *The Nightigale*, and Chancer had yet to meet Wyclif and the religious orders as they walked watchfully beside their steps. There was always someone to see that "Merry England", was not too merry! This is an interesting scholarly little book. Whether there is not some humour in examining its history so seriously, is another matter. Everything must be looked into. He who in the region of the Thames river in winter began the term "Good day" was a distinct wit. These sayings soon catch on. Said with a good waterproof, thick wollen underwear and trench boots to an ordinary citizen they are very laughable. We recommend this book to our reader's serious attention.

The Course of English Classicism. By Sherard Vines, traces the growth of classical principles, of the ideas of order, universality, and humanity in British art, from their beginnings under the Tudors to the Victorian age; but always with special reference to literature. It is a most interesting contribution to the modern "science" of comparative inter-arts study.

The name of John Drinkwater should be sufficient recommendation for his *Outline of Literature.* It is the story of literature from the days of the earliest books to the works of the great writers of recent times, illustrated with many fine reproductions from books and famous works of art. It is as the author says in his preface "a representative summary of the work itself that has been accomplished by the creative minds of the world in letters. But, also, it aims at placing that work in historical perspective, showing that from the beginning until now, the spirit of man when most

profoundly moved to creative utterance in literature has been, and is, through countless manifestations, one and abiding". It is a capital summary of the subject and about the best introduction to it.

A Hand-Book of Canadian Literature. By Mr. V. H. Rhodenzer is a synthesis of biographical and historical details as well as a critical study of the Canadian writers up to-date. It gives the student authentic and reliable information, and is an excellent compendium of the subject it deals with. It will form a most suitable Introduction for students and general readers alike.

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(3) SOME LATEST BOOKS ON RUSSIA.

1. **Leninism.** By Joseph Stalin. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London) 1928.

2. **The Mind and Face of Bolshevism.** By Rene Fulop-Millar. Popular Edition. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 28 Bedford Street, London) 1927.

3. **Russia To-day and Yesterday.** By Dr. E. J. Dillon. (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Bedford Street, London) 1929.

4. **Soviet Rule in Russia.** By W. R. Batsell. (The Macmillan Company, 60–62 Fifth Avenue, New York) 1929.

5. **Russia To-day and Tomorrow.** By Maurice Dobb. (The Hogarth Press, 52 Tavistock Square, London) 1930.

It is difficult for us to be able to understand the meaning and consequences of the Bolshevik upheaval, for we are too near it to be able to study this stupendous phenomenon with any degree of calm or distant judiciousness. But, so pregnant is this event with momentous possibilities which might alter, for good or for evil, the whole course of future human progress, that we cannot afford to wait for the verdict of history, for then the mischief would have been done or an opportunity lost. We have therefore all become partisans : there is growing up an imposing literature both for and against. We give in this group of ten a representative variety of books on the subject, ranging from the most scholarly to the most absurd.

Stalin the author of *Leninism* is essentially a child of the revolution, prior to which he was unknown ; but since Lenin's death he has become the most outstanding figure in Russian politics. It is twelve years now since the revolution which ended in the establishment of the Soviet Republic, and those who prefer the rival system of the west, have ceased to prophesy a successful counter-revolution and now desire to study and understand it. One of the most essential ways of studying such a system is to learn how a man who lives, moves, and has his being in it, regards it. Better still, if the exponent is the leading statesman in the realm which embodies it. Stalin in the book under review tells clearly and simply of the political philosophy of the New Russia—Leninism—which is the modern development of Marxism.

The Mind and Face of Bolshevism, by Rene Fulop-Millar—rendered into English by Messrs Flint and Tait—is already well-known as not only a most complete picture and thorough analysis of Bolshevist Russia published so far, but it is a remarkably revealing book, written with as little bias as is possible, and a deep understanding of this vast subject which involves the very redemption and happiness of mankind. We therefore most heartily welcome this popular edition of this valuable work.

Dr. E. J. Dillon the author of *Russia Today and Yesterday*, knew the Russia of yesterday under the Czars for years; he taught in a Russian university, worked as a journalist on Russian newspaper staffs. He left Russia at the time of the Revolution and returned in 1928 to see what had happened. The impressions of such a man are important in the discussion of Bolshevism. The author has dealt exhaustively with his subject. He writes about the system of government, the position of women and children, publishing and bookselling, educational and cultural methods, the peasant

question, hotels and art. The conclusion to which Dr. Dillon arrives is that Soviet Russia has already accomplished much of its programme and is on the way to further achievement, but he is by no means confident as to its final success. The Bolsheviks have wrecked and buried the Old World order in one-sixth of the globe and are digging graves for it in the rest of it. Their way of dealing with home rule and the nationalities are masterpieces of justice and ingenuity. None of the statesmen of any other country has attempted to vie with them in their method of satisfying the claims of minorities. In all these and many other enterprises they are moved by a force which is irresistible, almost thaumaturgical.

Soviet Rule in Russia is a painstaking study, by W. R. Batsell, of how Soviet Russia is ruled, and the origins and growth of Soviet institutions. The author was helped in his research by the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College—though the Bureau expressly disclaims any responsibility for the views and statements of the author. Mr. Batsell tries to be an impartial observer but we are afraid his judgment is influenced to some degree by his inate prejudice against the Soviet system and the—in his opinion—unnecessary violence with which the old regime was ousted. The appendices are the best part of the book. On the whole the book is quite informative.

Mr. Maurice Dobb's little book *Russia of To-day and Tomorrow* is a calm, clear and intelligent study of Soviet Russia. The author very wisely discards any attempt to make judgments about events in terms of an *a priori* scale of values. Any judgment of Moscow in terms of London or Berlin is obviously futile. The book is more of a psychological examination than a superficial description ; in 40 pages of absorbing interest it gives a deep insight into Soviet Russia and her people.

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6. Humanity Uprooted. By Maurice Hindus. (Jonathan Cape Ltd., 30 Bedford Square, London) 1929.

7. Russia in Resurrection. By An English Europasian (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 68-74 Carter Lane London) 1928.

8. A New Party in Russia. By P. Malevsky-Malevitch. (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 68-74 Carter Lane London) 1928.

9. Moscow Unmasked. By Joseph Douillet. (The Pilot Press, 2 Little Essex Street, Strand, London) 1930.

10. Lightbearers of Darkness. By Inquire Within. (Boswell Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., 10 Essex Street, London, W. C.) 1930.

A world such as the one the Bolsheviks are seeking to create has not been known before. Religion, private property, the family, standards of sex morality, conceptions of sex love, have no place in this world. How they are seeking to rid themselves of the old institutions and the consequent reactions on Russian mankind and their relations with the outside world, these are the theme of *Humanity Uprooted* by Mr. Hindus. In the first part the author tells how and why Russia is seeking to abolish the old institutions and what she is offering in their place. In the second part of the book the author gives pen pictures of the different types of people that constitute the Russian humanity, and shows the transformations they have undergone since the coming of Soviotism. Finally the author discusses what in his opinion are and will be the consequences of this and the movement for world revolution. It is one of the most informative books on the subject.

Out of the heaving cauldron of the Russian Revolution have sprung forth many curious things. Here is a new party—Europasians. They claim that Russia is a separate entity, that the 150 years of Imperial regime which tried to impose western ideals on the Russians made the nation stray from their natural path : hence her unhappiness. They maintain that the final break from this foreign superimposition took the form of the revolution, that Bolshevism is only a

transitory phase before Russia goes back to the track she left 150 years ago. We have two books on the subject before us. *Russia in Resurrection* by an English Europasian and the other *A New Party in Russia* by P. Malevsky-Malevitch. Writing about the latter Prof. P. N. Savitzky says : " The origin and true spirit of the Russian Revolution, in spite of Communism are coming to light and are disclosed by a new Russian movement—Europasianism. A fundamental conclusion—the Revolution definitely shows Russia as a separate cultural and economic World—Europasia. The author deals with problems : of Federation ; of new leadership and government ; of a rational solution of the economic difficulties, allowing freedom to private enterprise, yet not entrailing the smashing up of the existing conditions, etc. The basic question is one of Religion, and as such concerns not Russia alone but the whole of humanity".

Joseph Doillet—whose book *Moscow Unmasked* has been made accessible to us through its translation into English by A.W. King—must have some cause for deep resentment against the Bolsheviks so bitter and vitriolic are his charges against them. He says no one, excepting himself, knows what havoc this " scourge of civilization is playing in Russia. When foreigners go to Russia they are guided openly or secretly to see only what has been "prepared, cleaned and tidied for inspection".

Things would not be as they ought to be, and are, if the Jews were not included in the Russian pie. *Light Bearers of Darkness* not only provides that quota by making the Jews responsible for the revolution but goes one better, for in mystic language it claims for this the sanction of the occult hierarchy of the Powers of Darkness. The author is Mr. Inquire Within who is described as having been for some years a Ruling Chief of the Mother Temple of the Stella Matutina and R. R. et A. C.—he ought to know. This is the description and explanation given of the sketch on the jacket of the book: "As above so below—the Lightbearer, the defied man, the Pentagram, in the midst of the lights of the Cabalistic Tree of Life, receiving the forces from the overshadowing Power above and distributing the same to the earth below, upon which he stands. Out of his mouth goes the sword of Flame—the word of Power—the point resting upon Russia, for, as it was said, the great work of the Rosicrucians was to begin in Russia." Now you know.

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(4) RECENT POLITICAL WORKS.

1. **The League of Nations.** By R. Jones and S. S. Sherman (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C.) 1927.

2. **The Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations.** By C. Howard-Ellis. (George Allen and Unwin, Museum Street, London) 1928.

3. **League of Nations : Ten Years of World Co-operation** (Secretariat of the League of Nations, Information Section, Geneva, Switzerland) 1930.

4. **The World of Nations.** By Pitman B. Potter (The Macmillan Company, 60-62 Fifth Avenue, New York, U. S. A.) 1929.

5. **The United States of Europe.** By Edouard Herriot. (George G. Harrap and Company Ltd., 39-41, Parker Street, Kingsway London) 1930.

The League of Nations by Messrs R. Jones and S. S. Sherman gives in about 200 octavo pages a concise and clear account of the forces in human progress which led up to the formation of the League of Nations and its structure. It also gives an account of the League in action and points out the probable form it might attain and the functions it might perform in the future. The book under review supplies a much-needed work, giving as it does in a small space all the information necessary, thus obviating the necessity to delve into bulky literature which is not possible for the busy man of affairs.

Mr. C. Howard-Ellis is a free-lance journalist, who contributes regularly to English American journals, and is thus in intimate and up to-date touch with affairs. *His Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations*, is a thorough study of the League. The author, who is resident in Geneva, for three years availed himself to the full of the resources of the Secretariat and Labour Office braries, as well as the opportunities that he had for discussing his data with officials, delegates, and experts directly concerned with the League's work. The book under notice traces the beginnings of international organization, describes the coming of the War, the Peace Conference, and the framing of the Covenant. There are chapters on the Council, Assembly, Secretariat, International Labour Organization, the Permanent Court, the changes in international law introduced by the League, the finances of the League, and its technique. The texts of the Covenant, constitution of the International Organization and Statute of the Court are annexed. This is by far the most comprehensive book on the League of Nations that has yet been attempted.

The Secretariat of the League of Nations has published (under the title *League of Nations: Ten Years of World Co-operation*) a book of nearly 500 pages dealing with the development of the League, the efforts made and the results achieved in the past ten years of international co-operation on a scale which now extends to the greater part of inter-State relations. The publication fills a gap in documentation on the League. Hitherto those interested in the work of the League have had to wade through the numerous and often highly specialised official publications —which it will still be necessary to consult for exhaustive and scientific work—or to popular pamphlets prepared by the Secretariat on each of the League's spheres of activity. *Ten Years of World Co-operation* will take its place between these two sources of information. The book under notice is a comprehensive and authoritative statement of the facts; it contains a preface by Sir Eric Drummond, the Secretary-General, an introduction, an alphabetical index, and Annexes including the text of the Covenant and bibliographical notices. A decade in such an undertaking, as that of the League, might have been nothing at all. But it has been something very remarkable; thus this book which is a valuable guide and reference for every phase of League work, becomes a work indispensable to libraries and to all students, professors, publicists, historians and politicians in any way concerned with international affairs.

Mr. Pitman B. Potter in *This World of Nations* describes the political foundations, institutions and practices of the present-day nations and their international relations. He bases his arguments and conclusions on the "assumption that nations act upon the motive of self-interest and not of altruism", and discusses programmes for present and future action in the international field. In his description of the existing international situation the author has attempted to set forth some facts of world geography, world economic and social conditions, national and international psychology and politics, and contemporary international organisation and action. All this makes very interesting reading, showing as it does the trend of moderate American thought in this sphere.

Mons. Edvard Herriot—for ten years President of the French Radical-Socialist Party and Prime Minister of France and Minister for Foreign Affairs—examines in his *United States of Europe* the historical, economic and cultural aspects of the idea of a European federation of nations. He commences his book with a statement of what he calls "the decadence and grandeur of Europe", showing how the old continent has lost ground but is still full of great possibilities. He passes to a study of Briand's predecessors, who have cherished the dream of a united Europe since the fifteenth century, and there follow a number of chapters full of detailed information of what has already been done in the direction

of unification. A vast range of reading is summarized in the middle chapters of the book, which make it indispensable to the serious student of international affairs. M. Herriot concludes the book with a chapter of real eloquence, on the cultural aspects of the problem. This important work on politics has been well rendered into English, for the benefit of those who cannot read it in French, by Reginald J. Dingle.

6. **How Britain is Governed.** By Ramsay Muir. (Constable and Co., Ltd., 10-12 Orange Street, London, W. C. 2) 1930.

7. **The System of Financial Administration of Great Britain.** By William and Westal Willoughby and Samuel McCune Lindsay. (The Brookings Institution Washington, U. S. A.) 1929.

8. **The Sovereignty of the British Dominions.** By A. B. Keith. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martins Street, London) 1929.

9. **A Survey of Socialism.** By F. J. C. Hearnshaw (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., St. Martins Street, London) 1928.

How Britain is Governed is, as the author—Mr. Ramsay Muir—describes in the sub-title, a critical analysis of modern developments in the British system of Government. It is a study of the actual workings of the British Government in the post war era. Mr. Ramsay Muir tries to see things as they actually are, denuded of catchwords and traditional theories, and to suggest remedies for what is wrong. He conducts in the book under review a close and reasoned research into the situation as it has developed. It would be an exaggeration to say that he has, so far as this critical survey is concerned, entirely lost his party prejudices. He has done so no more than anyone else can; but he has fallen under group influence as little as can be expected of any writer. Thus we have a remarkable and realistic study of the working of the British constitution, and an *expose* of its shortcomings by one of the most distinguished scholars of the British Liberal Party. The author traces the alarming growth of bureaucratic powers and the ineffectiveness with which it is controlled. He displays the dictatorship of the Cabinet, and shows how badly it works: the Cabinet has assumed more power than it can use, with the consequence that much important work is left undone. He examines the growing rigidity of party organisation, deals frankly with party funds; shows how powerful interests can obtain financial control over parties; contends that the Two Party system has become a corrupting force; and discusses how Government could be carried on with a balance of parties. He exhibits the vices of electorial system; analyses the powerlessness of the House of Commons to exercise any real control over finance or legislation; shows the futility of the House of Lords as a Second Chamber; and demonstrates the need for a more efficient body, examining various schemes for this purpose. No one will seriously question Mr. Muir's diagnosis of the evils, but on the remedies he suggests there is likely to be less of agreement. In short, the book is a searching and realistic analysis of the British system of government, and at the same time is full of suggestive ideas for constructive reform. The book should be a welcome addition to the literature of statecraft and its machinery.

The trustees of the Rockfeller Foundation accepted a plan formulated for the preparation of a series of handbooks through which exact information might be made available about the methods and practices developed by various state agencies in the conduct of public business. Under their auspices three eminent Americans were commissioned to collect materials, each holding a chair in a university, and two of whom had considerable experience in governmental administration. Thus Messrs. William and Westal Willoughly and Samuel McCune Lindsay proceeded to England and with intimate contact with the officials of the British Government produced the first of the projected handbooks in the form of a report

entitled *The System of Financial Administration of Great Britain*. The report sets forth clearly and concisely the scope and practical workings of the British budget system ; it also describes those particulars which will facilitate a better understanding of the adoptations of organisation and technique worked out by legislators and administrators to make effective the accepted principles of Finance. The work under review is very suggestive and instructive and is written in terms so clear as to be understood by any one without technical knowledge and is of immense value to the student of financial administration, citizens and public officers alike.

Professor Berriedale Keith's latest book the *Sovereignty of the British Dominions* is an attempt to elucidate the constitutional position of the British Empire in the light of the Report on Inter-Imperial Relations drawn up at the Imperial Conference of 1926. In it he discusses the development of the sovereignty reached by the Dominions, and the extent and limits of such sovereignty. To those who have read his earlier works on *Responsible Government in the Dominions* and *Imperial Unity in the Dominions* a great deal of the matter of this book will be found to cover familiar grounds. The chief interest of the book, however, is in the account of the developments which have taken place, since the publication of those earlier works, in the relations between the members of the Commonwealth, and the discussion of some of the questions to which these developments have given rise. We have no doubt that, in spite of Professor Keith's reputation for authoritative statements, his views on the present constitutional position in the Empire will not be universally acceptable. However the book is full of interest to the Indian politician at the present juncture.

F. J. C. Hearnshaw is a professor of Medieval History in the University of London, and he has written *A Survey of Socialism*, according to him, "analytical, historical, and critical." He claims to have made a vast and intimate study of socialism and its literature over a period of forty years. But this book, which purports to give "definite information concerning one of the vaguest and vastest, but at the same time most important, of the great political questions of the day", is very disappointing. It performs none of the feats it set out to accomplish. Its arguments are strong language, its information nil. The author would have better employed the forty years he devoted to this study if he had indulged in some other form of medieval recreation.

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(5) NEWEST WORKS ON SOCIOLOGY.

1. **America Conquers Britain.** By Ludwell Denny. (Alfred A. Knopf, 37 Bedford Square, London, W. C.) 1930.

2. **Jefferson and the Embargo.** By Louis Martin Sears. (Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, U. S. A.) 1927.

3. **Making America Safe for Democracy.** By B V. Hubbard. (Author, 319 East 55th Street, Chicago, U. S. A.) 1926.

4. **The Makers of the Unwritten Constitution.** By W. B. Munro. (The Macmillan Company, 60-62 Fifth Avenue, New York U. S. A.) 1930.

Fifty years ago Gladstone predicted that America would wrest commercial world supremacy from Britain. Now the record of the biggest economic war in history is told by Ludwell Denny in this book—*America Conquers Britain*. He traces the decline of the British Empire and the rise of the U. S. A. as the Dollar comes to rule the world. Is armed war probable ? Leaving prophecy to others, this book by piling fact upon fact reveals that the same conflicts over foreign markets and raw materials which precipitated the World War are raging at this moment. The author demonstrates that inspite of the Hoover-MacDonald naval agreement and the London conference,

the two governments are engaged in a bitter fight for world control of minerals, cables, radio, shipping, chemicals, oils. Mr. Denny has had considerable experience in international affairs, being for many years a foreign and diplomatic correspondent for American newspapers and magazines. *America Conquers Britain* is a factual exposure of a very dangerous international situation. It is a book of great value, in that it makes the reader realize that the world is once again drifting towards armed war.

In *Jefferson and the Embargo*, Mr. Sears has given (in the light of the philosophy of Jefferson) who was well-known as a pacifist, a comprehensive and constructive analysis of a phase of American Foreign Policy which is very imperfectly understood—a policy adopted to preserve peace when the honor and integrity of the United States, the most powerful Neutral, were threatened by certain measures of Great Britain and France. It is an examination of Jefferson's conceptions of International Law, and the repercussions of the Embargo on the sectional politics of the United States and an estimate of its actual relations to European trade and industry. It is a distinct contribution to the history of American Foreign Policy and to the newer literature concerning the Jeffersonian Democracy. This book should be of great interest to Indians at the present moment when their future constitutions and governmental machinery are in the forge.

Making America Safe for Democracy, by B. V. Hubbard gives a view of the Constitutional Convention, method of amendment and instances where amendments were adopted against the will of the people. It is a searching analysis of democracy, of the inherent strength and weaknesses of popular government as reflected in modern tendencies to abrogate rights and abolish privileges implied, if not expressed, in the American Constitution. The author maintains that is it absurd to regard the original Constitution of the United States as *sacrosanct*; it has faults, and something better can be devised. That is the object of the study, which is intended to be a constructive criticism of the present form of the Government of the United States.

The written constitution of the United States is a document that can be read in half an hour, but her political system to-day is widely different to the fundamental law as it left the hands of its architects in 1887. Mr. Munroe's Fred Morgan Kirby Lectures delivered at Lafayette College in 1929, now issued in book form, under the title of *The Makers of the Unwritten Constitution*, give an account of how four great Americans—Alexander Hamilton, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson and Woodrow Wilson—moulded and transformed the constitution in important directions. It is an illuminating study of four among the great and growing company of those who may be called, in a wider sense, the makers of the American Constitution.

5. **The Irish Free State.** By C. J. O'Donnell. Third Edition. (Cecil Palmer, 49 Chandos Street, London, W. C.) 1930.

6. **Escape.** By F. F. Nitti. Fourth Impression. (G. P. Putnam's sons, 2 West 45th Street, New York U. S. A.) 1930.

7. **Self-Determination for Austria.** By F. F. G. Klein Waechter. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London) 1929.

8. **Post-War Germany.** By K. T. Shah (D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) 1928.

9. **The French Constitution.** By Henry Morrison. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London) 1930.

That Mr. O'Donnell's *The Irish Free State* with the *Lordship of the World*—which latter first appeared in 1924—should be in its third edition. proves its popularity and the great interest it has provoked since its first appearance. *The Lordship of the*

World is still perhaps one of the most original books written about the war. Mr. O'Donnells forcible and trenchent writings backed up by an imposing array of facts and documents are too well known to need any commendation from us.

Francesco Nitti—the author of *Escape*—is a nephew of the former Italian Prime Minister Nitti, the noted liberal statesman who refused to adopt the Fascist creed. In his *Escape*, the book under review, he tells the story of his experiences on the "Fascist's Devil Island," Lipari, and his desperate bid for liberty along with two other political deportees. It gives a graphic description of the brutalities and atrocities practised by the Fascists in an attempt, the author asserts, to maintain a constitution entirely opposed to the will of the Italian people. It is difficult, to disbelieve a number of inferences drawn in this book, though the general impression is that Fascism saved Italy from a very grave domestic crisis; but if it is true that methods such as are described in this book were employed towards it, the success, however glorious, would be hard to justify. After nearly three years' imprisonment by orders of the Fascist Government, Signore Nitti is naturally biased in his political opinions, and though we may not agree with his wholesale condemnation of Fascism, we cannot but be dismayed by his account of the treatment to which political prisoners, exiled from Italy, were subjected. The book is well written, and description of Mr. Nitti's daring and successful bid for freedom, with his two companions, is well and eloquently portrayed.

For a long time the German Austrians have been desirous of forming themselves into a part of the German Republic as they are racially and culturally akin to the Germans of the Reich. But since 1919, the year of the treaty of St. Germain, the Allies have been making it impossible for Austria to unite with the Reich; they have broken the pledges of President Wilson and have cast to the winds the noble ideal of self determination, upon which the Austrians had relied when they sued for peace. The book, under review—*Self Determination for Austria*—is an interesting thesis on the right of Austria to unite with the Reich. The learned author Herr Kleinwaechter describes Austria's struggle for the right of self-determination, and draws attention, not only to the racial and cultural affinity of the Germans and the Austrians, but to their common historical association for over a thousand years. The author then goes on to describe the economic disorganisation of Austria consequent on the break up of the old Austro-Hungarian kingdom, and examines the various remedies suggested by the Entente publicists and politicians to resuscitate the carcase of Austria. Austria with six and a half million Germans and surrounded by Succession States and tariff walls cannot remain isolated for very long. An independent Austria is thus out of the realm of practical politics. But it may be asked. "If Austria requires a great economic territory, why does she not join the so-called Danube Federation? Or, why does she not join any one of the Succession States, or Italy or a Federation composed of all the states that once constituted the Austro-Hungarian monarchy?" The author demonstrates the impracticability of the Danube Federation of the territories of the old Austria-Hungary, or union with anyone of the Succession States or Italy, and therefore concludes that "the only solution is the union of the Austrian German Reich". The book deserves serious consideration.

Post-War Germany, by K. T. Shah, is a little book containing an interesting series of lectures delivered by Professor Shah in the Bombay University Extension series, during the Monsoon term of 1928. The author has contrived to get an enormous amount of information into his lectures. He starts with an introductory survey, in which he describes some similarities between India and Germany, but he also finds some peculiarities in Germany as yet absent in India, for example, a high level of education and a sense of national and individual discipline. The author tells the history of

Germany's gigantic experiment and the tremendous progress she has been able to achieve inspite of the fact that the war left helpless and prostrate. Germany has shown herself greater in defeat in that out of her political and economic chaos and collapse her statesmen have erected a new frame-work of government, stabilised the finances of the country, revived industry and satisfied the reparation demands of the allies. Mr. Shah gives us a faithful picture of the stupendous task which the German statesmen had before them, the magnitude of the remarkable achievements of Germany which are not only a tribute to German leadership, but also to the sense of discipline and solidarity of the German people. It will add to the usefulness of the study if, in the next edition an index is added, epecially as the table of contents does not agree with the actual text.

The French Constitution, is written primarily for the use of students, and considering the involved nature of the subject the author—Henry Morrison—has done his work well; he has described clearly and concisely, in less than hundred pages, the origin and functions of the Government of France. It is a remarkably informative book and its accuracy is vouched for, in the preface, by Monsieur A. De Fleurian, the French Ambassador in London.

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(6) LATEST BOOKS OF REFERENCE

Social Year-Book 1929. (Russell-Sage Foundation, 130 East 22nd Street, New York, U. S. A.) 1930.

The Social Year-Book is an American reference work of great excellence and considerable usefulness. It is designed to meet the urgent need in the United States for accurate, readily accessible information in social work and its related field. It constitutes a valuable historic record, but primarily it is a book for everyday use, published to aid all persons who need to use data showing social trends, recent developments, and social forces at work in that country. It is skilfully edited with the aid of a distinguished advisory committee of 197 contributors, in signed articles dealing with the history, recent progress, and present status of the fields of social advance, with which each writer is associated. These 197 signed articles, arranged alphabetically and adequately cross-referenced, comprise Part I of the volume, or nearly 500 of its 600 pages. The topical articles cover all the familiar subjects in the field of social work and the groups for which such work is organized. Part II of the *Year-Book* contains a comprehensive decriptive roster of 452 agencies, public and private, operating in the field of social work in that country. This list is the most complete of its sort ever compiled. *The Social Work Year-Book* will thus be useful to all social workers, reformers, research scholars, and sociologists. It is invaluable alike for study and reference.

Sweden of To-day. Edited by Major-General M. Blomsted and Professor F. Book. (A. B. Hasse W. Tullbergs, Forlag, Stockholm, Sweden) 1930.

Sweden of To-day, should be indispensable to anyone who wishes to learn about that Scandinavian country, as every phase of Swedish life—art, letters, drama, industry, science, education, social activities and sport—is surveyed by experts in a series of essays which are abundantly illustrated with excellent photographs. The production of so complete and encyclopaedic a monograph about Sweden makes one regret that no such volume, of the same kind, is available for foreigners who wish to study the land and the people of India. About the only criticism we may offer is that its size is unweildy and its weight heavy. For the rest, the publication of this work, in English, makes available to the world a truly standard work dealing with Sweden's geographical, economic, political and cultural conditions. The book is attractively got up and the illustrations are well chosen and representative. Swedish culture could not be presented to the outside world in a better form than this, and the work, affords the reader a sound insight into the intellectual and material culture of Sweden.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1931. (Census and Statistics Office, Wellington, New Zealand), 1930.

The New Zealand Official Year-Book for 1931—which is in its thirty-ninth issue—is a remarkably useful work, giving detailed information relating to New Zealand. Detailed chapters are devoted to the description, history, constitution and administration, statistical organisation, population, education, shipping, railways, public finance, banking, wealth and incomes, defence, etc., of New Zealand. Entirely new sections are added to it when necessary, to bring the information abreast of the latest events and incidents. These add materially to the usefulness of a highly meritorious work of reference, which is comprehensive in its scope and accurate in its data. All subjects of importance, enriched with statistics brought up-to-date, find place in the *Year-Book*, which is an authoritative volume, relating to New Zealand. The current edition not only retains all the salient features of its predecessors, but also a substantial amount of new matter has been added to it. In its present form, this highly useful reference annual will continue to be indispensable to all interested in the affairs of New Zealand.

The Soviet Union 1929. (Soviet Union Information Bureau, Washington, U. S. A.) 1930.

The Soviet Union 1929 makes availabe for readers in a convenient, condensed form, full information—political, cultural and economic—about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The material includes historical chronicle of events, a bibliography of informative books published in English, maps and charts, and an index also enhances its utility. This handy well-printed volume contains all the information that one might require about the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. A unique feature of this publication is the set of comparative statistics it furnishes us with as to the state of Russia both before and after the Soviet Republics came into being and often also both before and after the War. This gives us an idea as to whether the propaganda against the Soviet Republics is or is not genuine. The value of the book consists in its being a vade-mecum of information bearing on Soviet activities from its foundations to date. It is well worth study by those who take any interest in the great country of Russia, and the contributions it has made and is still making to the political history of the world.

"The Norway Year-Book." (Sverre Mortensen, Forlag A/S, Oslo, Norway) 1930.

The first issue of the *Norway Year-Book* (published in 1923) was appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review*. The second issue has just appeared under capable editorship. The book gives, in English, a reliable and interesting survey of Norway to-day in various fields, and the revision of the text, in the edition under notice, is eloquent of the progress of the country even in so short a space as seven years. All the articles and statistical matter have been fully brought up to date. The comprehensive scope of this highly useful reference work is clear from the fact that it deals with geography, history, administration, finance, education, church, literature, arts, sports, foreigners, museums, sciences, agriculture, forests, fisheries, mining, shipping, labour, banks, industries, communications foreign trade, and various other topics,—on all of which there are short articles by experts. The descriptions are clear the information reliable. The editor, Mr. Arne Kildal, has turned out a highly meritorious work of reference, packed with valuable information relating to Norway.

Employment Directory. Compiled by B. P. Mathur. (Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad) 1930.

The Swadeshi Directory. Second edition. (Dr. S. K. Basu, 97 Asutosh Mukherjee Road, Calcutta) 1930.

Mr. B. P. Mathur's *Employment Directory* is a useful and informative work which gives full particulars and rules of all the services open to the large number of unemployed graduates and under-graduates. It is a comprehensive reference work containing particulars of almost all Imperial and Provincial

services, including those recruited through the Public Services Commission. It will be found invaluable by prospective candidates.

The revised and enlarged second edition of the *Swadeshi Directory* contains information in regard to Swadeshi goods and Indian manufacturers. Its get-up is decent, and it is cheaply priced at one anna. A directory furnishing the consumers with a full list of Indian products is most welcome, and we are sure that this meritorious little compilation will fulfil its purpose of stimulating Indian talent in the task of the reorganisation of Indian industries. It should be kept handy by every Indian desirous of purchasing country-made goods.

The Investor's India Year-Book 1930-1. Eighteenth edition. (Place, Siddons and Gough, 32 Dalhousie Square, Calcutta) 1931.

Messrs Place, Siddons and Gough—the well-known stock and share brokers of Calcutta—have issued, carefully revised and fully brought up-to-date, the eighteenth annual edition of their *Investor's India Year-Book*. The compilers—whose work we have previously commended in the *Hindustan Review*—have adhered to the old plan of surveying in the Preface the economic situation and trade conditions during the preceding year, followed by summaries of the various companies dealing in or concerned with loans and banking, railways, coal, cotton, jute, tea, rubber, tin and some others. Each company has a short preamble, followed by a table showing the analysis of working for the past 5/10 years or so. It would thus be seen that the book is stocked with most useful information for all bankers, brokers, solicitors, share operators and others who have to deal in shares. It is the completest work of reference on trade and industry in India, and covers the whole field of investment and employment of capital, and is planned on a system not to be found elsewhere. It is absolutely indispensable to investors and businessmen in this country.

The Motor-Cyclist's Reference Year-Book 1931-2. (George Newnes Ltd., 8/11 Southampton Street, Strand, London, W. C. 2) 1931.

Mr. F. J. Camm's *Motor Cyclist's Reference Year-Book* is the only reference work of its kind and it is a veritable encyclopaedia on all matters relating to cycles. It contains sections on the speedometer, automobile engineering as a career, modern carburettors, magnetos, practical overhauling, motor cycle insurance, lighting systems, route marking, associations and societies, safety helmets, compulsory insurance, motor cycle directory, sparking plugs, the principles of steering, tracing magneto trouble, useful facts and figures, and many hundreds of practical illustrations. It consists of 144 pages, packed with matter which hitherto has been hard to find when wanted. A useful index enables the reader to turn up the piece of information he wants immediately. The work is almost encyclopaedic in its scope, and deserves wide circulation amongst motor-cyclists.

The Fleet Street Annual 1931. (Fleet Publications, 9 Palace Gate, London, W 8) 1931.

Mr. Harold Herd is the editor of the *Fleet Street Annual*, which first appeared last year. The second edition (for the current year) is greatly improved, and is an excellent annual review of British journalism. It is the *par excellence* year-book for all journalists in the British Commonwealth. It deals systematically with the newspaper events of the year, and its "Literary Market Guide" is bound to prove a helpful feature to writers. It is a book for the free-lance writer, as well as for the working journalist, as its scope is comprehensive, dealing as it does with all aspects of modern journalism. We have only one criticism to offer. Its list of Indian periodicals (at p. 98) should be carefully revised by an expert, as it is incomplete and does not contain even such names as the *Hindustan Review* or the *Modern Review*.

Hand-Book of Indian Universities 1930. Edited by P. Seshadri. (Sanatana Dharma College, Cawnpore) 1930.

Principal Seshadri's excellent compilation called *Hand-Book of Indian Universities* has

appeared in its third annual edition. We commended the previous two issues at the time of their appearance, and cordially welcome the edition under notice, which is the completest reference work to the Indian universities and the allied institutions. It contains—in alphabetical order—detailed accounts of the eighteen universities in British India, Indian States and Burma, followed by those of ten other educational and cultural centres. The book should appeal to educationalists and educational workers throughout the country. It is carefully revised and the information brought abreast of the latest changes in the universities and the allied cultural institutions.

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(7) CURRENT GUIDE BOOKS AND TOURISTS' LITERATURE.

London 1931. (The Residential Hotels and Caterers' Association, 4 Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1) 1931.

Where to Stay in Great Britain. (Hotels and Restaurants Association, 11 Southampton Row, London, W. C. 1), 1931.

The two books enumerated above are issued annually by the organizations mentioned after their names. *London 1931*—which is now in its tenth annual edition—is a very useful guide to London, since it tells (in a short compass) what to see there, where to stay at its residential hotels—*i. e.*, establishments "unlicensed" for the sale of alcoholic liquors—and what to pay for accommodation in them. Well illustrated, brimful of the latest practical information about social events and sporting fixtures, and containing descriptive sketches of the principal scenes and sights of London, it is for its price—which is but six pence—the cheapest, and the most up-to-date guide to the capital city of the British Commonwealth, as it is fully abreast of the latest changes. No visitor to or resident in London but will benefit by keeping it handy.

The scope of the second publication in our list is not, in a sense, so wide as that of *London 1931*. Divided into two parts, its first section deals with the "licensed" hotels and restaurants in London, and the second section is similarly devoted to those in Britain, outside London. Alphabetical arrangement is adopted, with a separate classification for the Scottish hotels, which system facilitates reference. In addition to useful information (regarding accommodation, tariff, telephone numbers, and telegraphic addresses), there is appended in each case a photographic view of the establishment in question. The book will be highly serviceable to travellers, in the British Isles. Both *London 1931* and *Where to stay in Great Britain* are neatly printed, well-illustrated and handy, and they usefully supplement each other.

The Cathedrals of Great Britain. By P. A. Ditchfield. Fourth Edition. (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W. C.) 1930.

The Cathedrals of England and Wales. By T. F. Bumpus. Pocket Edition. (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., Cobham House, 24 and 26 Water Lane, London, E.C.) 1930.

We welcome the new editions of two well-known guides to the British cathedrals. *The Cathedrals of Great Britain* by Mr. Ditchfield is already well-known. The fourth edition has been thoroughly revised and enlarged, and particulars are furnished of the new cathedrals. There are now sixty-three cathedral churches in Britain, the architectural features of which are vividly described and illustrated in the book under notice. This revised and enlarged edition of a popular and authoritative survey, dealing first with the history of the see and then with the architectural features of the building, is an excellent compendious sketch of the British cathedrals.

Mr. T. Francis Bumpus has written extensively (and hitherto expensively) on the cathedrals of various countries in western Europe. The present volume, *The Cathedrals of England and Wales*, has most valuable historical and archaeological data, fifty-six illustrations of the buildings includ-

ing reproductions of eight paintings, and is a nice little book for tourists, being a pocket edition of the unabridged text of his well-known handbook. Its 400 pages (on thin but strong paper) give all the information about the cathedrals, that the visitor to England and Wales, will require. It should prove a boon to motorists in particular, and tourists in general.

Glimpses of the East 1930-1. (N. Y. K. Office, (2 & 3 Clive Row, Calcutta) 1930.

Glimpses of the East, now in its thirteenth annual issue, is truly a guide *de luxe* to the geography and commerce of the greater part of the world. It is the official guide of the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, and is a large and handsome volume. Thus far, says the preface, more than 1,80,000 copies of the various editions have been distributed, and they must have had a considerable effect in instructing the world at large about its geography and its commerce. The editor and the Company are to be congratulated on producing so splendid a geographical work, full of beauty and information. The title is misleading. There are glimpses of the East in abundance. But there is much more. Many other parts of the world are laid under contribution, both for information and for illustration—South Africa, Australia, several countries of Europe, the United States. The superb coloured illustrations, which number hundreds, are admirably produced. There is all the information the business man is likely to want about the chief ports of the world, or the traveller about the lands of the East and the West, while the abundant advertisements themselves give a wealth of knowledge. Convenient arrangement, a good index, twenty-four insets and the splendid illustrations, all tend to make this work highly attractive alike for reference and study.

Iceland : Handbook for Tourists. Second Edition. (Hekla Travel Bureau, Reykjawik, Iceland ; also William Blackwood and Sons, Ltd., 45 George Street, Edinburgh) 1930.

Twenty years have elapsed since the appearance of the first edition of the well-known practical guide to Iceland by Mr. Stefan Stefansson—one of the most experienced guides in that country and well-known to English-knowing visitors. The recent millenary celebrations in Iceland have brought this remarkable land into the limelight. The new (second) edition of the *Hand-Book* is well printed in excellent English and contains a vast amount of practical information. The illustrations, too, are good, and there is a useful folding map of the island in colours, in a pocket in the outer cover. Mr. Stefansson's book is thoroughly upto-date and is, moreover, a model of all that a guide book should be. He not only describes in detail the best methods of reaching every place of interest in the country, adding many invaluable hints for the guidance of intending visitors, but gives a useful account of Iceland's history and literature, and descriptions of its climate, geological features, natural history and opportunities for sport. The book is an almost ideal guide to Iceland—a country which possesses some of the finest natural scenery

Pompeii in Three Hours. By Dr. T. Warsher. (Industria Tipografia Imperia, Rome, Italy) 1930.

A cordial welcome should be extended to the hand book called *Pompeii in Three Hours*, by Dr. Tatiana Warsher (with 100 illustrations and plans), which is meant to aid visitors, desirous of seeing the ruins by themselves. With this object the houses (which they have to see) are marked on the plan in red ; and also the streets. The numerous illustrations embellishing the text will help visitors materially. Madame Warsher has brought to bear upon her task an intimate knowledge of the remains of Pompeii. The volume has also claims on the consideration of scholars and art students by reason of the illustrations, most of which are reproduced in half-tone, quite successfully (though on a small scale) from the remarkable collection of the authoress. These illustrate and elucidate the arts and crafts, and private and religious life of the ancient Pompeians. Though there are various useful handbooks to the ruins of

Pompeii, Madame Warsher's book is by far and away the best for the hurried tourist, who wants to " do " the once buried city in three hours.

Wheeler's Indian Guide to British Resorts, 1931. (A. H. Wheeler and Co., Temple Chambers, Temple Avenue, London, E. C. 4) 1931.

The Medical Directory Guide to the British Spas and Climatic Health Resorts, 1931. (J. & A. Churchill, 40 Gloucester Place, Portman Square, London, W. 1) 1931.

The Indian Guide to British Health Resorts is a useful hand-book to the beauty spots and health resorts of Britain. Issued annually (at a nominal price of four annas), it will be specially appreciated and welcomed by those who wish to enjoy their " home " leave. The numerous illustrations leave nothing to be desired, while the letter-press, though necessarily brief and concise, is accurate and informative. The arrangement of the text is alphabetical, which facilitates reference. Containing as it does descriptions of all the leading British health resorts, it will be invaluable to those in India who may be visiting Britain.

The Guide to the British Spas and Climatic Health Resorts (annually compiled by the editor of the Health Resorts section of the Medical Directory) is an excellent, illustrated hand-book to British spas—both inland and coastal—and includes useful lists of hotels, hydros and residential accommodation. Its information is fully up-to-date, and it will be found exceedingly useful by invalids and visitors to those places. It offers sound advice as to the type of spa suitable for various disorders, and detailed particulars about climate, waters, situation, seasons and clinical indications. Thus it is a capital little guide to British health resorts.

The Peerless Riviera. Eighth edition. (Southern Railway Waterloo Station, London) 1931.

Where to Live Round London. 2 vols. (Homeland Association, Ltd., 37-38 Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, London, W.C. 2) 1930.

We have noted in terms of appreciation the previous editions of the *Peerless Riviera*, which is an excellent, illustrated hand-book to not only the French and the Italian Rivieras but also to the Rhone Valley cities. The last edition is fully up-to-date and thoroughly abreast of the latest changes. It should be indispensible to the many visitors to the Riviera, which is justly designated "peerless".

The two volumes of *Where to Live Round London* deal respectively with the northern and the southern sides. They give detailed information about the various places, and their attractions and amenities. They will be found highly useful by seekers after information for residence in these localities.

A Short Guide to the Indian Museum. (Trustees Indian Museum, Calcutta) 1930.

The Indian Museum, Calcutta, is the premier Imperial institution of its kind in the country, in the galleries of which are exhibited very valuable and interesting specimens of scientific and historical interest and importance. It has recently been enriched by the addition of the specimens excavated at Mohenjo daro. For the convenience of the general public and to give them a general idea of the exhibits a revised and enlarged edition of the *Short Guide to the Indian Museum* has just been published, which offers an excellent cursory survey of the highly interesting contents of the institution. No visitor to the Indian Museum should go there without a copy of this highly useful and indispensable hand-book.

A Guide to Badrinath Yatra. By Brahmachari Chakradhar Sharma (R. S. Ram Dayal Agarwala, Katra, Allahabad) 1930.

Brahmachari Chakradhar Sharma's *Guide to Badrinath Yatra* is an excellent little hand-book to visitors to the many famous pilgrim resorts in the Garhwal district. It gives brief but clear descriptions of the various routes to Yamnotri, Gangotri, Kedarnath, Badrinath, Satopanth, Kailash and Mansarover. Practical information is also furnished about the routes and the places. It is the first guide of its kind in English, and should be found highly useful by visitors.

(8) ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

Bombay To-day and Tomorrow, edited by Clifford Manshardt, with an introduction by H. E. Sir Frederick Sykes. (Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay) is a very welcome addition to the literature of civics in this country. Last cold weather a series of lectures on " Building a better City " were delivered in the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, Byculla. Eight prominent citizens, were invited to discuss their own work in relation to the life of Bombay. Mr. A.R. Dalal, the Municipal Commissioner, lectured on the Municipality and the City ; Mr. J. R. Glorney Bolton, of *The Times of India*, on the Newspaper and the City ; Mr. M. R. Jayakar on Communal Groups and the City ; Mr. K. Nataranjan, editor of *The India Social Reformer*, on Social Work and the City ; the Rev. John McKenzie, Principal of Wilson College, on Education and the City ; Mr. Fred Stones, of E. D. Sassoon and Company, Ltd., on the Employer and the City ; Mr. S. C. Joshi on the Labourer and the City ; and Mr. Clifford Manshardt on Religion and the City. All these lectures were not only informative but highly instructive and Mr. Manshardt having justly decided that they deserved greater publicity, and a larger audience, has now had them issued in book form. As each is written with authority, and advocates that by devoted co-operation the citizens of Bombay could overcome almost all the ills that darken life in the city to-day, the book should find a large circulation in this country, as much of what is stated in these lectures is equally applicable to other large cities in India.

Present-day Japan, the English supplement of *The Osaka Asahi* and *The Tokyo Asahi*—1930, (The Japanese Consulate, 26. 27 Dalhousie Square Calcutta) is a summary of the achievements of Japan during the past year. Besides describing her splendid industrial, commercial and political activities it gives accounts also of the scientific and literary developments. There are well-illustrated and informative, even brilliant, articles on manners and customs, on rites and festivals of the Japanese and on scenic beauties and art of Japan. Though Japan has made great strides in industry and commerce and in material progress in general on western lines, we are glad to be assured in the Introduction that the spirit of the Japan of beauty, romance and poetry will be never overcome by the materialistic culture of the west. But this assurance was hardly needed for the innumerable photos of present day life in this *Annual* show how untouched by western civilization in anything essential, are the people of the land of the Rising Sun. It is hardly necessary to mention the artistic merits of the get-up of this *Annual*, for everything the Japanese produce has that. Of the 9 coloured pictures—all of which are excellent—perhaps the cover design is the best inspite of its being traditional in treatment. We hope India would soon produce a National Annual on similar lines, for their life is no less picturesque.

Though the Report of the Statutory Commission on the Constitution of India is now as dead as Queen Anne, it had already produced two volumes of derivative literature. In his *The Simon Report on India* (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W. C. 2), Mr. R. W. Brock has offered an excellent abridgement of that voluminous blue-book (popularly known as "The Simon Report") for the benefit of the man in the street. Mr. Brock's book supplies a condensed sketch of all essential facts and opinions embodied in the two volumes of the Simon Report, (entitled respectively *Survey* and *Recommendations*). As far as possible the actual words of the Report are used. In effect this publication, for the first time, places the fruits of the Commission's investigations within reach of the general reader. For those who have not the time to read even this compendium to say nothing the whole Report, we recommend Mr. S.K. Ratcliffe's excellent summary, called *What the Simon Report Means* ('New Statesman' office, 10 Great Queen Street, London) which is

a straight forward explanation of the data and recommendations of the Simon Report.

Dr. Modi Memorial Volume issued by Dr. J. J. Mody's Commemorative Volume Committee (Mr. K.J. Dubash 79, Medows Street, Bombay) is an excellent and highly instructive collection of monographs and papers contributed by eminent scholars on Indo-Iranian subjects. It is a fitting tribute from fellow scholars to Dr. Sir Jamshedji Jivanji Modi's work in the field of Indo-Persian research, and a graceful acknowledgment of his scholarship. The ready response made by distinguished orientalists in India, Europe and America in contributing to this volume speaks by itself of tne esteem and affection in which the work and personality of Sir Jivanji are held by the *savants*. The volume contains some highly important and original monographs covering a wide field. Its eight hundred pages are replete with material for the synthetic history of India which is, perhaps, one of the greatest need of the day in the sphere of education. It is a book of great value alike to the student and the scholar. The printing and get-up is admirable.

Prof. Radhakrishnan, whose very thoughtful and inspiring discourses are presented in *The Heart of Hindustan* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras) is in the words of Principal Jacks not only "a great living master of Eastern thought but of the Western as well". In this collection containing his discourses on "The Heart of Hinduism", "The Hindu Dharma", "Islam and Indian Thought", "Hindu Thought and Christian Doctrine", "Buddhism" and "Indian Philosophy", Prof. Radhakrishna presents to the western world all that is truest, noblest and best in Hindu religion and thought. In this great work of interpretation Prof. Radhakrishnan has continued the signal service rendered to the country by Swami Vivekananda. A welcome addition to the collection is the illuminating account of the life and works of the Professor from the pen of Dr. J. K. Majumdar, M.A., which is prefixed to the book.

Great English Short Stories, edited by L. Melville and R. Hargreaves. (George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London) is a collection of 82 complete stories. The aim of the editors has been firstly, to provide interesting reading; secondly, to show the development of the English short story through the various periods. There will be found, therefore, several short stories in the volume that cannot claim the description 'great' but which had to be included on the score of their historical interest. Among the modern authors represented are Henry James, Joseph Conrad, W. J. Locke, H. G. Wells, Arnold Bennett, John Galsworthy, W. B. Maxwell, "Saki", G. K. Chesterton, Rafael Sabatini, Lord Dunsany, R. H. Mottram, D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, F. Britten Austin, and Ianthe Jerrold.

We have before us five neat little volumes of the World's classics (Humphrey Milford : Oxford University Press, Fetter Lane, London W.C.) that are notable additions, in keeping with the traditions of this famous series which we have repeatedly noticed in terms of highest appreciation in our pages. *Roderick Random* of Smollet and *Northanger Abbey* of Jane Austin are now available for slipping into the traveller's pocket. Then there are the most original and aggressive *American Critical Essays XIX-XX Century*, by fifteen of the greatest American writers, edited by Norman Foerster, and the deeply interesting *Pages From a Journal* with other papers by Mark Rutherford. Lastly though by no means the least interesting is *Stories of Africa*, chosen by E. C. Parnwell ; this anthology is planned to give a general impression of the stories of Africa written in English during the last fifty years, it is a choice selection.

Folk Tales of All Nations, edited by F. H. Lee (George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 39-41 Parker Street, Kingsway, London) presents practically every type of folk story, among the three hundred and forty collected in this volume: and which illustrate in

a unique way the development of human thought. The Kaffir and the Hottentot from Africa; the Eskimo and the Pueblo Indian from America; the Breton and the Bohemian from Europe; the Malay and the Persian from Asia; the Aboriginal Australian and the Maori from Australasia—these, with very many others, find a place in the book. Sixty-four races or countries are represented and in each case there are prefatory notes pointing out salient features and drawing parallels. Some care has been devoted to preserving the spirit of the original. It is an instructive as well as a delightful book.

Indira Devi (Ganesh and Co., Madras) a romance of Modern India, by A. Subrahmanyan, is an interesting book in that it gives a very minute and faithful portrayal of Hindu life and its incidents. Works of fiction based on Indian life, written generally by foreigners are distinguished, invariably, for their gross inaccuracies about most things Indian. And yet it is from those books that the outside world gets its impression about us, for there are few there who have the time or the inclination to study India from serious works. It is well that Indians are beginning to write books, like the one under notice, in foreign languages for the benefit of people outside India. It is remarkably well-written for a virgin attempt of an Indian writing in English.

The seventh edition of Birendra Nath Ghosh's well-known treatise on *Hygiene and Public Health* (Scientific Publishing Company: 9 Taltolla Lane, Calcutta) has been revised and largely rewritten to bring it up-to-date according to the latest conception of preventative medicine. The introductory chapter on Public Health Administration gives a description of the evolution of public health activities in England *vis-a-vis* with that of India in the past and present, and the probable lines of development in the future. It is a most helpful and comprehensive book for the student of Public Hygiene and Health.

Messrs G.A. Natesan and Co. (Madras) have with commendable promptitude brought out a collection of the *Speeches at the Round Table Conference*. Everyone will readily admit that India's demand for Dominion Status has been re-inforced with remarkable eloquence and authority at the Round Table. The speeches collected, in the booklet under review, are of timely interest. To add to the usefulness of the volume the publishers have included the full text of H. E. the Viceroy's statement on the genesis of the Conference and also a summary of the debate in the House of Commons, thus bringing the literature on the subject up-to-date. This is a very handy and useful book.

Mr. Michael Joseph's *Complete Writing for Profit* (Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., Paternoster Row, London) is an omnibus volume, which contains over a thousand pages, and comprises the full text of the author's well-known books, *Short Story Writing for Profit, Journalism for Profit, The Commercial side of Literature, How to Write Serial Fiction* and *The Magazine Story*. The text has been considerably revised and brought up-to-date, and the volume, which covers the whole ground of free-lance writing, is indispensable to every author or journalist—amateur or professional.

Srimatis Santa Devi and Seeta Devi, the talented daughters of Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee the well-known editor of the *Modern Review*, have tried to study and portray in *Garden Creeper* (Prabasi Press, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) an ultra-modern upper class Bengali household, and the effect on it of the conflict of two great and widely different cultures—the Indian and the European. The result is a charming novel which shows much promise. Miss Seeta Devi's translation of it into admirable English is specially commendable.

Miss M. Masilamany who, under the nom-de-plume of M. Maheshwari Devi, has written a *First Book of Indian Music*. (The author, Shantineketan, Jaffna, Ceylon), is a teacher of music and is thus well conversant with the difficulties that the student

has to encounter in studying music. She has performed a most useful deed in compiling this work as there was till now no such book for the learner. It is written simply but with much skill and knowledge. Miss Masilamany has written First Books on Indian Music in Tamil and Sinhalese also.

Arthur Mee's Story Book (Hodder and Stoughton Ltd. Warwick Square, London E. C. 4) sets out to prove that " the world is full of a number of things " which are passed by unnoticed, and are not considered important enough to be recorded or be mentioned even by newspapers. Deeds of valour, kindness, sympathy, help, sacrifice and a multitude of other great actions are done every day all around us and the world is not as bad as some would make out. In this book the author has collected a large number of true stories of the past and the present from amongst diverse people to illustrate his contentions. It is a charming and wholesome volume to put into the hands of the child.

Moulvi Mirza Ghulam Abbas Ali Sahib says in his preface to the *Life of Husain* (Maulvi Ghulam Muhammad Mahdi Sahib, Government Khazi and Hony. Magistrate, Madras) that there has not been written, before this, any complete biography of this illustrious grandson of the Prophet of Islam. The author has fulfilled this want by this exhaustive account of a personality whose faith, courage and determination had already made for it a permanent niche in the temple of the immortals.

Satyendra Sunder Chakravarty (10, College Square, Calcutta) have shown commendable enterprise in publishing so promptly after his death *Pandit Motilal Nehru : His Life and Work* written by Messrs. Upendra Chandra Bhattacharya and S. S. Chakravarty. The book also contains descriptions of the funeral scenes, the last rites, his last Presidential address at the Calcutta Congress, and the full text of the Nehru Constitution ; it is embelished with illustrations.

It is a well-established fact that the Bible contains some of the finest specimens of literary craftmanship. The authorised version has rendered it into beautiful and stalely English, and it occupies an unchallengeable position in the English Literature. *The Bible as Literature* by Kathleen E. Innes (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London, W.C.) contains a few selected studies from the Bible which will be much appreciated by the *Literati*.

Chow-Chow by Lady Falkland, wife of the Governor of Bombay, is, like the well-known *Letters from India* of Miss Emily Eden, a classical pen-picture of Anglo-Indian life before the Mutiny. The publishers (Eric Partridge : At the Scholartis Press, 30, Museum Street, London) have performed a great service in rescuing from oblivion this witty and vivid writer and her book.

Messrs Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., (6, Old Court House Street, Calcutta) have issued in their Saints of India Series *Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa and Swami Vivekananda.* These sketches of two great teachers are told in easy English to suit the youthful readers for whom the book is intended. Swami Vivekananda's life of travel and action should specially appeal to the child-mind.

A Year in England for Indian Students by Wilfrid Thorley (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London, W. C.) gives in the form of lessons and exercises information about the intimate life and institutions of England into which the average student from India seldom gets an insight. It ought to be read by every young Indian who wishes to study English life.

He would be a dull dog indeed who did not find rich cause for laughter in *The Book of Howlers* compiled by Cecil Hunt (John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., Vigo Street, London, W.). This rich harvest of fun should be welcome to invalids, lonely folk and those physically isolated and bring genuine laughter to its readers.

Svarnakumari Devi is a writer of some repute. Hitherto she has written stories,

now she launches forth a play—*Princess Kalyani* (Ganesh & Co., Madras). It is distinguished for its fine touches, its gay brightness and easy movement. It will make an excellent Pantomine.

A Childs Charles Dickens (Cecil Palmer, 49 Chandos Street, London, W. C.) is a brilliant anthology compiled by Mr. Braybrooke with enthusiasm and deep understanding of the child's mind. It should delight children both young and old.

The notable additions recently made to Indian periodical literature are a quarterly called Theatre (devoted to drama and art and issued by the Amateur Dramatic Association of Bangalore) and the *Orient*, a bimonthly magazine, edited by W. H D. Sethna, having for its object the interpretation of the life and literature of the East and the West and also a critical examination of progressive thought in India. It is issued from 91 Fort Street, Fort, Bombay. Each of these is excellent. Another excellent periodical is the *States Chronicle*, edited by Mr. Narayandas Tardon. Though issued from Indore, it is printed at the Indian Press, Allahabad. Its distinctive feature is a series of special numbers, mainly dealing with Indore affairs, well-written and superbly illustrated. The *States Chronicle* is a notable addition to the illustrated Periodical Press of India.

Messrs Dent (Aldine House, Bedford St. London W. C. 2) patiently pursue the ideal set for them long ago in the inception of "Everyman's Library." With the batch of ten new volumes this library comprises 898 books, every one of which has commanded and will continue to command the respect due to "classics." The ten new volumes are made up as follows: "The Confessions of Jean Jacques Rousseau," a complete and unabridged translation in two volumes; "The Possessed," by Dostoevsky, translated by Mrs. Constance Garnett and introduced by Mr. Middleton Murry; "Trilby," George Du Maurier's novel that has become a Victorian document; a novel by "Q"—"Hetty Wesley"—perhaps the best work of a great tale-teller; "The Mysteries of Udolpho" (two volumes), by Anne Radcliffe; "The Poems of John Donne," edited by Mr. Hugh Fausset; and "Richard Baxter's Autobiography," a book to which many will turn for joy and sustenance.

Messrs G. P. Putnam's Sons (24 Bedford Street, London W.C. 2) are responsible for *Don't be Tired* by Dr. Peter Schmidt, translated from the German by Mary Chadwick (Psychological Assistant at the London Clinic of Psycho-analysis) is an interesting volume. Fatigue is a widespread phenomenon, almost a world epidemic, to-day. If we ask the cause we are informed that it is the product of our age, and recognizing the truth of this we feel powerless to attack it at its origin. "Take a rest, go to bed earlier, don't worry about things!" Advice of this sort may be sound in itself, but it is of little use. In this book Dr. Peter Schmidt offers no quack remedies, no miraculous cures, but he shows us several ways of combating fatigue at other points with methods that may be relied upon to have satisfactory results, of increasing the efficiency of the individual without injury to general health. And a special chapter is devoted to Fatigue in Women.

Messrs G. P. Putnam's Sons (24 Bedford St. London W.C. 2) are publishers of *Eat And Grow Thin*, by Vance Thompson. This book contains the famous Mahdah Menus which enable one to eat and eat well, and still grow thin. It is frankly opposed to the starvation diet. It has nothing to do with kitchen thrift or table economy. Its plain purpose is to show fat people how they can dine well and grow thin. All the dishes are of the sort that can be prepared at home by any competent cook, or had at any good restaurant.

THE CRISIS IN INDIA: A SURVEY.

By Mr. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA.

SINCE we surveyed last time, some months back, the political situation in the country, events have happened and incidents taken place which have metamorphosed conditions, in quick succession with almost lightning rapidity, and transformed them into such as are expected to result in the shifting scenes of a kaleidoscope or a phantasmagoria, rather than in the stern realities of life. First and foremost was the termination—towards the end of January last—of the first stage of the Round Table Conference in London, followed by the sudden release of Mr. Gandhi and the other members of the Working Committee of the Congress. Soon after was announced the declaration of truce, as embodied in the Irwin-Gandhi pact, followed by the acceptance and confirmation of it at the Karachi session of the Conference. Since then the country has seen the struggle going on between the communalist and the nationalist sections of educated Mussalmans, which has found expression at Delhi and Lucknow respectively. On the top of all these has come the departure of Lord Irwin, on the completion of his term of office, and the inauguration of the *regime* of his successor —Lord Willingdon. These have been the various acts in the drama played on the Indian stage during the last few months, while we shall refer to the minor scenes in dealing with the events and incidents germane to them.

Now young Mr. MacDonalad M. P.—a son of the Prime Minister—has revealed in the course of communcations to the press (for which he was trounced and traduced in the House of Commons) that while all the high-sounding talk was going on at the Round Table Conference, the actual declaration of policy of the British Government, made by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on the fast day ol the Conference, was written and typed weeks before it was brought to a close—thus indicating clearly that it (the declaration) had been evidently settled previously irrespective of what the Conference might ask for, agree to or decide. At any rate, we know now what the Labour Government had decided to bestow on India in the way of self-government. It is to be provincial autonomy, with a modicum of responsibility at the centre—the latter guarded and safeguarded with reservations and limitations which the British Government would consider essential, ostensibly in the interests of India, but really in those of British supremacy in this country. This view is amply borne out by the latest debate in the House of Lords (on 29th April) and particularly by the remarks made therein by Lord Reading. And the question is how the proposed system—unless it be substantially modified–is likely to work and to appeal to the imagination of the people of this country, the vast bulk of the politically-minded amongst whom have for years lived on hopes of attaining "Dominion Status", to say nothing of the Congress party's insistent clamour for "independence", since they adopted a resolution on the subject at their Lahore session, held in December 1929, and confirmed at Karachi last month.

As regards the promise of provincial autonomy, it would be all to the good, provided the system to be introduced is of the genuine brand—autonomy in the "Governor's provinces" in full, such as obtains where the Governor has to act constitutionally, that is strictly in accordance with the advice of a ministry, composed entirely of the elected members of the legislature, and wholly responsible to that body and dependent on the support of a majority of it, and not on any nominated block—official or non-official. During now more than ten years—

since the introduction of the Montagu Chelmsford reforms, in 1920—the country has suffered terribly in almost all the Governor's provinces as the result of the curiously hybrid and hopelessly defective system of dyarchy, under which (by means of nominated blocks) Governors have been enabled to retain, in many a case, incompetent, undeserving and unworthy Ministers, with a view to carry out their own policy through them. Such a wholly discredited system should not be now allowed to continue for even a day longer, and it is time that the Governor's provinces should at once enjoy true constitutional government—the underlying principle of which we have summed up above—without any reservations or limitations, except such as may be generally agreed to, for vesting the Governors with special powers to deal with extraordinary situations, or for maintaining peace and tranquility in times of abnormal upheavals and unexpected developments. For the rest, the administration of the province, in normal times, should be carried on by the Ministry, and the Governor must accept and act up to their advice, unless he is prepared to dissolve the legislature, on the grounds on which such dissolutions are brought about in countries where constitutional government obtains. But though a constitutional Governor and a Ministry wholly responsible to the legislature—or in other words full provincial autonomy—will be a great improvement on the present stupidly unscientific system prevailing in our major provinces, it must be distinctly understood that it will not by itself either be a sound political and administrative system, or at all capture the imagination of the people. A constitutional provincial administration with a more or less irresponsible central government will be—say like "civil disobedience" or "passive resistance"—a contradiction in terms, and will not work satisfactorily even for a day, because of the obvious incompatibility of the component parts of the system as a whole. While in so far as its appeal to popular imagination is concerned, it will not strike even that of the Liberals, who have repeatedly declared that nothing short of Dominion Status will satisfy their expectations. It is, therefore, necessary to advert to the scheme outlined at the Conference for the central government, before pronouncing judgment on the achievement of the Round Table Conference.

If the central government is to satisfy popular expectations and strike mass imagination, the question naturally arises how and to what extent it is practicable at present to make it responsible to the legislature. As to the "how" of it, perhaps the greatest achievement of the Round Table Conference was obviously the working out of the scheme for the federation of British India and Indian India. But for it, any responsibility in the central government would have been by no means feasible. And yet, though that is fortunately settled, the question of the extent of the introduction of responsibility in the central system still remains open to discussion. Now the extent of it—which seems to have been agreed to at the Round Table Conference will, if adopted in the new constitution, lead inevitably to the establishment of the much-condemned system of dyarchy in the government of India, just when it is likely to be abolished in the provincial governments. The propounders of the scheme at the Round Table Conference seem to be aware of it, as they have already begun to talk of the proposed system as "dualism", which is but a euphemistic synonym for dyarchy; and the question before the Government should be whether the politically-minded classes in the country will accept and whole-heartedly work a system which—stript of verbiage—would be nothing more or less than our old friend "dyarchy", in the central government.

In this connection it would be as well to keep in mind that it was no other than the Bombay Government which had the political prescience to give the following warning (on the impossibility of the satisfactory working of the then proposed system of diarchy) when Lord Willingdon himself was

the Governor:—"A reference to the records of Government will show that there is scarcely a question of importance which comes up for discussion and settlement in any one of the departments of Government which does not require to be weighed carefully in the light of considerations which form the province of another department of Government. And it follows from this that practically all proposals of importance put forward by the Minister (in charge of any of the departments suggested for transfer) will involve a reference to the authorities in charge of the reserved departments. There are few, if any, subjects on which they (the functions of the portions of the Government) do not overlap. Consequently the theory that in the case of a transferred subject in charge of a Minister, it will be possible to dispense with references to departments of Government concerned with the control of reserved subjects is largely without foundation". Now if it be true as stated above—and of that there cannot be the least doubt—that the activities of government are indivisible and constitute an integral whole, the principle would be as much applicable to the central as to a provincial government, and will affect the position equally for the worse if applied (as is now proposed) to the government of India. In the circumstances, the only practical solution can be to keep as little on the "reserved" side, as may be consistent with the working of the system, as a whole, in a state of transition, and there should be no more of the so-called safeguards than may be considered absolutely necessary to enable the Viceroy to discharge his Imperial resposibilities. But just at present the prospects of any such satisfactory settlement seem to be rather remote by reason of the inherent instability of the Labour Government, the committal of the Congress party to the doctrine of "independence"—or, at any rate, "the substance of independence"—the hopeless tangle of the communal problem in the country, the markedly patent division in the ranks of the Muslims themselves—particularly in the matter of electorates (joint or separate)—and lastly, the hesitating and faltering policy of many of the leaders of the Conservative party, including Lord Peel, Sir Samuel Hoare and Mr. Churchill, though fortunately Mr. Baldwin is outside this group.

II.

Let us now turn to matters which are germane to the solution of the difficulties sought to be solved by means of the Round Table Conference. Firstly, the activities of the revolutionaries are there—in spite of Mr. Gandhi's persistent insistence on non-violence as the only suitable method to be resorted to by all public workers. But though that is undoubtedly so, the fact remains that the Congress, at Karachi, unanimously adopted a resolution admiring and expressing appreciation of the motives of the revolutionaries, while disapproving of and disassociating itself from their methods of violence. On this subject the revulsion in the feelings of the Congress party has been markedly evident during the last two decades. In 1909 the All-India Congress Committee recorded its "emphatic and unqualified condemnation of the detestable outrages and deeds of violence committed recently in some parts of the country, which are abhorrent to the loyal, humane and peace-loving nature of His Majesty's Indian subjects of every denomination". In 1931, Mr. Gandhi (as the apostle of non-violence) has had to deliver himself thus, in his *Young India*, on the violent deeds resulting from revolutionary activities:—"Mr. Peddie's murder and the making of the murderer of Mrs. Curtis (Sajjan Singh) a hero at the Sikh League meeting bring out in clear light the tragic fact that the cult of violence has still many votaries. The extolling of murderers is being overdone. If we are to sing the praises of every murderer because the murder has a political motive behind it, we should proceed from praising the deed to the deed itself. The praising of Sajjan Singh as a hero raises a doubt in my mind about the wisdom of my having been the author of the Congress resolution. My motive was plain enough. The deed was condemned. The spirit of bravery and sacrifice

was praised. The hope behind was that we would thereby be able to distinguish between the deed and the motive, and ultimately learn to detest deeds such as political murders, no matter how high the motive might be. But the effect of the Congress resolution has been perhaps quite the contrary. It seems to have given a passport for extolling murder itself". It would be difficult for any one to improve matters by commenting on this perfectly candid admission by Mr. Gandhi. Our only regret is that the inevitable effect, now so clearly visible to him, did not strike Mr. Gandhi when he was making himself responsible for the resolution. Quite apart from this very serious aspect, one cannot overlook in considering the question the many brawls, hootings, and skirmishes, and the insults offered to Messrs. Gandhi, Malaviya, and even Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru—which made him say (politely, no doubt): "please stop your shouting"—these and various other similar incidents at Karachi and elsewhere all go to show that the temper of a large section of the public has undoubtedly become abnormally prone to violence. It is much to the credit of Mr. Gandhi that in spite of such an intensely heated atmosphere as that which prevailed at the Karachi Congress, he managed to secure the ratification of his pact of truce with Lord Irwin. That he has been also elected the sole plenipotentiary on behalf of the Congress party at the Round Table Conference is also all to the good—though it is difficult to make a forecast of how things will shape and what form they will assume at the next session of the Conference.

One need not scrutinize the texts of the presidential address delivered by Sardar Patel or those of the resolutions passed at the Karachi session, as neither the one nor the others will bear a close examination. The following few short extract from the press messages will bear out our contention. We read: "In the open session of the Congress Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru moved a resolution which sought to ratify the Gandhi-Irwin truce. He said that they unfurled the flag of independence at Lahore and had put in a good fight during the last twelve months to reach the goal. That day, however, he wanted to place a resolution before the House which created doubts in regard to the ideal of complete independence. He said that so far they had been following what has been called 'direct action.' They were, however, now giving a trial to the way of 'consultations and discussions' in order to see if that led to complete independence". But had we not been told from the housetops that "consultations and discussions" had been tried in the balance and found wanting, and they had, therefore, been discarded by the Congress party and replaced by 'direct action' —or, in other words, by civil disobedience? So much for the reversion to the old method, in place of the new. We shall leave it at that. Next this is how the President explained *his* idea of "complete independence" as embodied in the Lahore resolution. He said: "There is no receding from the Lahore resolution of complete independence. This independence does not mean—was not intended to mean—a churlish refusal to associate with Britain or any other power. Independence, therefore, does not exclude the possibility of equal partnership for mutual benefit and dissolvable at the will of either party. *If India is to reach her independence through consultation and agreement, it is reasonable to suppose that there will be British association.* (our italics). I am aware that there is a strong body of opinion in the country to the effect that before a partnership could possibly be conceived there must be a period of complete dissociation. I do not belong to that school. It is, as I think, a sign of weakness and of disbelief in human nature". Here, again, we shall not offer any comments of our own, beyond quoting from the news agency's press message from Karachi, worded as follows:— "The address of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, which was revised by Mahatma Gandhi, fell flat on the Congress. There was nothing new in it, not even anything expressed in a new way. Congress whose spirits were roused at Lahore by the martial notes of Pandit Jawaharlal's speech are feeling sorely disappointed by Sardar Vallabhbhai's bald

performance". That must be the inevitable result of the tune having been pitched at the highest key in the Lahore Congress resolution, in 1929. And the failure to reconcile "direct action" with "consultations and discussions", and "complete independence" with Sardar Patel's conception of "partnership by agreement" is writ so large so that he who runs may read it. It is not surprising that even a Congress enthusiast, like Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, felt befogged at the attempted somersaults of the Congress leaders. We read: "Mr. Jamnadas Mehta declared that there could be no doubt whatever that inspite of brave words, the resolution watered down the independence resolution of the Congress. When they agreed to go to the Round Table Conference, the independence resolution automatically collapsed. Any safeguard attached to independence could not be in favour of independence. Sixteen annas with safeguards meant one aanna taken here, one anna there, leaving a truncated form behind. Four different meanings, during the last fifteen months, the word 'independence' had been made to yield. The first was 'complete independence', then came the 'eleven points', later 'substance of independence' and, lastly, 'self-rule through self-control,' with the result that even Aristotle could not now understand what exactly 'independence' meant". Well, Aristotle is fortunately no longer alive, and so it does not matter if he could not understand it. But it is clear to us that what the Congress is aiming at, at present, is not independence in *any* sense of the term, but securing for India as large a measure of political and economic freedom as may be practicable, through the medium of the Round Table Conference. There is nothing to cavil at in it, from the standpoint of the practical politician.

III

The only other topic we need notice here is the Congrees resolution on "fundamental rights", but really foreshadowing the blessings of self-government under the Congress *regime*. It comprises a large number of items and possesses the proverbial merit of the curate's egg—only good in parts. It has naturally evoked much controversy. The Congress propagandist press has blessed it as likely to usher in an almost divine order of things in our mundane affairs. The Anglo-Indian press is almost contemptuous of it—which is not surprising considering its general attitude to the Congress. The Liberal press is frankly critical of it, and the *Leader* has voiced the opinion of this section by declaring that "the Congress scheme of Swaraj (hastily drawn in twenty-four hours) is ill-considered, impracticable and absurd, and can be easily torn into pieces". But this is not all. Even *Advance*—the organ of Mr. J. N. Sen-Gupta's party, and an avowed exponent of the Congress —has condemned the resolution as "irrelevant and premature", and opined that in passing it "the Congress has tresspassed the limits of propriety", as "it is counting its chickens before they are hatched"! And a great deal more to the same effect in even stronger language. Lastly, amongst the independent nationalist organs of the type of the *Hindu* and the *Tribune*, there has been well-balanced criticism of the many fatuities embodied in the resolution To quote the *Tribune*:-"The real criticism to which the resolution is open is that it mixes up two things that are essentially different and ought to have been kept scrupulously apart. One is the fundamental rights of citizenship. The other is the policy and programme of the Congress, viewed as the most advanced political party in India. The Nehru Committee bore this distinction carefully in mind in framing the declaration, and confined it strictly within the limits of fundamental and universally recognised rights. The Congress, on the other hand, has overlooked the distinction and included provisions in the resolution which, whether right or wrong, whether sound or otherwise, cannot possibly be bracketted with the fundamental rights of citizenship". That is it.

The cumulative effect of these criticisms on any open-to-conviction mind is likely to be that in the programme produced at Karachi by Mr. Gandhi, though the hand is that of Esau, the voice is clearly that of Jacob (Mr.

Jawaharlal Nehru)—with whose repeatedly-declared opinions it is permeated and saturated—and they foreshadow the socialist state—we had said, the socialist republic—which he is out to establish in this country. We are not at all surprised to learn that the scheme put forward was then and there animadverted upon by one well-known Congressman (Mr Sherwani) who pointed out that when the resolution would come into operation, while the earnings of the landlords, the agriculturists and the civil officers would be severely limited, the millowner and the laywer would be left free to accumulate their pile. Whether such a scheme will ever be allowed to operate in its entirety by any Indian government, of the future, it is difficult to say at present, but of one thing we are absolutely certain—that the Congress resolution has served to antagonise the British people, the civil and military services, the landed magnates and the other classes threatened under the scheme, and also undoubtedly the Indian princes of whose existence it does not profess to take even a judicial notice. And even while the Congress was holding its session, a deadly communal feud was going on at Cawnpore, which resulted in the deaths of hundreds, in loot and plunder, incendiarism, and atrocities of the worst kind that were ever perpetrated in living memory. This was all the more serious as it was not by any means isolated, but came on the heels of more or less similar outrages in some other cities of the province of Agra. Howsoever these riots originated, and whoever may be responsible for them, the fact remains that these recent communal riots have appreciably widened the breach between the two communites in Upper India, and the relations between them are, at present, very highly strained. Then there are, to reckon with, the pretty serious political differences between the educated classes of the two great communities, dividing them into two hostile camps—differences which could not be adjusted even at the Round Table Conference. At the gathering in London the Muslim contingent was composed mainly of staunch communalists. These gentlemen, and their followers and supporters, recently met at Delhi and re-affirmed their severely communal demand But they had evidently reckoned without their host. The result of their intense communal campaign—led (principally by their President, Mr. Shaukat Ali) against Mr. Gandhi, in particular, and the Congress in general—naturally evoked a revulsion in favour of nationalist views amongst a large section of the educated Mussalmans throughout the country. The result was the Nationalist Muslim's Conference, held in the third week of April, at Lucknow, under the presidentship of Sir Ali Imam, which was a highly representative gathering and which expressed its views—specially in favour of joint eletcorates—in unmistakable terms. The success of this gathering has led to an immediate come-down on the part of Sir Muhammad Shafi of the rival faction, who has made a statement suggesting a Round Table Conference of both the sections of the Muslim community, to enable them to come to some agreement by compromise between themselves.

IV.

Such is then the present political situation in India. It is so full of complexities due to internecine feuds and factions, on the one hand, and abounding in such great difficulties due to the excited temper of the bulk of the people, on the other, to say nothing of the Government's attitude of *non-possumus* on the top of it all, that any real solution of the problem it is impossible to forecast, even though one were assisted with the aid of Mr. Samuel Weller's famous microscope—"a pair o'patent double million magnifying gas microscope of hextra power". To begin with, there are the continued activities of the believers in the cult of violence—who have not yet paid any heed to Mr. Gandhi's persistent appeals in favour of non-violence. The resolutions passed by the Congress at Karachi and the Sikh League at Amritsar—howsoever much Mr. Gandhi may deplore them *now*—are bound to create on many minds an impression favourable to their activities. This

stubborn fact has to be reckoned with perforce, in any careful consideration of the present political situation in the country. Then there is the large body of non-violent workers, the vast bulk of whom are (like soldiers) ever ready to obey the orders of their leaders. As a result of their strong sense of discipline, they are likely to paralyse wholly or partially the administration—as they did at many places during the last civil disobedience campaign. But though the Congress rank and file are admittedly the best organized and well-drilled party in the country, they are not necessarily the most competent to assist in the solution of the greatest problem before the country—namely, the transfer from the British authorities to the people the greatest measure of political and economic freedom, without the new machinery coming to a complete deadlock before long. This is not so easy as it may seem at first sight. The Nehru Report—primarily with a view to solve the Hindu-Muslim problem in the matter of representation in legislatures—hit upon the expedient of adult suffrage. This has also been urged by the Conference of the Nationalist Muslims at Lucknow. Now adult suffrage would raise the number of the voters—who barely constitute 6 per cent. of the population at present—to more than fifteen times that figure. In no country that we know of, has there ever been an enfranchisement of the total adult population, from such small beginnings as but 6 per cent. And we shall be much surprised to learn that the British Government with their vast administrative experience, in matters of electoral reform in their own country, would accept such a proposal for the India of today. And yet if adult suffrage is not adopted, the ground will have been cut from under those who base the solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem on this sole expedient. Similarly, in regard to the question of the reservations and safeguards that are sought to be introduced in the constitution of the central government, while making it partially responsible to the legislature, the difficulties to be surmounted are enormous.

We have discussed above the various aspects of the present political situation and the only one that now remains to consider is whether Mr. Gandhi—as the sole plenipotentiary of the Congress at the Round Table Conference—will accept the scheme already outlined at it, and assuming that he does so, whether the result will be anything approaching "Dominion Status" or the "substance of independence", even supposing the two are synonymous terms. But taking it that Mr. Gandhi will not accept them, what is to be the upshot of his visit to the London Conference? Our reading of the situation is that not even the Labour Government would be prepared to go at present appreciably further than the point indicated in Mr. Ramsay MacDonald's declaration. What is the Congress to do next, if Mr. Gandhi returns dissatisfied from the Conference—as very likely he will, unless something unforeseen, at present, turns up to improve the situation. We close this survey, therefore, with a sense of strong apprehension that the Round Table Conference is likely to result in failure, in so far as the expectations of the Congress party are concerned. But the British Government will bring in legislation on the lines already outlined—and even perhaps liberalized as far as they safely can—and leave it to the non-Congress political parties to work the new system, just as they did in 1920, when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were introduced. There will be then no option left to the Congress party but to re-embark on their struggle by means of "direct action", for which their leaders have been asking them to keep themselves vigilant and alert, in spite of the present truce. We are confirmed in this view by the appearance of the following editorial comment in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of April 25th:—"Will there be another fight with the Government? Nobody knows. But what is significant is that Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel have been giving for sometime past warnings to their countrymen. They are exhorting people not to sleep but to be fully prepared for any eventuality. It is beyond

doubt, however, that if there is any fight at all, it will be fiercer than the one before". That is precisely our own view. It is, however, just at present, but a hypothetical conclusion merely on reading the Signs of the Times. What will actually happen, some weeks or months hence, is on the knees of the gods. In the meantime, one can but hope for the best. We have frankly stated our apprehensions, but if they do not turn out as we think they are likely to do, none would be happier than ourselves, for clearly there are occasions when one would rather be a false prophet than a true one.

PEOPLE IN THE PUBLIC-EYE

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel—Khan Sahib Abdul Gaffar Khan—Mr. Bhimsena Rao.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, President of the Indian National Congress, entered public life about 15 years ago as an associate of Mahatma Gandhi. But it was not until the Bardoli no-tax campaign came to a head, that he emerged as an All-India figure. An ardent believer in Mahatma Gandhi's doctrines, Mr. Patel's hold upon the peasantry of Gujerat is unique. This was revealed time and again during the Bardoli campaign which he directed and controlled with such signal success that Mahatma Gandhi said about him that he had found his "Vallabh (God) in Bardoli" and gave him the title of Sardar. The secret of the success of the Sardar lies in the intimate contact he has established with the rural population in Gujerat and in his organising capacity. In no other part of India has a politican, excepting perhaps Rajendra Prasad in Bihar, established so close a contact with the rural population, as Patel has done in Gujerat. There is no gainsaying the fact that the peasantry in some districts of Gujerat regard him as their saviour. It was in the year 1917-18 that Vallabhbhai came under Gandhiji's influence and learnt from him the first principle that the real India is to be found in the villages, that the peasant is at the heart and centre of it, that no scheme of freedom or programme of work would have any meaning unless it was framed with special, even almost exclusive, reference to the toilers on the land. And among those who devoted themselves to carry out this teaching, the names of the late Maganlal Gandhi and Vallabhbhai Patel stand out prominently. The master enunciated the principles, the disciples thought out their practical application and gave all their time and energy to carrying them out in various spheres. And for this Vallabhbhai had a special advantage not even enjoyed by his master.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, was born of a middle class family in a village in Gujerat. His parents lived in that village where they had some property and a modest house. His father Jhabervai (a God-fearing man) died at a ripe, old age. His mother was a virtuous lady who used to spin on the *Charkha* every day of her life, up to the age of 82. Vallabhbhai spent his early life with his parents in the village—he spent it in joy and glee amidst forests and hills. He obtained his early education partly in his own village and partly at Petlad—the headquarters of the Taluqa from where he had to go for futher studies to Nariad and Barcda He passed the matriculation examination from the school at Nariad. The pecuniary circumstances of Vallabhbhai's father were far from satisfactory; Vallabhbhai, therefore, gave up hopes of getting a college education and became completely absorbed in finding out ways of earning a livelihood. He passed the Muktearship examination and began practising at Godhara and in a short time the profession yielded him a fair income. While practising as a Muktear the desire for becoming a barrister grew very strong in him and accordingly he began to save money. He ultimately went to England and was duly called to the Bar. On his return he began to practise at Ahmedabad and within a very short time he was able to secure a wide clientele and became a successful lawyer. But soon the magic name of Mahatma Gandhi allured him—and Vallabhbhai appeared before the Mahatma. This meeting metamorphosed the younger Patel and made him what he is today. He became a devoted disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. He organized a *satyagraha* campaign in Khera, which first brought him into prominence. He continued to practise as a barrister even after the

Khera *satyagraha* campaign; but he gave up his lucrative practice when Mahatma Gandhi launched non-co-operation at the special session of the Congress at Calcutta, in 1920, and completely identified himself with the movement. He began to preach the doctrine of non-violent non-cooperation in Gujerat, and was highly successful in instilling that idea into the mass-mind. He realised as much as 10 lakhs of rupees for the Gujerat Vidyapith by continually touring in Burma and other places. Very few have excelled Sardar Patel in the capacity for organisation: he organised the whole Bardoli Taluka, and disciplined therein every man and woman. At Bardoli for the first time the Government was obliged to concede to the demand of the poor people. The history of Bardoli needs no repetition.

His activities in connection with the Civil Disobedience Movement are matters of recent history. In March, 1930, when the Mahatma inaugurated the Civil Disobedience movement, Vallabhbhai was arrested for violating the order of the District Magistrate prohibiting him to address meetings. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and to pay a fine of Rs. 500, or in the alternative another six months' imprisonment. He was unwilling to pay the fine and thus courted imprisonment for 12 months. Sardar Patel became President of the All-India Congress Committee when Pandit Motilal Nehru went to jail. How he acted in that capacity and how he was again sent to jail for another three months and the consequent events are too well-known to need recounting. It was but in the nature of things that on the first occasion of the establishment of truce, he should find himself honoured by his election to the presidential chair of the Indian National Congress. And accordingly he came to preside over the Karachi session of the Congress, held last month. His presidential address was characteristic of the man—short, simple and straight-forward. There can be no doubt that Sardar Patel has yet to play a very prominent part in the struggle of India for political and economic freedom.

Abdul Gaffar Khan

The "Frontier Gandhi"—as he is being called—is one of the most interesting personalities that have recently come into political limelight. The tall, handsome Pathan in the gray khaddar garment was a conspicuous figure and the centre of public attention at the Karachi Congress, as much for his dignified form and attractive features as for his able advocacy of non-violence and communal unity. His unmistakable sincerity, affable manners and a life of selfless service for the common weal, have justly earned for the Khan the title of "Frontier Gandhi". Abdul Gaffar Khan was born in 1891 at a village in the Peshawar district, where his father (Behram Khan) was one of the chief Khans of the well-reputed Mohmmadzai tribe. It bespeaks much of the culture of the family that young Abdul Gaffar, on the completion of his orthodox early education in the mosque, was sent to the Municipal Board English High School and thence to the Edward Church Mission High School for English education, despite the intense popular feeling against it. That was an age when English education was tabooed as befitting only a *Kafir*. The Khan Sahib and his elder brother were the first in their village to go in for English education. He read up to the Entrance Standard In 1909 he was offered an Indian commission in the Army, but he preferred to refuse it. It was while in his twenty-first year (in 1912) that the Khan Sahib first entered into a career of public activity with the object of organising help for the Turks, who were then fighting the Italians in the Tripoli War. Next year he started a national school in his village; but in 1915 after the outbreak of the War the school was suppressed and the teachers were all put under arrest. The Khan Sahib escaped a similar fate with difficulty. Events like these brought home to him the realities of the situation and he took upon himself the task of awakening the political consciousness of the masses. To achieve this end he made extensive tours, constantly discussing

with the people the political situation of the country. Then came the Rowlatt Act agitation in 1919 and he was drawn into the vortex of the struggle. He invited on himself the wrath of the local authorities for the mere fact of having organised two meetings, which led to his arrest and detention with many others. It was at this time that he came to know of Gandhiji and his passive resistance movement. Later, in connection with the non-co-operation movement in 1922, he was again arrested and was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment under section 40 of the Frontier Regulations. His incarceration only served to make his cause so popular among the masses that it gained support throughout all the Frontier Province districts. After his release, he attended for the first time the Cawnpore session of the Indian National Congress and has from that time continued to keep himself in the closest touch with the trend of events in India. It was in 1928 that he came into personal contact with Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the political embroglio in Afghanistan. To combat illiteracy he organised in 1922, the "Anjumane Ishahul Afghania" which at present controls no less than 26 national schools with 2000 students on the rolls. He is also carrying on a systematic campaign against such social evils as the wasteful extravagance of his race in marriage and like ceremonies. With a view to organise the masses politically, the Khan Sahib formed the Afghan Jirga in 1929, which with its district and local branches has for its object the political ideals of the Indian National Congress. The activities of the Jirga (which consist primarily in the preaching of Indian nationalism, communal unity and non-violence) are mainly carried on by the Red-Shirt volunteer corps named "Khudai Khidmatgar". The present strength of the corps is nearly one lakh. But the greatest achievement of Khan Sahib lies in his successfully winning over the otherwise turbulent Frontier Pathans to the path of non-violence. He became a believer in non-violence when he came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi. With him too, as with Gandhiji, non-violence is a matter of creed; and it is his living faith in it that has imbued the Pathans with the belief in the efficacy of non-violence. The last Peshawar tragedy in connection with the Congress Civil Disobedience Movement bore eloquent testimony to the fact that the Pathans as befitting a martial race, observe non-violence as scrupulously as any other form of military discipline. There can be little doubt that Abdul Gaffar Khan is destined to play a prominent part in the Indian struggle for freedom.

Mr. Bhimsena Rao.

Mr H. Bhimsena Rao, Accountant General of Madras, laid down the reins of his high office last month after a distinguished record of service extending over thirty years and we wish him a long life of rest, as well as useful public activity. A son of the late Professor B. Hanumanta Rao, a well known mathematician and educationalist of his day, he received his higher education at the Government College at Kumbakonam and at the Madras Presidency College. Like his father, he distinguished himself in mathematics and took a first class in this subject in the B. A. degree examination. Soon after Mr. Rao, though only a Bachelor of Arts, was nominated a candidate for the competitive examination the passing of which secured the entrance into the enrolled ranks of the Government of India's Finance Department. He fully justified his nomination by standing first in the examination He was posted as a probationer in the Accountant-General's Office in Madras and attained the post of Deputy Accountant-General, in Burma and then in Madras. He served in Madras for six years and was then transferred to Northern India in 1920. Here he served as Comptroller of Accounts in Assam and later as Accountant-General in the Punjab, in the United Provinces and in Behar and Orissa. Early in 1929 he took leave with a view to early retirement but was recalled and posted to Madras as Accountant-General in September of that year. Mr. Bhimsena Rao was also Deputy Controller for some years in the Postal Audit Section. Wherever he served and in whatever capacity, he invariably earned a

reputation for ability and thoroughness of work. In all the provinces in which he was Accountant-General, he effected many useful financial reforms by means of his "appropriation reports" and by his advice to the various Public Accounts Committees. Mr. Bhimsena Rao has many friends and admirers in Northern India, where he spent a long period of useful public service.

THE NECROLOGY OF THE MONTHS.

Mr. K. T. Paul—Pandit Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi— Sirdar Puran Singh.

BY the death of Mr K. T. Paul the Christian movement in India, in particular, and the international missionary movement in general, has lost one whose counsel was highly valued by the churches of the West and the East alike. Born at Salem, in the Madras presidency, in 1876, he was educated in the Madras Christian College, where he took his degree in Arts and Teaching. Among his classmates were Mr. V. S. Azariah, Bishop of Dornakal, Sir Venkata Reddi Naidu, Agent of the Government of India in South Africa, and Sir A. P. Patro, late Minister of Education in Madras. Mr. Paul was one of the founders of the National Missionary Society, an indigenous movement within the Indian Church, which was inaugurated at Serampore in 1905 He became its first honorary treasurer, and two years later resigned his position at the College to devote his time to the new society as its organizing secretary. In this capacity he travelled all over India, acquiring in the course of his work an intimate knowledge of the Indian Christian community. In 1912 he accompanied Dr. John R. Mott in his all-India tour for the purpose of organizing in the provinces the Representative Christian Councils of the churches and missions. The next year he was appointed Assistant National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., and on the outbreak of the War, his American colleague having gone to France, he became the first Indian National Secretary of that movement. Mr. Paul was identified with the work of the Y. M. C. A. in India for eighteen years a d that organization owes much of the progress it has made to his leadership. In 1927 he published a book, *The British Connection wtih India*, setting forth a view of the relationship of the two peoples, which was received with appreciation. In 1919 he visited England for the first time, but after that paid many visits to Europe and America, especially in connection with the International Missionary Council. In India he was at one time president of the South India United Church and was closely identified with the movement for a larger union of the churches in South India.

K. T. Paul

Mr. Paul was a strong Indian nationalist, and in 1930 he resigned his position as National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in order to serve the country in the political sphere. He always opposed communal representation, holding that the Christian community should throw in their lot with the main body of the citizens, and therefore when he stood for election to the Madras Legislative Council he chose to contest the university seat in preference to seeking election by the Christian community. Mr. Paul had served his apprenticeship in public life on the municipal council and on the district board. He was closely identified with the co-operative movement, and in 1927 served on the Committtee on Co-

operation appointed by the Government of Madras, and in 1920, on the Fraser Commission on Village Education. He was thus peculiarly fitted both by his intimate knowledge of Indian problems and by his international contacts, to accept the invitation of the Viceroy to be one of the two Christian representatives at the Round Table Conference in London last year. Mr. Paul was an indefatigable worker, and spent himself without stint in serving the causes he had at heart. He was forced by illness to leave England before the end of the Conference, and he returned to India with shattered health to die at his home at Salem. His premature death is as much a loss to the Indian Christian community as to Indian Nationalists.

Pandit Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi

The news of the tragic death of Pandit Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, in the Cawnpore riots, came as a great shock to his many friends and admirers all over the country. He was a man of varied activities and a force in the public life of the Provinces of Agra and Oudh, both as a public man and a journalist of note. He served the public assiduously, braving all the dangers of such a situation. He went to jail several times. Nor did he miss recognition at the hands of the public. He was the President of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan (All-India Hindi Literary Conference) that held its session in Gorakhpur in 1929, and he also presided over the United Provinces Political Conference and was the President of the Provincial Congress Committee at the time of his death. In the field of journalism also he has left indelible marks. His weekly Hindi paper, the *Pratap*, had become an institution in upper India, where it is by common consent regarded as a force to reckon with. His death will be deeply mourned, and the circumstances and the manner in which it is reported to have occurred adds greatly to the poignancy of the grief. There can be no question, however, that he died, as he had lived, a hero. A great exponent of Hindu-Muslim unity, he laid down his life while attempting to pacify Hindu and Muslim crowds bent upon cutting each other's throats. A great tribute was paid to the memory of Pandit Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, by the Hon'ble the Nawab of Chhattari, the Home Member of the United Provinces Government at the last meeting of the local Legislative Council. "Knowing the Pandit intimately", said the Nawab, "I am convinced that he was a real nationalist and far above communalism. It was an irony of fate that a man like him should lose his life in a communal strife. I believe that the loss of a valuable life like that of Pandit Vidyarthi will open the eyes of those whom fanaticism has blinded and who have committed misdeeds which can only be expected from beasts". But no eulogy is required for the man, the mere description of the manner of his death is sufficient. The Pandit lost his life in a communal strife, but lost it in the act of saving Muslim lives. The redeeming feature of this tragic story is that the murder was committed by the fanatics in the teeth of the protests and entreaties of a Muslim volunteer who (as stated by Pandit Sastri of the Pratap Press) "tried to persuade his co-religionists not to kill a noble soul who had just saved hundreds of Muslims from the jaws of death".

Sirdar Puran Singh.

The Punjab may well mourn the irreparable loss it has sustained in the premature passing away of Sirdar Puran Singh, one of the most distinguished and saintly men. He was a prolific writer in Punjabee as well as in English, and has to his credit many works of much originality in both the languages. His inspiration was mainly derived from the sacred scripture of the Sikhs, the *Granth Sahib*, into the spirit of which he had entered with a depth of conviction and insight that is rare. His works (in English) such as *The Sisters of the Spinning Wheel*, *The Seven Baskets*, *The Unstrung Beads*, are wonderfully inspiring reading. His *Life of Swami Ram Tirtha* is perhaps his best work. Only very lately Sirdar Puran Singh translated Tolstoy's famous book the *Resurrection* into Panjabee and the book is in the press.

Another work of his, which has just been taken in hand by a Lahore Publishing House is to be known as the *Spirit of the Sikh* which the author unfortunately has not lived to see in print. Sirdar Puran Singh also contributed short stories in English as well as Panjabee to the *Hindustan Review* and other journals in India. He is, however, better known as the prose-poet of the Punjab.

Sirdar Puran Singh was born in 1881, at Abbottabad, and at the time of his death (31st March 1931) he was just nearing fifty. He had, however, been keeping indifferent health for some time past, and had some financial losses in his otherwise successful experiments with Rosha grass at his farm in Jaranwala (near Lyallpur) where he was engaged in extracting essential oils from it. Sirdar Puran Singh had put in three years of study in Applied Chemistry at the Imperial University of Tokyo (1900-03) and it was there that he met Swami Ram Tirtha, became a Sannyasi, and put on the yellow robe. He returned to India in 1904 and was engaged by the Forest Research Institute of Dehradun as Imperial Forest Chemist, where he wrote monographs of exceptional merit. He, however, retired early for reasons of health and went to Gwalior and after that settled down on his own farm at Jaranwala. Sirdar Puran Singh's great heart could find a place for the Persian Mystics as much as it did for the Ten Gurus and his poems cover a very wide range, from Mary Magdelare to Kurratul-ayne of Persia. But more than his scholarship, more than his poetry was the humanity of the man. He was a true Sikh, and his love and friendship knew no creed. He is another bright blossom added to the Divine Chaplet.

THE CHANGE.

By Prof. B R. Saraf, M.A..

Now winter's cheerless chills repose,
And Spring comes tripping on her toes;
Now Autumn's seared leaves and all,
Rank hatred, ills, disunion fall—
And sprout fresh leaves of Love.

Now comes the day when love-buds burst
And hearts respond to hearts that thirst;
When cast-off cups are filled again,
Cementing hearts long-cleft in twain,
And all things echo Love.

Today they pair, fresh loves they share,
Some upon the earth, some up in air;
Bright festal stars the heavens adorn,
And Nature laughs as it's reborn,
While birds do warble Love.

It's time we brushed our rusted hearts,
Love-scented all the withering parts;
That biting chills and frosts and dust
Blew off, and Summer's clouds did burst
Into sweet drops of Love.

The Koel soars and pipes anon:
"Let's off to Himalayan peaks that shun
The heat of Hate, that makes it hot—
Too hot to live where men have fought
For lucre not for Love."

Thus with her mad harmonious lay,
She hastes to bless Love's pair today;
The hater hugs the hated close,
Lo! Union fragrant like the rose
Has blossomed as true Love.

Now notes of sweetest music blow,
As hand in hand we see them go;
Now Love will grow as Hatreds fade,
And all this night shall serenade
With songs of stars Above.

The "Hindustan Review" deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—"Truth" London.

The "Hindustan Review" is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews," London.

The "Hindustan Review" is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian perfodicals a position analogous to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review."—"United Empire" (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London).

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The Priestess

By Rabindranath Tagore

Translated by Nagendranath Gupta from the "Avadanasataka"

KING BIMBISARA

Bowed to the Buddha and begged from him
The parings of the nails of his toes;
These he placed in the lonely palace garden,
And over them he raised with care
A wonderful stupa* all of stone
Ornamented with the best of the sculptor's art.
In the evening garbed in sacred clothes
Queen's and princesses from the palace
Carried flowers on golden trays
To the stone mound and with their own hands
Lighted gold lamps round the base.

When Ajatasatru became king
And sat on his father's throne
He washed and wiped out with a stream of blood
His father's faith from the palace;
Sacred Buddhist books were piled up in heaps
And flung into the sacrificial fire.

*A sacred Buddhist mound.

Summoning the women of the palace he said:—
'Save the Veda, the Brahmin and the King
'There is naught to worship on earth;
'Remember these words as the essence of all,
'Forget them at your peril!'

One autumn day about sundown
A palace maid named Srimati
Bathed in cool holy water
And filling a tray with flowers and lamps
Came and stood in silence before the Queen,
Glancing at her feet.
Trembling in terror said the Queen,—
'Have you forgotten the order
'Proclaimed by King Ajatasatru—
'For making an offering at the stupa
'The punishment is death at the stake
'Or in exile?'

The maid turned and passed slowly
To the chamber of the young bride, Amita.
With a golden mirror in front of her
The bride was braiding her long hair
And carefully drawing the line of vermilion
At the end of the parted locks;
The line went awry, her hand trembled
When her eyes rested upon Srimati!
She said, 'O foolish one! how dare you
'Bring the offering? Go away at once!
'Some one may see and then
'There will be fearful trouble!'

In the light of the setting sun
By the side of the open window
The princess Sukla, sitting alone,
Was absorbed in reading poetry and fiction.
Startled by the tinkling of an anklet
She looked up at the door;
Seeing Srimati she set the book on the ground
And went quickly up to her;
Cautiously she whispered in her ear,

'Who does not know to-day the order of the King?
'Is it right so to rush forward
'To meet death?'

From door to door passed Srimati
With the plate of offering in her hand.
She called aloud, 'O women of the house
'It is time for the worship of the Lord!'
Some were frightened in their rooms,
Others abused Srimati.

The last rays of the sun
Died out on the mansion tops,
Dark became the deserted street,
The bustle and noise grew faint;
In the ancient royal temple
Sounded the bell of evening worship.

In the clear darkness of the autumn night
Sparkled innumerable stars;
At the main gate sounded the trumpet,
The bards sang the evening songs.
'The Council meeting is dissolved!'
Proclaimed aloud the keeper of the door.
Suddenly now all the guards of the palace
Saw with startled eyes
In the lonely royal garden, in the deep dark,
At the foot of the great stone mound
Lines of light burning around
Like a garland of lamps!

With drawn sword the guard on duty
Came swiftly running;
He cried, 'Who art thou, evil-minded one,
'So eager to seek thy death?'
He heard a sweet voice saying, 'Srimati,
'I am Buddha's handmaiden!'
Then on the white slab of stone
Splashed the line of blood!
Then in the clear autumn night,
In the lone silence of the palace garden,
At the foot of the mound suddenly died
The flame of the last votive lamp!

The Control of Indian Military Expenditure

By Mr. Pratap Narayan

In his "*Science of Public Finance*," Mr. Findlay Shirras writes:

"There is always present the temptation for public authorities to ask for more money than is in reality required, or for services which may be performed more cheaply or dispensed with entirely. This does not in any sense imply dishonesty, but *rather the inevitable tendency to over-expenditure on the part of the public authorities or their officials.....Lavish expenditure is frequently the result of carelessness or weakness on the part of public officials*, and it should be the aim of a well organised financial administration to take measures to prevent injudicious expenditure of public funds either *by punishment or the exposure of the responsible official or officials.*" *(Italics ours* page 32).

In every self-governing country, the control over expenditure from public funds is exercised in two ways—externally by the Legislature and internally by an independent superior authority in the official hierarchy. The Military expenditure in India is a non-votable item, and, therefore, the only check left on the vagaries of the Military administration is the Audit Department. We would now see how far the Audit Department in India is in a position to discharge its duties in the proper manner.

The functions of the Audit Officer have been defined by the Government of India as follows:—

"In place of formal examination of authorities and rules, the work should be conducted with greater regard to the broad principles of legitimate finance. The audit will not only see whether there is quoted authority for expenditure, *but will also investigate the necessity for it.* It will ask whether individual items were in furtherance of the scheme for which the budget provided; *whether the same results could have been obtained otherwise with greater economy*, whether the rate and scale of expenditure were justified in the circumstances, in fact, they will ask every question that might be expected from an intelligent tax-payer *bent on getting the best value for his money.* The audit officers will also devote more of their time to looking into the manner *in which the various executive officers are undertaking their more important financial responsibilities.*" *(Italics ours)* (First Despatch on the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.)

It will be observed from the above that the task of audit officers is a very onerous and responsible one, and that they should be men not only of marked intellectual abilities, character and tact, but should also be entirely independent of the Government of India which is responsible for the financial administration of the country. Now the Auditor-General in India is appointed by the Secretary of State, according to the rules framed under the Government of India Act, and holds office "during the pleasure of the Crown" is the pleasure however, this officer is really a nominee of the Government of India. Thus the officer who is, in theory at any rate, supposed to look after the Government of India is, in fact, "their own man." And for obvious reasons "the pleasure of the Crown" is the pleasure of the Government of India. All proposals

regarding the appointment and retirement of the Auditor-General emanate from the Government of India, for the formal approval of the Secretary of State for India, or the Crown. In England, the Auditor-General is removable from his office only by a Resolution passed by both Houses of Parliament—so that in case an obdurate executive wishes to get rid of an inconvenient Auditor-General, the Parliament is in a position to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of the case in a thorough manner on the floor of the House. In India the Crown may remove the Auditor-General "at his pleasure," and no one would be the wiser for it. The position of this officer in India is, therefore, not as independent as it should be. One result of the present arrangements has been that the Auditor-General in India has always been an I.C.S. officer, in spite of the fact that more suitable men have been available from amongst the members of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service. Another significant fact is that this Officer has always been a Epropean. In this connection it may also be noticed that the pay of the Auditor-General, who is the supreme audit authority in India, is Rs. 5,000; and since he cannot, under the rules, look forward to any higher appointment under the Crown, only such officers of the I.C.S., are naturally available for this job as have no future in the executive line, *e.g.*, as Executive Councillors, Governors, etc., which latter posts carry immense power and patronage with them, apart from much higher pay. The present state of affairs is very unsatisfactory, and in view of the fact that the Government of India is not responsible to the Legislature, it is absolutely essential that the latter should have some hand in the appointment or, at any rate, in the dismissal of the Auditor-General, whose salary is not even votable by the Assembly at present. As things stand at present, however, in case the Legislature is not satisfied with an Auditor-General it has no remedy against him and there is nothing in the Constitution to enforce the recommendations of the Public Accounts Committee, or the views of the Legislature. In this connection it may also be incidentally pointed out that there are grave dangers in leaving important matters to the Rule-making powers under the Government of India Act. For instance Para. 161 of the Audit Code as originally issued in 1922 laid down—

"The Finance Department of the Government will *see that effect is given* to any recommendations or orders of the Public Accounts Committee or the Legislature and forward to the Audit Officer and to the Auditor-General—

(1) the report of the Public Accounts Committee,

(2) the *orders* of the Legislature thereon, and

(3) any orders that may be passed for giving effect to the view of the Legislature."

This Para. was amended in 1923 to read

"The Finance Department of the Government will *take into consideration any*.....

(2) the *recommendations*.....Legislature. (*Italics ours*).

In other words an ordinary amendment to a Code deprived the Public Accounts Committee and the Legislature of the powers which were intended to be conferred on them by *Statute*. And not a voice was raised by any one against this far-reaching amendment of what may be termed as the most important rule in the Audit Code from the tax-payer's point of view. Had the Auditor-General been, in any way, under the Legislature, he would surely have raised a hue and cry over this matter. It is true that on general principles the Legislature should not have any hand in the appointment of permanent officials, but in the first place the Auditor-General is not an ordinary public official, and in the second the circumstances in India are peculiar and require special remedies in the interests of the tax-payer. The absurdity of the present

state of affairs will be clear from the following example also. The present Auditor-General has been out of touch strictly with the Audit Department for a very long time, and has held the appointments of the Deputy and Financial Advisers, Military Finance, the Army and the Finance Secretary. As Secretary to the Government of India in the Finance Department (the post which he held just prior to his appointment as the Auditor-General), he must have given financial concurrence to the various schemes and matters of policy involving heavy financial liabilities; and now as Auditor-General he is supposed to exercise the scrutiny laid down in the Government of India Despatch quoted above. In other words he is to sit in judgment on himself! It requires a superman to do this, human nature being what it is.

It may be further pointed out that the Audit Department is under the control of the Finance Department for purposes of administration. The Government of India recruit officers to the Indian Audit and Accounts Service who are under the control of the Finance Member for purposes of discipline, etc. The confidential reports on these officers are submitted to the Finance Member who passes final orders on them. Thus the officers who are supposed to scrutinise and criticise the working of the Finance Department, are in theory and practice, under the thumb of that Department. The evils of the existing system are too palpable to require any further comment but one example would suffice to illustrate the viciousness of the system. A certain Accountant-General, Central Revenues, criticised the administration of the Finance Department rather too seriously for the peace of mind of the Finance Member, who happened to be an autocratic sort of person. Of course, he resented such criticism from one of his subordinates and wrote to the Auditor-General to remove the officer. Luckily the Auditor-General happened to be a "strong man" and knew his business. He refused to be guided by the Finance Member; but the latter was so persistent that the former had to obtain a vote of thanks for the Officer from the Public Accounts Committee to strengthen his hands. Comments are superfluous.

The Auditor-General is further handicapped in the discharge of his duties in another way. Any proposals for increasing the efficiency of his Department and strengthening its staff which requires additional expenditure, have to be submitted to the Government of India for sanction. Experience has shown that it is very difficult to obtain such sanctions. The late Auditor-General submitted certain proposals for the grant of certain allowances to some of his officers. The Finance Department refused (though the increase in the number of special posts and allowances in other Departments—specially on the Railways—has been scandalous) and it was only when a very strong protest was put in that the sanction was forthcoming. In this connection it is interesting to note that the members of the Audit Department are paid much less than other executive and administrative officers. This has the effect of placing them on a somewhat lower status and affects their efficiency *vis a vis* the other very highly paid officers whose work they have to criticise.

Comments are again unnecessary. It is, however, obvious that the efficiency of the Audit Department is very seriously jeopardised by the fact that it has to depend on the vagaries of the Finance Department for its very existence. The defects inherent in the system described above are so clear that a detailed discussion is unnecessary. From what has been stated above, it is clear that in order that the Auditor-General and his officers should be the real watch-dogs of the tax-payer, they should be entirely independent of the Government of India. Moreover, the indiscriminate postings of the I.C.S. officers from executive and administrative posts to financial ones should also be stopped. The Indian officers of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service would compare very favour-

ably with the ablest I.C.S. officers and there is absolutely no justification for appointing the latter to the Audit and Accounts Department. It is said of a certain I.C.S. officer that he held a certain appointment in the Home Department and while there, recommended an allowance for one of his subordinates. In the meantime he was transferred to the Finance Department. When the file for the same allowance was submitted to him, all that he is stated to have written was "When I recommended the allowance I was a poacher—now I am a game-keeper. I regret I cannot sanction the allowance." Human nature being what it is, every officer cannot be expected to (and does not) display the same keen sense of responsibility but the moral of the story is obvious.

We would now turn our attention to the audit of Military expenditure. Under the Devolution Rules, Military Audit is "excluded audit," but in view of the Auditor-General's Statutory obligations under the Government of India Act, he exercises a certain amount of check on Military expenditure through his Director of Army Audit. This officer, however, carries out only a "test" audit of what has been "internally" audited by the Military Accounts Department, and that, too, several months after the expenditure has actually been incurred. The result of his scrutiny is published in the annual Audit Reports. This officer is normally a member of the Indian Audit and Accounts Service and the officers under him also come from the Civil Audit Department. The Director and his staff, though fully conversant with the main principles of audit and accounts, are none the less lacking in that detailed and thorough knowledge of the organisation of the Army which is very essential in carrying out an effective audit of Military expenditure. Moreover, there is such a huge mass of rules and regulations in the Army, and there are so many frequent changes in them, that it takes time to become fully conversant with them. Even as it is, however, the Director of Army Audit and his staff have done very valuable work in spite of heavy odds, and have brought to light many things, which the Military Accounts Department with all its experience, failed to discover. The results would, however, be much more satisfactory if the Director carried out a cent. per cent. check. The Military Accounts Department, however, carry out a detailed "internal" audit of Military expenditure, and it is on this Department that the Director of Army Audit depends for an efficient scrutiny of such expenditure. In describing the audit of Military expenditure, the Director writes:—

"The position would be most incompletely described without adverting to the Military Accounts Department who supply the internal audit *which must be mainly relied upon for the accuracy of the accounts and correctness of expenditure.* (*Italics ours*). (Audit Report on the Army, Marine and Military Works Accounts for 1924-25, page 2).

It will, therefore, be seen that the Military Accounts Department is the chief agency for the audit of Military expenditure. We will now examine the constitution and working of this Department.

The Military is in theory under the Finance Member, but in practice under the Financial Adviser, Military Finance. In all matters of administration, policy, etc., the latter officer has practically a free hand, though the approval of the Finance Member has to be formally taken in certain important matters. Moreover, the Finance Member is such a very busy person that he cannot possibly look into the affairs of the Military Audit Department in detail. The Financial Adviser, Military Finance, is therefore, practically an autocrat in so far as the administration and working of the Military Audit Department is concerned. The Financial Adviser, Military Finance, with one exception has always been an I.C.S. Officer (*European*). He has generally no direct previous knowledge of the audit and accounts rules of the Military or of the organisation and working of the Army prior

to his appointment, and has, therefore, mostly to depend on the Military Accountant-General, who is the head of that Department. Moreover, there has been a practice in the past to appoint the Financial Adviser, Military Finance, to the post of Army Secretary. Sir Godfrey Fell, Sir Ernest Burden, Mr. Brayne, all held the appointment of Financial Adviser, prior to their promotion to the former post. Now the appointment of the Army Secretary is almost entirely in the gift of the Commander-in-Chief, who is no doubt guided in his choice by the Principal Staff Officers of the Army Headquarters. In order, therefore, to look forward to the post of the Army Secretary, a F.A., M.F., has to be on the right side of the Military tin gods. It is obvious that a Financial Adviser who is "very strict" can not be very popular with the very senior Generals who control the destinies of the Army Headquarters. We do not imply that the Financial Advisers who subsequently became Army Secretary deliberately went out of their way to play into the hands of the A.H.Q., but we do assert that the system of promoting Financial Advisers to the *Gaddi* of the Army Secretary is, in principle, most objectionable and carries in itself such inherent defects that the sooner it is stopped, the better. One can never ignore the human element in these matters. It is clear from the above that the Financial Adviser is not in a very happy position and his control cannot be as effective and independent as is desirable. No wonder the Military expenditure remains so huge in spite of an elaborate and expensive Financial organisation.

The Military Accounts Dept. was at one time under the Auditor-General for purposes of audit, but with the recent stunt of separation of audit and accounts, it has become an Accounting Department under the Financial Adviser, Military Finance. Moreover, the scrutiny exercised by it is only "internal" and its audit is not "statutory" audit. It has, therefore, not the same status and prestige as the Director of Army Audit. It is not competent to criticise the sanctions of the Government of India, and in view of the fact that it is under the Financial Adviser, any scrutiny of sanctions accorded by the latter could not, from the very nature of things, be very effective and independent or free. Moreover, the expenditure of the Military Accounts Department is debitable to the Military Estimates, and the Army Headquarters, therefore, exercise an indirect but very effective influence on the administration of that Department. All matters which require money must be referred to the A.H.Q., for obtaining funds. Here again, a semi-audit Department, which is intended to keep a watch over Military expenditure, depends for funds on those very people whose work comes under its scrutiny! For instance the M.A.D., has an annual conference of its principal officers at Simla, but the Principal Staff Officers of the A.H.Q. are also invited to address the Conference and bless its proceedings. The fact is that under the guise of "co-operation" and "help"—those two much abused words—the M.A.D. is fast becoming the hand-maid of the Military Authorities and a dotter of their "i"s and a cutter of their "t"s. The way the Department is organised—this was inevitable.

The Military Accountant-General is the supreme administrative head of the Military Accounts Department as well as the final authority in all audit and accounts matters; and controls its policy and working with the nominal (?) approval of the Financial Adviser, Military Finance. His office is located at Simla during summer and at Delhi during winter. Under him are four Command Controllers with District Controllers under the latter. In addition to these, there are the Controllers of Army Factory Accounts, Royal Air Force, Marine and Burma District, who work directly under the M.A.G. for audit purposes, etc. The Command Controllers have their offices at Rawalpindi, Meerut, Quetta and Poona. There were also two Pension Controllers at Mhow and Lahore, but they are now being amalgamated with the Lahore District Office

about which more anon. The expenditure of the Department is debitable to the Army Estimates and hence is non-votable. The Department consists of—

(1) Superior Service Officers
(2) Subordinate Gazetted Officers (a sort of "Provincial" Service).
(3) Accountants.
(4) Subordinate Service passed clerks.
(5) Ordinary clerks.

A Military Accounts Officer is divided in several sections each dealing with one or more subjects, *e.g.*, Pay, Stores, Military Works, Travelling Allowance, etc., etc. Each section is normally under the charge of a Subordinate Gazetted Officer, styled the Deputy Assistant Controller of Military Accounts. Two or more Sections are grouped together and placed under a Superior Service Officer, called the Group Officer. The Group Officers are under the Controller. The work of the Sections is done by clerks and submitted to the Officer in charge through the Accountant. The Officer in charge finally disposes of the case unless he feels any doubt about it or it is of an important nature when it is submitted to the Group Officer. The latter as a rule passes final orders and it is only in very, very few cases indeed that he submits a case to the Controller. There is thus a good deal of duplication of work and the Controllers have a very easy time of it and no responsibility. Any mistakes could always be passed on to the next subordinate authority and in the long run the brunt has to be borne by poor Accountants and clerks. A Superior Service Officer is rarely, if ever, taken to task and a Controller is a sacred personage, who merely "controls" the office and is very busy touring about and scattering gems of his financial advice to Command and District Staffs, Officers Commanding, etc., etc. It may also be mentioned here that the group organisation is of a recent growth and is really intended to give the Controllers a free time and to retain the Superior Service staff at its present strength. Formerly when the Offices had not been amalgamated (about which more hereafter) the Subordinate Service Officers as a rule worked directly under the Controllers, except in big offices, and there has really been no sound reason for making the change. If, however, the Group system is done away with, it would throw a lot of Superior Service Officers out of employment which would be a sacrilege unheard of. For reductions in establishments one can always go to that perennial source—the clerical establishment! In any case the direction and control of work, as things stand at present, devolves on the Superior Service Officers. We will now discuss the recruitment, etc., of these Officers.

The Superior Service Staff was at one time entirely manned by the Military Officers recruited from the Army. In 1908, however, this source of recruitment was given up and civilians were appointed to the Department, as the then Secretary of State for India—Lord Morley—did not consider that Military officers were suitable for audit and accounts work. Later on some sprinkling of Indians was made by promotion from ranks and it was not till 1923 that Indians were regularly recruited as a result of Competitive examination. The European element, however, still comes from the ranks. The Military Officers of the Department being in senior jobs, control the entire policy and working of the Department though they are hardly suitable for audit and accounts work because of their Military traditions and early training for the Army. Moreover, as they hold Military ranks they are naturally at a disadvantage in dealing with senior Military Officers such as Brigadiers, Commanders, Generals, etc. The recruitment of the Superior Service staff is, however, very unsatisfactory from other points of view also. A good many of them are promoted from ranks either from the Military Accounts Department or from the Military Finance. Some of them have apparently been appointed for their War services alone. The following illustrates the constitution of the Department. (January 1931).

Europeans :—

1. Commissioned Officers ..	7
2. Appointed by the Secretary of State	20
3. Promoted from Military Finance ..	6
4. Promoted from Mily. Accts. Dept. ..	6
5. Other Sources (held subordinate jobs)	2

Indians :—

1. Appointed by Secy. of State ..	1
2. By competition (including communal adjustments)	19
3. Promoted from Mily. Accts. Dept. ..	3
4. Other sources (transfer from civil) ..	1
TOTAL ..	65

It will be seen from the above that leaving Military officers apart, the number of officers recruited direct is 39. The number of rankers is 16. In other words the proportion of the latter is about 25 per cent. In a Department with a cadre of 65 this is a very high percentage. In fact during the last six years the recruitment of European Officers, with one exception, has entirely been confined to promotions from the ranks. Moreover, the recruitment has been at random in the past. There is one European Officer who was once a clerk in the Foreign and Political Department and then something in the Opium Department. Another was a subordinate employee in the G. I. P. Railway. How men of such antecedents came to be recruited to the Superior Service staff passes one's comprehension. It is also worthy of note that in the Officers' History of Services no educational qualifications have been shown against them as also some other officers! It is true that the officers promoted from the ranks have a detailed knowledge of rules and regulations, but because of their low educational qualifications (or rather the want of higher education) and their having served in a subordinate capacity for a long time, they are hardly fit for discharging the kind of work and duties laid down in the Government of India Despatch quoted above. There is no doubt such officers lack the freshness of outlook and the breadth of view, as well as the independence of judgment and general intellectual superiority which is displayed by those who have very high educational qualifications, and are recruited direct. Of course there are always exceptions. Another significant fact is that the number of those who have University degrees is only 29-8 Europeans and 21 Indians. The Europeans, therefore, who form the majority have poor educational equipment—if education is really to count in these matters. Some of them appear to be War products—while others had not even a public school education. Some of those promoted from the ranks originally came to this country as "Tommies" and they have now the pleasure of belonging to a Superior Civil Service! The facts brought out above speak for themselves, and a Department with such a heterogeneous constitution and with officers of such unequal merits can hardly hope to compete with the Civil Audit and Accounts Department, which till recently was almost entirely manned by the best brains of the country. (Unfortunately the ranker's element is also on the increase there which enables the powers-that-be to recruit the type of people whom they could use as puppets and who are quite "safe"). Even if it is considered necessary (which is open to serious doubts) that the European element is still essential, one cannot understand why University men cannot be recruited from England as was done in the past, instead of dumping the Department with men who have had no education worth the name and whose only qualification seems to be a "fair" skin. In a country where absolutely first rate men are walking in the streets for want of a bare living, it is positively criminal to continue employing third rate Europeans who would not be able to earn in their "Home" even perhaps one-tenth of what they are getting here. Another result of promotions from the ranks is, and it is a very serious one, from the financial point of view —that the promoted officers get very high basic rates of pay, in addition to the Lee Loot

Concessions. And because of their age they do not stay long in the Department, and consequently get very high rates of pensions. And the pity of it is that these gentlemen do exactly the same kind of work as Indian civilians recruited on the minimum pay. The Europeans sometimes get as high a basic pay as Rs. 1,200, plus Overseas pay at £30 and passage and other concessions, *e.g.*, free medical treatment for self and families, Provident Funds, more leave, higher rates of pensions, etc., etc. On the other hand an Indian having a First Class M.A. degree gets only Rs. 350 as stated above. Both these gentlemen do the same kind of work.

In this connection it is interesting to note the following remarks under "explanations" in the "Budget Estimates of Expenditure on Military Services for 1930-31," page 143.

"The Military Accounts Department in its Superior personnel is at present composed of 59 officers, including Military officers, borne on the Supernumerary list, European civilians and Indian civilians, *latest and future recruitments being confined almost entirely to the last mentioned class.*" (*Italics ours*).

The facts, however, will be clear from the following:—

Year of recruitment.	Europeans.	Indians.	Percentage of Europeans.
1924	2	2	50 p. c.
1925	2	1	66 p. c.
1926	2	3	40
1927	Nil	1	Nil
1928	Nil	2	Nil
1929	2	4	33
1930	3	2	60

It will be seen from the above analysis that during the years 1924 to 1930 there have been 11 Europeans as against 15 Indians; and yet this recruitment is described as "almost entirely confined to Indian civilians." One would have expected greater honesty from the Government of India in presenting "facts" to the Legislature. Either the framers of the Budget Estimates do not understand their own language or they have deliberately gone out of their way to mislead the Legislature. Incidentally the above is an example of the type of work done in the Military Accounts Department. But what is more dangerous than European element is that a Military officer has again been recruited in 1930, and it is rumoured that a proposal has been sent to the Secretary of State to allow recruitment of Military officers as a matter of course. This new policy owes its origin to the present Military Accountant-General. The Government owe an explanation to the public for the reintroduction of the Military element in the Department.

So much regarding the constitution of the Department—the less said about its administration the better. Promotions to the posts of Superintendents and Assistant Financial Advisers in the Military Finance Department (which accords financial approval to all proposals involving expenditure) are very unsatisfactory. The Assistant Financial Advisers in the Military Finance are all recruited from the ranks, unlike the Assistant Secretaries in the Civil Finance who are promoted both from the ranks and the Indian Audit and Accounts Service. These promotions are sometimes on racial lines. Under the guise of "Selection"—that much used and abused word—all kinds of anomalies are perpetuated and injustices inflicted. Accordingly there is considerable discontent amongst those whose legitimate claims are disregarded. Last year one Mr. Hardcastle—a subordinate Gazetted Officer of the Military Accounts Department—was appointed as Assistant Financial Adviser, thus passing over not only very deserving Superintendents of Military Finance Department itself, but also about 55 officers of Military Accounts Department also! It is inconceivable that all the 55 officers senior to Mr. Hardcastle are inferior to him in qualifications and that he was the only one fit for the job. If so, the Department is most inefficiently manned—otherwise favouritism is running riot. Again, one Mr. Hope (an

Assistant Financial Adviser) was appointed to the Superior Service Staff of the Military Accounts Department in 1929, superseding Mr. Reid who was his senior but was not considered fit for promotion that year. In 1930, however, Mr. Reid was considered fit and duly promoted. Comments are again superfluous. The above are merely by way of example—such instances can be multiplied.

Special appointments, carrying fat salaries, are the monopoly of certain "blue-eyed boys" of the Department and of course Indians are never thought of in connection with these jobs. It is a striking fact that out of 9 special jobs at Headquarters not a single one is ever given to an Indian—not even the junior appointments of Dy. Financial Adviser, Royal Air Force, and the Assistant Military Accountant-General for which any number of Indians are available. But the Indian who has been most unfairly treated by the Government is Mr. Gupta. This gentleman was brought to the Military Accounts Department by Sir Bhupendra Mitra, for a special job, at a time when there was a dearth of really suitable officers in the Department. He has all along been fixed to one job and has neither been given any promotion nor a special job in the Department. The result is his juniors are enjoying senior appointments while he has to be content to stay where he is. Thus he has lost all chances of promotion in the Civil Department as he has been out of it for too long, and the Military Accounts Department refuses to give him a better job. He is indeed between the devil and the deep sea. Again extensions of service are freely given to Military officers and European civilians but are refused to Subordinate officers. In fact to retain the Military element in the Department all kinds of devices are resorted to—especially where favourites are involved. For instance one Col. Prince was appointed Deputy Financial Adviser with effect from 11th March 1926. This is a tenure appointment for three years and in the ordinary course he was due to vacate this appointment on the 10th March 1929, when he was due for a Command Controller's appointment which was actually available on that date. But if this had been done Col. Prince would have had to retire on 11th March 1932, after completing his three years tenure of the Command Controller's appointment, as there would be no appointment available for him. In order, however, to prevent this he was retained in the appointment of D.F.A. till the 26th March. Accordingly after enjoying the usual joining time he took over charge of his appointment as Command Controller on the 3rd April 1931, in spite of the fact that he was actually present in the 'Pindi office before that date. Under the existing state of things Col. Prince would not vacate his Command Controller's appointment till the 2nd April 1932, when the Military Accountant-General's appointment falls vacant and accordingly Col. Prince has been nominated to that post. In order, therefore, to appoint Col. Prince as M.A.G. the whole thing was manœuvred in a manner as to look normal to an outsider and to avoid technical objections. But the people in the Department know that there has been a method in these tactics which have been the joke and scandal of the Department. The net result has been the exclusion of Col. Murray from the appointment of the Military Accountant-General (he is stated to be a rather inconvenient audit officer) and the further retention of Col. Prince in the Department for another 3 years with higher pay and prospects of a better pension.

As regards the working of the Department one special feature is that there is no continuity of policy, and changes both in the system of work and administration are made according to the whims of the Military Accountant-General. Schemes are introduced, modified, scrapped and re-introduced again at random. Every Military Accountant-General seems to have his own ideas about administration and work of the Department and acts accordingly. The Financial Adviser, Military Finance, for the reason explained above, is not much of a

check. This is also due to the fact that proposals submitted by the Military Accountant-General are never examined either in the office of the Financial Adviser or of the Civil Finance, but are submitted to the former personally. Naturally he has not the time to examine things in detail. This is one reason why there are so many changes in the Department. For instance, at one time the Department was organised in four Command Offices, with separate officers for Military Works, Marine, Supplies, etc. Before the Great War a new scheme came into being under which each Military Command and District had a self-contained Controller's office. Since about 1927 or 1928, the policy has been again to amalgamate the District Offices into Command Offices, in spite of the fact that both work and staff have increased considerably and the concentration of work in the Command Offices is becoming too bulky and unwieldy. It is stated that the real object of the amalgamation scheme was to keep the Civilians (specially the Indians) out of independent charges and to concentrate all power in the hands of a handful of Military Officers. In this connection it may also be mentioned that when the various District offices were amalgamated with the Command offices, reductions in clerical establishment were made but none in the Superior Service Staff. In fact it is the hard worked clerical establishment which has always to bear the brunt of reductions. The result is slipshod and inefficient work. The number of Class I appointments in the Superior Service Staff (pay Rs. 1,500-60-1,800) were distributed as follows prior to the amalgamation scheme.

1. Deputy Military Accountant-General (Senior).
2. Deputy Military Accountant-General (Junior).
3. Controller, Army Factory Accounts.
4. Controller, Wazir District.
5. Controller, Peshawar District.
6. Controller, Lahore District.
7. Controller, Central Provinces District.

The Waziristan and Peshawar Districts have now been amalgamated with the Rawalpindi Command Office and the Central Provinces Department with the Southern (Poona) Command Office. But none of the Class I appointments have been abolished!!! The Central Provinces District Class I appointment was transferred to the Poona Command, the Wazir District to the 'Pindi Command and the Peshawar District to the Meerut Command. There is no doubt that because of its size and importance the 'Pindi Office (Northern Command) required one Class I appointment, but surely there is no justification for Class I appointments at Poona or Meerut. The Command Controllers in those two offices should have taken the work without much extra trouble. The addition of Class I appointment at Meerut is really scandalous as the Allahabad Office which was amalgamated with it was only a Class II office. The fact is that when it is a question of reducing appointments for European officers all cannons of sound finance are entirely ignored. We would give one more example to show how fat jobs are retained for Europeans at the expense of poor clerks. Prior to 1927, the Pension work of the Army was done in the various Command and District Offices. In that year it was decided to concentrate Pension work in two Central Offices—one at Mhow and the other at Lahore. One of the arguments was that when war breaks out the Controllers' Offices have to work at high pressure and are somewhat disorganised, which results in the Pension work suffering from lack of experienced men. It has now been decided very recently that the two Pension Offices should be amalgamated with the Lahore District Office, and all the three combined offices placed under a Command Controller. Well, had the two Pension Offices been amalgamated and remained separate, it would have been all right. But the creation of a Command Controller's Office at Lahore has no meaning. But why this has been done, will be clear presently. There is a Command Office at Quetta but it is so small

that it has been decided that the Controller there should not have a Command Controller's status but that of Class I officer only. Since the appointment of the Retrenchment Committee it had become increasingly clear to the Military Accountant-General that his European colleagues would lose a Command job (pay about Rs. 2,500). So in order to throw dust in the eyes of the Committee it has now been decided to convert the Quetta Office into a Class I appointment (pay Rs. 1,500-60-1,800). But to retain the Command Controller's pay the two Pension Offices have been amalgamated with the Lahore District Office to form a Command Office. This means *status quo* for European officers. The fact is that there is absolutely no justification for the creation of a Command Office at Lahore. The Pension work is peculiar and has nothing in common with the Lahore District work, and can be done separately as hitherto. It is further to be noted that not only has this amalgamation not led to reductions in the Superior Service Staff but their allowances have all been retained intact. But where Indians are concerned the reductions are made with a vengeance. For instance Superior Service Officers holding Class II Controllers' appointments used to get a minimum of Rs. 1,000 p.m., because of their responsibilities. Now that Indians are becoming eligible for these appointments and because there is no European Officer who gets less than Rs. 1,000, the above rule has been abolished. And this decision was arrived at by the same Military Accountant-General who has created a Command Controller's job at Lahore for his European colleagues! This is British justice and fair play.

There are, however, other pet schemes which are costing the tax-payer lots of money every year. Under one of such schemes the Accountants and clerks are not allowed to remain in one office for more than five years or in the same section of one office for more than three years. The result is very frequent changes and dislocation of work. The nature of work in the Department is such that specialisation is necessary but under the above scheme this cannot be achieved. The result is that it is difficult to find an Accountant or clerk who could be trusted to know thoroughly the work of even one Branch of the Office. There have been questions in the Assembly and articles in the papers but the Military Accountant-General is an autocrat and can do what he likes.

Modern Office Methods are another fad. Under this clerks have been reduced here and there, but huge amounts are spent every year on the purchase of cards, memory ticklers, steel cabinets for files, etc., etc. In the two Pension Offices alone the Government has spent about two lakhs of rupees for substituting cards for registers. Some saving has been effected under Modern Methods but often by violating postal rules.

A good deal of money is spent on travelling allowances which can be easily avoided. There is too much touring about by Controllers specially in the summer. For instance the 'Pindi Controller goes to Murree every Friday and returns to 'Pindi on Tuesday morning. On Saturday he is supposed to give financial advice to the Rawalpindi District and on Monday to the Northern Command. It is astounding how inefficient the Northern Command and Rawalpindi Districts are considering that whereas they require the Controller's personal advice every week, the Peshawar, Kohat, and Waziristan Districts can do without it for months and are content with junior officers! Similarly, the Meerut Controller goes to Naini Tal from Meerut almost every week!

The following suggestions are made with a view to ensure better control and also to effect some economy:—

1. The recruitment of the I.C.S. to all Financial and Audit and Accounts Services should be definitely stopped. The post of Auditor-General should not be given to an I.C.S. Officer. The whole trouble is that in this country the I.C.S. are everywhere and in

every Department. The result is they form a clique and are able to arrange matters in every Department. This domination of the I.C.S. is essential if any improvement in administration is desired or economies to be effected.

2. There should be a convention that the Public Accounts Committee should be told beforehand who is likely to be appointed Auditor-General. Once appointed no A.G. should be removed (unless he retires in the ordinary course) without a Resolution in the Assembly.

3. The separation of Audit and Accounts should be done away with and the Military Accounts Department placed *ipso facto* under the Auditor-General. This would not only result in large savings but would also ensure greater and more effective check over Military Expenditure.

4. The Military Officers should be made to retire at once on proportionate pension if not already eligible for retirement on full pension under the ordinary rules.

5. The entire organisation should be re-examined and the system of work looked into. This should result in the reduction of a good many posts in the Superior Service. For instance, there is no need for a Command Controller in each Command. Quetta is already to be reduced to Class I and we do not see why Meerut should not also follow suit. The District Controllers at Lahore, Calcutta, etc., should work direct under the Military Accountant-General as before. The new Command Controller's post at Lahore should not be allowed to materialise and the pension offices should be centralised under a Class II Controller at Delhi or Allahabad, preferably the former as the Pension Controller has to do a good deal with the Government of India, Army Department and the Military Accountant-General. The Group system should be done away with and the Subordinate Service Staff given a better status and position as they enjoy on the Civil side.

6. The recruitment to the Superior Service should be confined to Indians only and there should be no promotions from the ranks. In the reduced cadre of the Superior Service Staff it is all the more essential that its personnel should be of very high qualifications and independence of judgment.

7. Decentralisation, rather than centralisation, should be the policy of the Dept. At present the Controllers have to refer to many matters of administrative detail to the Military Accountant-General.

8. Recruitment to various Controllers' offices should be on a provincial basis, with a liability to serve anywhere in the event of a war. The rates of pay could, in this manner, be made to come in line with the local employees.

9. The rates of pay of the Superior Service officers should be reduced as follows:—

Up to Rs. 1,000 should be reduced by 10 p. c.
Up to Rs. 2,000 should be reduced by 15 p. c.
Up to Rs. 3,000 should be reduced by 20 p. c.

10. All allowances be reduced by 25 p. c.

11. As regards Establishment, there should be no reduction in pay of those getting up to Rs. 100 p. m. After that figure a graduated percentage be adopted beginning with 2 and rising to 5. The pay of clerical establishment should not be reduced by more than 5 per cent. At the time their pay was last revised they did not get very much and the margin of reduction is not much in their case.

12. As regards the Military Finance, the system of attaching Dy. Financial Advisers to the various Branches of the Army Headquarters should be abolished and the whole work should be centralised in the main office as was done before. This would involve reductions both in Superior and Inferior posts. The present system has not resulted in greater control of Military expenditure—on the other hand the D.F.As. are apt to acquire the mentality of the administrative officers.

13. All proposals regarding the administration and organisation should be examined in the office of the Financial Adviser and not dealt with by him direct. This would keep

him from being too much under the thumb of the M.A.G. as he now is.

14. The office of the Military Accountant-General should be permanently located at Delhi.

15. The Public Accounts Committee would be well advised to call for some local officers also when dealing with the Audit reports. This would often result in getting a different point of view from that of the Head-quarters Officers. For instance when dealing with the Pension cases of over-payments. etc., they should send for the two Pension Controllers or at least one of them who is mostly concerned.

16. The names of officers responsible for over-payments and mismanagements should be made public—this would be a great check. At present little regard is paid to the Committee.

An Indian Province: Bihar and Orissa—Its History and Physical Features

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The subject of this paper is a province of British India which is little known to the general public although it forms a very large slice of the Indian Empire. It is perhaps little known because it is still in its teens as a member of the Indian family, having come into separate existence as late as 1912. It is nevertheless one of the major provinces of India. It has an area which is equal to that of the British Isles, being one-sixteenth of the Indian Empire: and a population of 38 million, which is nearly one-eighth of the huge Indian total and is comparable to that of England and Wales combined.

The province forms a rough parallelogram, about 400 miles from north to south, and 250 to 300 miles from east to west, with the kingdom of Nepal on the north, Bengal on the east, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces on the west, and the Bay of Bengal and the Madras Presidency on the south. It is composed of three distinct parts, Bihar in the north, Chota Nagpur in the centre, and Orissa in the south, and has claims upon our interest far transcending its mere size and population.

BIHAR.

Its northern section, Bihar, has been in the far distant past the scene of mighty events in the history of the Eastern world. Within its borders in the sixth century before the birth of Christ, the great religious teacher Gautama Buddha meditated in the caves of the Rajgir Hills, found enlightenment under the Bodhi tree at Gaya, and passed many years of his life teaching his disciples the holy law. The steps of his last journey across its northern lands to the scene of his death are marked by pillars that are still extant. To nearly one-third of the human race, in China, Japan, Ceylon, Burma, and the Far East, South Bihar, the ancient kingdom of Magadha still remains a Holy Land, and the great shrine of Bodh Gaya is the Jerusalem to which every year thousands of pilgrims from all these countries turn their steps. The same Magadha was the birthplace of another great religion, Jainism, which was founded by Mahavira, a contemporary of Buddha, and to this day has two million adherents, mostly in Western India.

In the fourth century B.C. the kingdom of Magadha had grown to be an empire under the great Chandragupta Maurya, who subjugated the whole of Northern India, repelled the Greek invaders on the north-west frontier, and received the Greek ambassador Megasthenes at his court in Patna, the ancient Pataliputra, built at the junction of the Ganges with its two great tributaries, the Son from the south* and the Gandak from the north. Nearly a hundred years later, the Mauryan State attained the height of its majesty under the famous emperor Asoka, who, after his blood-stained conquest of Orissa (ancient Kalinga) involving over a quarter of a million casualties, was seized with remorse and embraced the Buddhist religion. Under Asoka's rule Bihar was the

* The Son now joins the Ganges at a point about ten miles farther west.

core, and Pataliputra the capital, of an empire which covered almost the whole of India south of the Himalayan wall and included also the present independent kingdoms of Afghanistan and Nepal. It was missionaries of Asoka who carried the Buddhist faith throughout the Eastern world. The record of this mighty monarch and the tenets of the Buddhist law are engraven on rock and pillar inscriptions which are still extant, scattered over the length and breadth of India.

After the death of Asoka his empire gradually decayed, and we know that Kharavela, King of Kalinga, avenged Asoka's conquest of Orissa about a hundred years after that event and carried his victorious arms into Bihar beyond the Ganges. Darkness then closes down upon the scene for nearly five centuries; but in the fourth century of our era a new empire arose on the ashes of the old, and the Gupta dynasty, with its capital still at Pataliputra, became supreme throughout Northern India. About A.D. 400 a famous Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hien, visited the capital and marvelled at the grandeur of Asoka's ancient palace, which he ascribed to the agency of spirits, so far did it seem to transcend the compass of human hands. It must have been standing then for nearly seven centuries. Wonderful to relate, excavations of the last thirty years have laid bare traces of Pataliputra's city walls and of the pillared palace of Asoka more than two thousand years after their construction.

The Gupta period was a great flowering time of Indian literature and art, the famous poet Kalidasa, who wrote "Sakuntala," being its greatest ornament. But the Gupta Empire went down before the assaults of the savage nomad Huns from Central Asia, towards the end of the fifth century, and with it passed the glory of Pataliputra, which was ruined and deserted when visited 250 years later by the greatest of Chinese pilgrims, Hiuen Tsiang, to whom we owe our next authentic glimpse of India. In his time, about A.D. 640, the centre of interest in South Bihar had shifted to the great Buddhist University of Nalanda with its ten thousand resident students drawn from all countries of the East. Buddhism continued to put up a strong fight against Brahmanism for five centuries more, but Nalanda was sacked about the year A.D. 1200 by the Moslem invader, Muhammad Bakhtiyar, who put all its inmates to the sword, and thus finally perished the Buddhist cult in the land of its birth. The ruined site of Nalanda, which lies 40 miles south-east of Patna, has only of recent years been the subject of exhaustive excavation and the work is not yet complete.

For three centuries after Muhammad Bakhtiyar's onslaught, Bihar remained the battle-ground of rival Moslem aspirants, Afghan and Mughal, to the mastery of India. The Afghan Sher Shah, who for a space made himself Emperor of Hindustan, rebuilt deserted Patna, which later became the capital of the Mughal governors of the province. There is a beautiful mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram, 80 miles south-west of Patna.

The British came upon the scene in the seventeenth century, and Patna became a famous emporium for our trade in rice, opium, saltpetre, and other local products of Bihar. It played a prominent part in the struggles which, beginning with the battle of Plassey in 1757 and ending with the victory of Buxar in 1764, laid the foundation of our supremacy in North-East India. It was in 1765, after the victory at Buxar, that Britain took over from the decaying Mughal power the *diwani* or administration of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, an event which was the first great step in the creation of our Indian Empire. Orissa, however, was still in the hands of the Maratha raiders, and it was not till the year 1803 that this sub-province was wrested from them by British troops and re-annexed to Bengal and Bihar. For many centuries before, these three sub-provinces had been associated together as a unit of the Mughal Empire. This association continued till 1905, when Lord Curzon took the ill-fated step of dividing up Bengal, in

spite of violent protest from the whole Bengali race. Bihar and Orissa remained joined with Western Bengal: Eastern Bengal formed a new unit with Assam. The agitation which followed the Partition continued till it was reversed in 1912: the two Bengals were then re-united, and the sub-provinces of Bihar and Orissa, together with the intervening plateau of Chota Nagpur, were formed into a new province with its capital at Patna. For a hundred and fifty years Bihar had played a subordinate part in the administration, but with the changes of 1912 it became the senior partner of the new province, and Patna recaptured its status as an Indian capital. In the ten years that followed, a new city arose to the west of old Patna, complete with all the usual equipment of an Indian provincial capital: a Secretariat, a Government House and other residential buildings, a High Court, a University, a Legislative Council, a Museum.

Enough has been said to prove the important part which Bihar has played in the history of India for well-nigh two thousand five hundred years.

ORISSA.

Orissa's claim to interest stands on a different basis. It was ancient Kalinga, and its inhabitants had fame as sailors. Java is supposed to have been colonised by navigators from Kalinga in the first century of the Christian era. It has within its borders sacred caves, dating back to the earliest days of the Buddhist and Jain faiths: rock inscriptions of Asoka and Kharavela engraven over two thousand years ago; and other relics of a very remote past; but of its history during the first twelve centuries of the Christian era we know very little that can be called authentic. There are masses of palm-leaf chronicles regarding the old Hindu dynasties, but they are of doubtful historical value. It is a land where religion has always taken the first place, and secular events have only secondary importance. It is now a holy land of Hinduism which stirs the souls and draws the feet of devout pilgrims from every corner of Hindustan. Its greatest shrine is the temple of Jagannath, built more than eight centuries ago, rising two hundred feet over the Puri sands, a conspicuous landmark to ships at sea and visible for many miles over the level plains to the thousands and tens of thousands of pilgrims who make their way every year to the Car festival.

All over Orissa there are temples innumerable, some active and occupied, others silent and deserted. The most notable of the latter are the great Sun temple at Konarak, called the Black Pagoda, another landmark to sailors, though it is now distant two miles from the coast, a marvel of architectural structure and stone carving; the great Bhubaneswar temples, more than a hundred in number; and another group at Jajpur. All these, like the temple of Jagannath at Puri, were built in early mediæval times by Hindu kings belonging to various dynasties, mostly of South Indian origin, regarding whose dates there is considerable dispute amongst scholars. An earlier dynasty, in the fifth century A.D., is said to have imported 10,000 Brahman families from Northern India with the object of reviving the Brahmanical faith in Orissa. The first wave of Aryan invasion a thousand years before had made little impression on the non-Aryan inhabitants, its priests had become degraded or had succumbed to Buddhist influences. The later Brahman immigrants gradually spread over the whole of Orissa and gained that ascendancy over the people that is still so marked a feature of Oriya life. They enjoy numerous grants of rent-free lands, and many of their religious foundations are supported by wealthy endowments.

CHOTA NAGPUR.

Between the deltaic districts of Orissa and the Gangetic basin of Bihar lie the uplands and hill ranges of the Chota Nagpur plateau, including therein the rugged mountainous territory of the Orissa States. This area has no authentic history prior to the British occupation towards the end of the eighteenth

century—it was scarcely touched by the earlier Muhammadan conquest—but it is a country of surpassing interest to the geologist and the mineralogist on the one hand and to the anthropologist on the other. The Rajmahal Hills, which form the north-east angle of the Indian peninsula, the last outlier of the Vindhyan range, round which the Ganges makes its great southern bend as it sweeps out of Bihar on its way to the Bay of Bengal, have been decribed as "Classic ground for the study of Indian geology," and within the plateau are to be found the richest mineral deposits of all India. The coal-fields of the Damodar Valley furnish more than two-thirds of the total output of the sub-continent, and provide labour for over 100,000 workers.

Not far off there are mountains of iron ore both in the British districts and in the Indian States, and it is their existence which has led to the erection of the great iron and steel works of the Tata Company at Jamshedpur. These have sprung up with a mushroom growth during the last twenty years in a former forest area which I have myself seen occupied by a few scattered hamlets of the aboriginal races. There is now there a flourishing and well-laid-out industrial city with a population of some 60,000, and from the passing train one sees the fire and smoke of blast furnaces and chimneys. To this great enterprise, which is Indian-owned, though it utilises the skill and brains of European and American experts, we were indebted for our supplies of steel rails in the East during the dark days of the Great War. The mica and manganese deposits of the plateau were also invaluable in that great crisis. The former are perhaps the richest in the world, providing over a fourth of its whole supply. We were told during the War that our aerial supremacy on the Western front depended on our stimulation of the mica mining of the province to its fullest output.

To the anthropologist the Chota Nagpur plateau makes the most powerful appeal, because there are gathered together on its surface representatives of many aboriginal races, including some of the most primitive peoples in the world. I have just been reading the story of an encounter in the Orissa States with members of the leaf-wearing tribe, the Juangs, who in the deepest recesses of the forest still wear the garments of Eden, and before their first contact with our officers were still living in the Stone Age. It is less than a hundred years ago since the Khonds were weaned by British officers from the cruel practice of human sacrifice to the earth goddess, the victims being kidnapped children from the plains.

The aboriginal races of the plateau belong to two great stocks, the Dravidian and the Munda or Kolarian. They are not greatly different in personal appearance, but they are totally distinct linguistically. The Oraons of Ranchi, the Rajmahal Paharias, the Bhuiyas and the Khonds of Orissa belong to the Dravidian stock which accounts for some 60 million of the non-Aryans in Southern India. The Kolarian tribes, which include Santals, Hos, Mundas, Bhumij, and Kharias, have affinities of speech and custom with the great Austric family which has representatives spreading through Assam, Burma, the Malay States, and the islands of the Pacific. The great bulk of these aboriginal races still speak the languages of their ancestors and preserve their animistic faiths. They regard all material objects and forces as endowed with life and animated by spirits, some good, but mostly bad. The good spirits they can afford to neglect: the evil and harmful they propitiate with sacrifice. It is amongst these aboriginal races that Christianity in the province has made greatest progress. The most prominent agencies in Chota Nagpur are the Anglican, the Roman Catholic, the Scottish Presbyterian, the Lutheran, and the Scandinavian Missions. For more than a quarter of a million of these primitive peoples the worship of the true God has taken the place of the old devil-worship and has banished the orgies of drunkenness and sexual debauch which formerly marked their harvest and hunting festivals.

It may be convenient to consider here how these primitive tribes came to Chota Nagpur. Are they the autochthonous inhabitants? Most of them have traditions of great wanderings, and it is the common belief of scholars that they were not the original inhabitants of the plateau, that there are traces of an earlier civilisation akin to that which is now being disclosed by excavations in the Indus Valley at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro. The Dravidian and Munda races are commonly supposed to have still had their habitat in the Ganges basin when that was invaded by wave after wave of Indo-Aryan immigrants from Central Asia through the north-west frontier passes in prehistoric times. As the Aryan colonists gained a footing farther and farther east they either subjugated the previous inhabitants, who remained amongst them as menials and slaves, and are now represented by the lowest Hindu castes, or, as happened when they were comparatively few in number, they coalesced with the non-Aryan peoples and formed the intermediate castes.

The Aryan mixture varies largely in Bihar. It is strongest north of the river; weakest in the south and towards the east. Those sections of the more primitive races who put up a fight against the Aryan invader, refusing to be subjugated or absorbed, took refuge in the fastnesses of the hills and forests which afforded them an impenetrable sanctuary to the south of the Gangetic plains. There are traces and traditions of quite recent non-Aryan domination in the northern foot-hills of the plateau, at Palamau for instance and around Rohtasgarh, extending to Muhammadan times. The aboriginal sanctuary on the plateau remained inviolate throughout this period, and was little affected till our own conquest introduced peace and security where formerly anarchy and chaos had prevailed. As we shall see later, these blessings brought evils in their train for the aboriginal races, who, with the march of civilisation, the opening up of communications, and the gradual reclamation of jungle and forest, became exposed to exploitation by the more advanced peoples on their borders, Hindu and Muhammadan, now admitted to their sanctuary. It then became necessary for the British administrator to substitute for the defence of isolation the protection of special laws and agrarian codes.

LAND PROBLEMS AND THEIR PHYSICAL BASIS

In the present paper I propose to discuss those land problems of the province which result from the configuration of the surface and other physical aspects, such as the amount and distribution of the annual rainfall.

Bihar.—Bihar occupies roughly the trough which intervenes between the foot-hills of the Himalayas and the great northern buttress of peninsular India, formed by the Vindhyan range and its outliers. The Ganges divides this area into two unequal portions, and runs through Bihar for 250 miles, more or less parallel to the snowy crest of the Himalayas, but at a distance of 180 to 200 miles from that greatest elevation of the earth's crust. The proximity of the Himalayas is forcibly brought home by the fact that on days of exceptional visibility the summit of mighty Everest can be seen from the southern bank of the Ganges at Patna—a phenomenon which is witnessed only once in a way every three or four years. But from more northerly points of the sub-province several of the loftiest peaks of the Himalayas are often visible in clear weather.

For a short length only of the northern boundary, in the western corner, where the Sumeswar range rises to 2,800 feet, do the foot-hills of the Himalayas fall within the province, which begins ordinarily with the belt of fever-stricken country known as the Tarai. This unhealthy submontane tract consists of deep grassy prairies, intersected by numerous streams, and, except for a few clearances made by aboriginal tribes like the Tharus, is uninhabited by man. It is the home of the tiger, the leopard, the bear, wild pig, and many varieties of deer and antelope.

Elephants are the most convenient agents for travel and sport, and there is a great demand for them amongst the big landholders of North Bihar.

South of the Tarai, and extending to the north bank of the Ganges, lies the great alluvial plain of North Bihar, richly cultivated and thickly peopled, diversified with large groves of mango trees and bamboo clumps, and traversed by the tributary rivers which bring down to the Ganges the drainage of some 60,000 square miles of country. The greatest of these are, in the west the Gandak, which drains Central Nepal and joins the Ganges opposite to Patna; and in the east the Kosi, which collects the waters of East Nepal, and after leaving the hills runs almost due south across the district of Purnea till it joins the great river near the point where it passes out of the province. Between these two there is a network of smaller streams, either coming down from Nepal or formed by overflow from the larger tributaries constantly shifting their courses, coalescing or subdividing, according to the vicissitudes of the flood season.

Before it enters Bihar on the west, the Ganges has already received in the United Provinces tributary rivers which drain the southern slopes of the Himalayas for 300 miles farther west. As the meltage of the Himalayan snows is at its maximum from April to September, and the last few months of this period coincide with the monsoon rains which yield an average fall of 50 inches, it is needless to say that North Bihar is terribly liable to flood both from the Ganges and its tributaries in the months of July, August, and September, when two of the three seasonal crops of the year are on the ground.

I have spoken of the great alluvial plain of North Bihar, but it is by no means uniform in its level. One distinguishes between the old alluvium and the new. The former is the work of centuries or millennia of the earth-making process which can still be seen in active operation at the mouths of the Ganges delta in Bengal, or on a smaller scale in the Mahanadi delta of Orissa. The new alluvium consists of the more recent accretions of silt deposited in flood time along the banks of the Ganges and its tributary streams, whose channels are gradually raised in the process. Between these channels, in nearly all the districts of North Bihar, there are great chains of low-lying lakes or marshes, many of which represent old river beds. In the cold weather these form a sportsman's paradise, as they are covered with myriads of water-fowl, geese, duck, and teal.

As the rivers flow along beds which are in places raised well above the general level of the country, and as they are swollen fifty and a hundred-fold in volume during the monsoon, they often burst their banks and spread with devastating fury across the surface of the country, submerging the crops and creating for a time great inland seas from which the higher village sites stand forth as islands. To protect the country from flood, embankments have been raised at places along the rivers channels, and thus by long-continued usage prescriptive rights to such protection have arisen. But it is often a case where one man's meat is another man's poison. The embankment which protects one village exposes another to increased danger. The construction of new embankments and the cutting of old ones often lead to serious riots and prolonged litigation in the civil and criminal courts. The best course is ordinarily to let nature have her own way, that is, to let floods escape as fast as possible by natural channels. When not unduly prolonged, they do little damage to submerged crops, particularly to the great rice crop; and even when they ruin the crop on the ground, they have the compensating advantage of spreading a coat of fertilising silt over the fields, which yield a greatly increased out-turn in the next harvest of the season. This unfortunately does not apply to the great eastern tributary, the Kosi, perhaps the most difficult and destructive of the northern affluents of the Ganges, for it deposits masses of infertile micaceous sand, instead of

silt, over the district of Purnea through which it cuts its way to the Ganges by ever-changing channels.

The flood problem of North Bihar is further complicated by the passage of railways which cut across the natural drainage of the country. The main line of the Bengal and North-Western Railway runs parallel to the Ganges along its northern bank, and branch lines join this at various points, following as far as possible the general direction of the tributary streams, but sometimes cutting across them. Every effort is made to provide adequate waterway in the railway embankments, and engineering experts have reported after repeated examination following flood breaches that nothing has been left undone in this direction. But it is hard to convince the ordinary villager that such is the case, and he is often tempted to seek relief by cutting the embankment.

Throughout the province there are three great harvests every year. There is the *bhadoi* crop of October, which consists chiefly of Indian corn or maize, and the early rice known as *sathi* or 60-day rice, because it ripens within two months. There is next the *aghani* harvest of December-January, which covers the great winter rice crop; and there is lastly the *rabi* or spring crop, reaped in March-April, which includes wheat, barley, oats, pulses, and oil seeds. The proportion of these crops varies greatly in different portions of the province, but taken all over, winter rice is vastly the most important, though in certain tracts of North Bihar the spring crop area actually exceeds the rice-growing one.

All these crops, and most of all the winter rice, are dependent for a good out-turn on an adequate and well-distributed fall of the monsoon rains, and it may be convenient here to say a word about the rainfall, remembering that what is true of Bihar is true also of the rest of the province. Within the province the average annual rainfall ranges from about 50 inches in Bihar to 55 in Chota Nagpur and 60 in Orissa. More than four-fifths of this total falls between the middle of June and the end of September. The distribution is even more important than the total. For the autumn and winter harvests, showers falling in May or early June enable the cultivators to prepare the land by digging and ploughing. Heavy rain is wanted in the second half of June and throughout July, when ample moisture is needed to bring on the rice seedlings and facilitate transplantation. An interval, not too long, of fair weather is now useful to permit of weeding operations. Heavy rain is again required in September and, after a break, in early October to complete the process of growth. On the sufficiency of the September rainfall, more than on that of any other month, depends the character of the winter rice crop. October rain keeps the soil moist for the sowing of the spring crops, and occasional showers from December to February are highly conducive to a good harvest in March and April. The failure, or a marked deficiency, of the monsoon rains, or a serious defect in their distribution, is ordinarily a far greater calamity to the Indian raiyat than the occurrence of disastrous floods; but worst of all is a combination of these two evils, causing a succession of bad harvests which saps his reserves. Then the dreaded spectre of famine appears on the scene. The organisation which has been gradually built up to combat this calamity is embodied in the Famine Code and will always remain one of the greatest achievements of the British administration. The extension of railways and improvement of road communications, the organisation of relief works, the distribution of loans and the development of irrigation, have been the principal weapons of attack. North Bihar unfortunately does not lend itself readily to the irrigation shield—its rivers are too uncontrollable—and there is therefore little to record in this direction except the Tribeni Canal, which taps the Gandak where it leaves the Nepal Highlands.

The next physical zone of the province, the channel of the Ganges, is a narrow zone, but one which presents peculiar problems of its

own. The great river, which enters Bihar 1,000 miles from its source and flows nearly 300 more before it leaves the province, occupies a trough which varies from about three to ten miles in width, that being the distance between its high banks to the north and south. It is navigable throughout the year for river steamers, but whereas in the cold weather its stream is reduced to an average width of about one mile, in the rains it may swell in places to nearly ten.

The deep stream oscillates within this trough from one year to another, and as its waters fall with the close of the monsoon, great expanses of sand with silt deposits of varying depth appear at intervals along the bed of the river, sometimes as accretions to the mainland and sometimes as islands in the mid-stream. Some of these *diaras*, as they are called, are mere deposits of sand, but others are covered with deep layers of silt, perhaps the deposits of several years, and produce in the cold weather the most luxuriant crops. As the river channel is constantly changing and the *diaras* vary greatly from year to year in extent and position, they are frequently the cause of violent dispute and costly litigation in which both landlords and tenants are involved. The riparian tenantry, who cultivate these lands, are a turbulent lot, and many are the heads that are broken each year as the river casts up its prizes; many are the volumes that are filled with the law of alluvion and diluvion as laid down by the High Courts and the Privy Council, to which serious disputes are taken on appeal. One of the most anxious duties of the District Officer is to take preventive action under the Criminal Procedure Code when cases of dispute are brought to his notice—action that will prevent breaches of the peace till the disputed rights have been settled by the civil or revenue courts. *Diara* cases present very hard nuts to crack for these tribunals because of the changing nature of the subject-matter and the difficulty of its identification. *Diara* surveys have been made from time to time, but it is difficult to co-ordinate the maps with any precision. There are no landmarks within the river-bed, and it is not easy to provide along the banks landmarks that are stable and sufficiently frequent for the work of the ordinary court surveyor.

The next zone, South Bihar, presents physical aspects and land problems entirely different from those of the northern sub-province. The alluvial basin of the Ganges here begins to be hemmed in by the outliers of the Vindhyan range, the Kaimur Hills in the west, about 60 to 80 miles distant from the river, and the Rajmahal Hills on the east, which close in on the river at the point where it makes its great bend before leaving the province. The alluvial tract is a rough triangle with a base of about 40 or 50 miles, tapering to its apex at Sahibganj. The country gradually rises in the south towards the slopes and escarpments of the Chota Nagpur plateau, which has a general average level of about 1,500 feet. The scenery even in the flatter areas towards the river is diversified by isolated peaks and hill-ranges, such as the Kharagpur Hills south of Monghyr, and the Rajgir Hills of Patna, famous in Buddha's story. The alluvial tract is much less fertile than North Bihar, the richest portion being a belt of some ten or twelve miles' width along the Ganges which receives heavy silt deposits from the spill flood of the river. The Ganges receives on its southern bank the drainage of the northern face of the Chota Nagpur plateau, but its greatest affluent is the Son on the east, which rises in Central India near the sources of the Nerbudda, drains an area of more than 20,000 square miles, and, debouching from the hills near the ancient fortress of Rohtasgarh, joins the Ganges about ten miles above Patna. In the hot weather a fordable stream of a hundred yards' width, wandering amongst the sands of its bed, it becomes in the rains a noble river of two to three miles' breadth: its flood comes down with furious rapidity, and spreads over the lowlands of the adjoining districts, often doing extensive damage to crops and homesteads of

riparian villages, especially if the Ganges is in simultaneous flood and the Son cannot pass off its excess waters quickly. In 1924 it badly wrecked the town of Arrah, and Government had to organise extended relief measures for both town and country.

The Son is crossed at Dehri by the Grand Chord line of the East Indian Railway, which runs over a magnificent bridge of ninety-three spans and two miles' length. At the same point is a great weir 12,500 feet long, the starting-point of the Son Canals, which distribute the waters of the river east and west and protect from the dangers of drought an area of 600,000 acres or nearly 1,000 square miles, in three districts. This is the most successful of the larger irrigation works of the province, interest on the capital cost and the maintenance charges being met by water rates paid on an acreage basis of the protected area. The resultant benefits to the cultivator exceed many times the burden of the annual rates, but the latter are nevertheless the target of frequent attack in the Legislative Council, although they represent only 4 per cent. of the value of the crop, as against an average of 12½ per cent. in Egypt and 16 per cent. in America.

The southern tributaries of the Ganges, east of the Son, are so fully utilised for local irrigation that many of them fail to reach the river. Their lower courses are covered with a network of irrigation channels which take the water either direct into the fields or impound it in shallow reservoirs (*ahars*) for use as required. The larger channels are maintained as a rule by the landlords of the tract, who take their return in the shape of produce rents, often absorbing as much as half of the year's crop. This system, in the maintenance of the channels, the distribution of the water between villages and tenants, and the division of the crops, is the occasion of frequent and bitter disputes between adjoining landlords and between landlord and tenant.

A notable private irrigation work of a different type was constructed fifty years ago amongst the Kharagpur Hills in South Monghyr. A valley between the hills was dammed up, forming a beautiful lake which, according to one writer, "rivals the renowned Lake of Killarney." I have rowed over the lake, and can testify to its beauty. Its waters irrigate about 20,000 acres, and yield a handsome return to the landlord of the estate, together with incalculable benefit to the tenantry. This type of protective work is naturally rare in Bihar, but is more frequent on a smaller scale amidst the hills and uplands of the Chota Nagpur plateau.

Beyond the range of the river Son disastrous floods seldom occur in South Bihar, but they are not wholly unknown, as I had experience in September 1899 when on duty in the Santal Parganas district. Exceptionally heavy rain, possibly the result of a cloudburst, fell for twelve hours in the Rajmahal Hills; the local streams were swollen to an unprecedented height and came down as raging torrents in the dead of the night upon the lowlands, catching the sleeping villagers unawares. Nearly two thousand lives were lost, many families and entire hamlets were wiped out, and there was heavy mortality amongst cattle. Although the loss of human life and cattle was so great, the floods subsided rapidly, the crops were saved, and after a short interval the tract resumed its wonted prosperity.

Chota Nagpur.—We may now pass from the Gangetic basin to the Chota Nagpur plateau. There is no direct line of railway communication between these areas, as all the great railways of North-East India radiate from Calcutta. The East Indian Railway system passes through Bihar, the Bengal-Nagpur Railway crosses Orissa and Chota Nagpur. But there are good metalled roads, bridged throughout, which take us into the heart of the uplands, and indeed right across them. These have been greatly developed since the new province was formed in 1912, and one can now drive by motor-car without a break from Gaya on the north edge of the plateau to Jajpur in the Orissa delta, a distance of more than 400 miles,

passing through delightful scenery of hills and valleys and upland that compares favourably with the best which our own land can offer (Figs. 6 and 7). The greater portion of the plateau has an elevation ranging from 1,000 to 2,000 feet; but there are large tracts, notably around Ranchi, the summer capital of the province, which exceed the 2,000-feet level; and there are smaller inner plateaux lying above 3,000 feet, while the whole is traversed by ranges of hills and studded with isolated peaks. In the east of the Hazaribagh district is the sacred Parasnath Hill, a massive range overhanging the Grand Trunk Road. It is a crescent-shaped ridge with several spurs and many rocky peaks, of which the highest rises to 4,481 feet. There are several peaks in the Orissa States which fall just short of 4,000 feet. The hill streams on the northern side of the plateau run north to join the Son and the Ganges, but the bulk of its drainage flows south and east to enter the Bay of Bengal through the Orissa delta. Many beautiful cascades and waterfalls mark the descent of the hill streams from the plateau to the plains below.

The largest of its rivers is the Mahanadi (*i.e.*, "Great River"), which rises deep in the Central Provinces and has a length of 500 miles and a catchment area of 48,000 square miles, more than one and a half times the whole area of Scotland. On its way to the delta it passes through a gorge about 14 miles long and ¼ mile broad, hemmed in by forest-clad hills which rise over 2,000 feet.

The British Indian portion of the plateau, which is the northern half, including the Chota Nagpur division and the districts of Santal Parganas, Angul, and Sambalpur, has an area of 34,000 square miles, and a population of 9½ million. The southern half of the plateau is occupied by the Indian States, twenty-six in number, which have an area of 29,000 square miles and a population of nearly 4 million. The general physical features of both areas are much alike, and cultivation follows the same general type. The villages are situated on the uplands, but their boundaries usually include tracts of forest and valleys of varying width running down to the larger streams of the plateau. Dry crops, maize, millets, and pulses are cultivated on the high land around the village sites, much of which is often very infertile and tilled once only in three years, but the slopes of the valleys have everywhere been terraced with an industry that has to be seen to be realised, and on these terraces and the lower lands of the valleys, which are all well levelled, rice is grown. Each step in the terrace protects the step below, but the rainfall of the year is also conserved in a multitude of reservoirs, pools and miniature lakes which have been dug and embanked at all commanding points. The natural springs of the lower levels are thus encouraged. In years of excessive rainfall the lowest lands may be flooded out, but in ordinary years they are the most heavily cropped, and in years of drought their crops may be saved when everything above has withered. The proportion of wet land to dry land varies greatly from village to village and tract to tract.

On the plateau one is not faced with the problem of destructive flood, save to a very minor extent in the more open valleys or on the occurrence of phenomenal rainfall. There is, however, the common liability to scarcity and famine in years of drought or ill-distributed rainfall. But even in the worst years some portion of the crop is always saved, the failure of the harvest is not so universal as in flatter country, and the aboriginal races find within their forests resources of roots and fruits that are not open to the cultivators of the plains. The most urgent land problem indeed of the plateau is the conservation of forest, which is too rapidly disappearing under modern conditions.

When we came first into contact with this part of the country it was covered with extensive forest, and the clearings were few and scattered. With the opening up of communi-

cations and the extension of cultivation, there is a tendency for the forest to disappear faster than is good for the land or the people. To the aboriginal, the forest is his greatest friend. He utilises it for innumerable domestic and agricultural purposes, and he falls back upon it, on its roots and fruits, in years of scarcity and distress. But he finds it hard to treat his friend considerately, and he resents with an ill grace restrictions of user imposed for his own and his children's benefit. Nevertheless, where Government has full control and no private landlord intervenes between the State and the cultivator, much has been done by wise laws and careful administration to conserve for the good of generations yet unborn the treasure of the forest. Nothing could be more wicked than the efforts made by political agitators to carry their mischievous campaign of lawlessness into the country of the hill tribes and to stir these ignorant and deluded children of the forest to set at naught forest laws and destroy in one fell swoop the work of generations, by cutting down and burning carefully tended plantations of timber trees.

The greater part of the plateau is occupied by private estates, and a constant battle is waged between landlord and tenant for the user of the forest, which as a natural consequence is now rapidly disappearing. Government has tried for years to initiate legislation for the regulation of forest rights and the conservation of forest in these tracts, but has hitherto failed to overcome the opposition of the landlords, who clamour against State interference with private rights. The resulting disappearance of forest is not only mischievous to the ultimate interests of landlords and tenants alike, but also highly prejudicial to local cultivation, for it deprives the soil of humus and moisture. Moreover, it exposes the lower country to greater danger of disastrous flood, for in the absence of forest growth drainage is more rapid and floods more severe.

Orissa.—I pass now to the third zone of the province, the deltaic districts of Orissa, which extend from the hills and uplands of the plateau to the shores of the Bay of Bengal. The two principal rivers of the delta are the Brahmani, which rises in Chota Nagpur, and the Mahanadi, which comes down from Central India. The latter, which is by far the more important, bursts on to the plains above Cuttack, the capital of Orissa, which stands at the head of the delta. The town is almost encircled by the great embankments of the two main streams into which the Mahanadi here divides, one flowing east to the Bay at False Point, and the other taking a more southerly course towards the great Chilka Lake, a shallow lagoon connected with the sea by a narrow channel and attaining in the rains an area of nearly 400 square miles. Innumerable channels link together the Brahmani and the chief affluents of the Mahanadi before they reach the coast. In spite of their number they are not nearly adequate to carry off the great volume of water that comes down from the plateau in the flood time of the monsoon, and Orissa has always been desperately liable to disastrous inundation. The mischief is exaggerated by the circumstance that the mouths of all the river outlets to the sea are choked up by sandy bars which result from "the eternal war between the rivers and the sea on the monsoon-beaten coast, the former struggling to find vent for their volumes of water and silt, the latter repelling them with its sand-laden currents." The natural escape of river flood is also hampered by the numerous embankments that have been erected along the river courses and by the canals constructed after the great famine of 1866, which carried off a fourth of the population. In those days Orissa was almost wholly cut off from Calcutta, roads being well-nigh impassable in the rains, and the ports, such as they were, unapproachable in the monsoon. The sub-province is now traversed by the great railway line which connects

Calcutta with Madras, crossing the deltaic rivers by a series of magnificent bridges.

The canals run in various directions, mostly seaward, from the headwaters of the Brahmani and the Mahanadi which are dammed by great weirs. Although they are invaluable for the protection of Orissa from failure of the rice crop in years of drought, their raised channels and the river embankments do operate to check the natural escape of river flood, and flood has now become the most serious problem with which Orissa is faced. It is not a new problem. It was the outstanding problem of Orissa when Sir William Hunter visited it more than sixty years ago and wrote that admirable account of the province which was the pioneer of the Indian gazetteers. It was the outstanding problem when we revised the land revenue settlement thirty years ago, and it has frequently been under investigation since. But floods have been so frequent and disastrous of recent years that in 1928 Government appointed a strong Committee of All-India Engineering Experts to study the whole subject on the spot and advise what remedial measures could be taken. The Committee after very full investigations expressed the opinion "that embankments in the long run are ruinous to the areas which they deprive of the land-raising silt brought by floods and thus eventually convert into badly drained depressions liable to disastrous flooding. They were accordingly opposed to any further embankment construction, and recommended systematic and strict control of all embankments, and a general policy of gradual removal of all such embankments as can be abolished without unbearable injury to property either private or Government." In other words, they recommended that nature should be allowed to take her own course for the future. Government accepted this conclusion, "except that in view of the very extensive vested interests and rights involved they were doubtful as to the real practicability of the general policy of gradual but ruthless removal of existing embankments."

Rice is the only staple crop cultivated in Orissa. It loves moisture and cannot indeed be grown unless its roots are covered more or less continuously with water. It can stand without injury a few days' total submersion, but if the submersion is over-prolonged, the rice stalks rot away and die. The duration of flood is thus a matter of life and death to the crop, which forms about 90 per cent. of the Oriya peasant's subsistence. There will be a terrible outcry if for the general good any particular area is deprived of the protection it now enjoys. But the floods are constantly bursting existing embankments, and in the lower levels of the country towards the sea protection is not now secured. Future policy will doubtless be to leave the embankment breaches in such lower levels unclosed and unrepaired.

Some of the physical problems which the land system of Bihar and Orissa presents—liability to flood and drought, forest denudation, and other troubles—have now been passed in review. In a subsequent paper attention will be given to other aspects of the land system of the province—to its fiscal and agrarian problems, and to the difficult question which arises from the ever-increasing pressure of the growing population on the resources of the soil.

The Economic Programme of the Congress

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The Karachi Congress passed a resolution on the Fundamental Rights of the people. This resolution included the Economic Programme of the Congress. It was revised by a special committee, and the revised resolution has been recently passed by the All-India Congress Committee at its session held in Bombay in the beginning of August.

"Political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions," and how this is to be achieved, or what this will mean to the masses needs to be said in a simple manner. This was the object with which the resolution was passed.

The object is great; the ideal is noble. The question is whether the Economic Programme as outlined in the resolution has been well thought out. It claims to lay down the future economic policy of the country; and the programme should therefore be comprehensive, consistent and, above all, practical. In order that public opinion be rightly directed in this vital matter, it is but proper that this programme and allied things should be studied by all concerned, with a view to remove defects and anomalies in the same, and with a view to make it an ideal which can be recommended to the future Indian Democracy. The object of this paper is to examine critically the economic ideas contained in the Congress resolution.

In order that the economic programme of the Congress can be better understood for the purposes of discussion, I would group the main points under five headings as under :—

I. General :—
Acceptance of the right to property.

II. Agriculture :—
(a) Relief of agricultural indebtedness and control of usury;
(b) Reform of the system of land tenure and revenue.

III. Industry :—
(a) Nationalisation or control of key industries and transport services;
(b) Protection to indigenous industries;
(c) Exclusion of foreign cloth and yarn.

IV. Industrial Labour :—
(a) Securing of a decent standard of living and a living wage;
(b) Protection against old age, sickness and unemployment.

V. Finance :—
(a) Regulation of currency and exchange in the national interest;
(b) Revenue :
(1) Land Revenue reform (II *b*).
(2) Levy of Death duties.
(3) Removal of salt duty.
(4) Abolition of Excise revenue.
(c) Expenditure :
(1) Reduction of military expenditure by half.
(2) Reduction in civil expenditure, the maximum salary being Rs. 500.
(3) Expenditure on Prohibition.

(4) Expenditure on Free and Compulsory Primary Education,

(5) Expenditure due to social legislation for the benefit of labourers (IV *b*).

GENERAL.

It is obvious that though some of the proposed measures are intended to bring about a better distribution of the national wealth, the fundamental basis of modern capitalistic organisation of society, namely, the right to private property is accepted. [* Clause 1 (viii) and (xiv).] In other words, while the impetus to production implied in the exclusive right to enjoy the fruits thereof is retained, efforts will be made to minimise the undesirable consequences of such a system, by various measures of control, relief, taxation, and expenditure to distribute the total wealth more equitably among the people. In this general aim, the Congress programme does not differ materially from the policy of most modern countries, which though based on the capitalistic form of organisation, do attempt in various ways to remove the anomalies of undue concentration of wealth with the few on the one hand, and general poverty among the many on the other.

AGRICULTURE.

We should now consider each item in the programme separately, and in its relation to the scheme as a whole. So far as the relief of agricultural indebtedness is concerned, the way in which this is to be done is not clear. The passing of a Rural Insolvency Act on the lines suggested in para 367 of the report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture may be suggested as one of the methods out of the difficulty. Besides, no one will deny the necessity of having a stricter control over usury. (Clause 16.)

The reform of the system of land tenure and revenue is to be brought about in several ways. (1) Exemption of rent in the case of uneconomic holdings for a period; (2) substantial reduction of rent and revenue in the case of other small estates; (3) adequate relief to holders of small estates affected by the exemption or reduction in rent; and (4) imposition of a graded tax on net incomes from land above a reasonable minimum. (Clause 7.)

The clause in which this reform is suggested is not very clearly worded, but so far as one can see the abovementioned four measures are intended. So far as the fourth measure is concerned, it means that the incomes from agriculture should be brought under the operation of the Income-tax, with relevant changes. This has been suggested by various economists, and is a very reasonable proposal. The vested interests of Bengal Zamindars, who enjoy the rights of the Permanent Settlement of revenue, are against such a measure.

The first three measures relate to the evil of subdivision and fragmentation of agricultural holdings in the country. Any attempt to relieve the cultivator in this connection will be of no avail, unless it is accompanied by a measure calculated to increase the size of the holding to a somewhat larger level than now, so that economic or profitable cultivation may be possible. In other words, measures for the prevention of further fragmentation on the one hand, and for the encouragement of consideration on the other must be introduced, if the peasantry is to enjoy the benefits of the proposed relief. Such measures are fraught with great difficulties, and may in the end result in some unemployment, for which suitable avenues of other work will be required.

INDUSTRY.

The acquisition or control by the State of key industries (*e.g.*, minerals) and of transport services is not against modern practice and theory. The largest transport service in the country, namely, Railways, is already State property. The largest mineral industry,

* The references are to the resolution of the A. I. C. C. for which see Appendix.

namely, steel, is receiving State help. Though there may be some difficulties in the practical application of this policy, it is essential in the interests of the country. (Clause 15.)

The protection of indigenous industries against foreign competition, when necessary, has been recently accepted in principle by the Government of India. The methods by which protection is given at present, and the conditions by which it is hedged require a thorough revision. (Clause 12.)

The exclusion of foreign cloth and yarn, and allied measures with a view to protect indigenous cloth has been laid down. (Clause 12.) So long as the total requirement of the country is not met by indigenous cloth, some imports may be necessary. This means that if the object of protecting the indigenous industry can be achieved by protective duties and similar other methods, it would not be wise to exclude or prohibit foreign imports altogether. Besides, if we are to retain and develop our position in International Trade, we should follow the accepted conventions of such trade, consistently with our own interests. In the case of things, calculated to do moral wrong, we know that prohibition or exclusion is practised. But in the case of other articles of trade, legal prohibition is not enforced, though there may be protective duties, which may be so high as to be prohibitive. From another point of view also such prohibition may lead to ridiculous results. In the U. S. A. a person bringing even a bottle of liquor, if detected, will have to forfeit the same to the State. If we imagine a state of affairs in India, when foreign cloth is excluded, shall we ask all persons (foreigners or Indians) to forfeit their foreign clothes on landing in India at the ports? And shall we insist on all foreigners who reside in India to wear Indian cloth; should they not have liberty to use what to them may be their own swadeshi cloth?

One may or may not be as optimistic as Mahatma Gandhi in the belief "that when India becomes free, she will manufacture within a short time enough khadi for her wants, supplementing it during the transition with indigenous mill-cloth." But it would not be difficult to agree with his other condition in this connection, that "if there was no competition, and if it became clear that some foreign cloth had to come to India, and if England was in partnership with India freed, I would give preference to England over all other countries." (*Young India*, 30-7-31.)

INDUSTRIAL LABOUR.

In connection with Labour, it has been said that "the organisation of economic life must conform to the principles of justice, to the end that it may secure a decent standard of living." (Clause 2a.) The phrase "a decent standard of living" is difficult of interpretation in practice, and different men will give it a different connotation. In the connected clause, however, it has been laid down that a living wage should be secure to industrial workers. (2b). "A living wage" will also involve difficulties in practice; in order to avoid them, it is usual to advocate a minimum wage, which can be laid down in rupees, annas and pies by the Legislature.

Suggestions for "healthy conditions for work, limited hours of labour, suitable machinery for the settlement of disputes between employers and workmen" require no comment. The proposal to give "protection against the economic consequences of old age, sickness and unemployment" is very good in principle. It will require legislation on the lines of similar measures in Western countries.

It should be added that the idea of a living wage or a minimum wage combined with the social legislation referred to above will add to the cost of industrial production on the one hand, and involve the State in some expenditure on the other.

It is not clear whether the benefits to be secured under these and similar other clauses, are to be extended to agricultural labourers as well. Clauses 2 to 6 of the resolution refer to "Labour", of which clauses 2 to 5 contain

benefits to industrial labourers only; clause 6 gives "the right to form Unions to protect their interests" to "peasants and workers." If the other benefits meant for industrial labourers are extended to peasants, the cost to the State will increase to such an extent that the proposed benefits may have to be cut down.

FINANCE.

Clause 14 says that "currency and exchange shall be regulated in the national interest." This implies a disapproval by the Congress of the existing policy, without giving a definite idea of the policy which the Congress proposes to follow. It is impossible to get into the complicated issues involved in this problem in this paper. But one thing may be observed. If it is intended that the gold value of the rupee should be restored to 1s. 4d., and the present writer has held this opinion, we should be conscious of the consequences, namely, that it will lead to a higher level of prices compared with the prevailing level at the time the step is taken.

The other part of the financial programme refers to certain sources of revenue and items of expenditure. This is defective inasmuch as it does not take account of all items of revenue and expenditure. We can however consider only those that are mentioned in the Congress programme. The reform of the Land Revenue, the removal of the Salt duty, and the policy of Prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs, will lead to a substantial reduction in revenue compared with the present position. The only addition to revenue suggested in the scheme is Death duties, the yield from which will be small compared with the reduction due to the measures already referred to above. In order to make good the deficit thus caused, the scheme contemplates certain changes in expenditure.

It should be pointed out that the policy of Prohibition on the one hand, and the adoption of a system of free and compulsory primary education on the other, will add to the expenditure of the State. Social legislation for the benefit of labourers will also add to State expenditure. This means that the reduction in expenditure in certain branches of State activities should be sufficiently large to allow for the reduction in revenue on the one hand, and the proposed increase in expenditure on the other.

The scheme contemplates reduction of expenditure in two directions, in Military Services and in Civil Services. It is proposed that there should be "a drastic reduction in military expenditure so as to bring it down to at least one half of the present scale." There is no doubt that this is the most important item from which a large amount can be diverted to nation-building activities. It should at the same time be borne in mind, that even if the future Government of India adopts this goal, it will take some years before it will be able to reach it. It will not be possible to cut down by half such a huge organisation at a single stroke.

The other method of reducing expenditure is to cut down expenditure and salaries in civil departments. In this connection, it has been proposed that "no servant of the State, other than specially employed experts and the like, shall be paid above a certain fixed figure, which should not ordinarily exceed Rs. 500 per month."

There is general agreement regarding the fact that the civil servants in the country are highly paid, and that there is room for a substantial reduction in their salaries. The only question is whether it is proper to lay down an upper limit for conditions which we cannot easily realise to-day. The one important factor is the price-level. There are several proposals in the Congress programme, which are likely, if carried out, to raise prices. From another point of view also, according to the scheme, the future value of the rupee must be uncertain; because this will depend on what the future Government of India considers to be in the national interest. Again,

if our currency system is regulated according to the most modern principles adopted in other countries, and if we are going to retain and develop our trade relations with the rest of the world, we are bound to be affected by the international price fluctuations. In view of such uncertain factors, it is not proper to lay down, in terms of rupees, any particular figure as the upper limit of salaries for public servants, because it may not fit the ideas of the framers of the scheme, regarding the comforts to be allowed to public servants.

But in addition to this, there is another fundamental objection to this proposal. The Congress scheme contemplates an economic organisation of Society based on the right to private property, and hopes to minimise the well-known defects of such an organisation by certain State measures of control, relief, taxation and expenditure. Men in business and professions will, therefore, be in a position to enjoy large incomes almost exactly as they do now, except so far as they are affected by certain measures referred to above. So long as it is possible for men with ability, industry and integrity to acquire wealth in business and professions, it will be difficult to expect such men to go in for the public services under the conditions contemplated by the Congress scheme. Either of two consequences must follow; the class of people joining the public services will only be those of mediocre capacity, with the exception of those few who do so out of love for the work; or certain important positions in the public services will be monopolised by those who have other sources of income.

The remedy of Mahatma Gandhi in this connection is to appeal to men in business and professions to take to a simpler mode of life. He observes: "It would be wrong to entertain the idea, that whilst the public services would be paid in accordance with the natural condition of the country, professional and business men would continue a mode of life out of all correspondence with their surroundings. They must voluntarily lead the way and set the example." (*Young India*, 30-7-31).

If they do not, will the State force them to do so? And if so, how? In the meanwhile, let us bow to the optimism of the Mahatma. Perhaps, it is such unbounded faith in the future that is providing him with the capacity to make that superhuman effort in which he is engaged to the wonder of the world.

The Man Goethe

By
MRS. E. ROSENTHAL

Wooded Weimar, one of the most fascinating small cities of Germany possesses a potent past, for it was for long the centre of intellectual life in Germany, and during Gœthe's lengthy sojourn there, from 1775 to 1832, it attracted the gaze of the whole literary Europe. When Gœthe made its acquaintance, Weimar boasted a mere ten thousand inhabitants yet, as Max Müller put it in his inaugural address to the English Gœthe Society,* "But as 4,000,000 is to 10,000 so was the intellectual wealth of Gœthe's Weimar compared to what we could find at present if we ransacked all our clubs and all our palaces."

The narrow frame which Fate selected for the dæmonic Gœthe did not however impede his expansion, for the Gœthe life in the fullest, broadest sense of the word was the main thing; everything else was a mere side issue, important only in proportion to the assistance it contributed to the all-engrossing problem of living. Consequently, the making of the man Gœthe is as dynamically interesting as the creation of his works.

When Gœthe, at the age of twenty-six, accepted the invitation of the eighteen-year old Karl August, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, he had turned the corner of his hectic youth. He was already a well-known author with the great drama *Gotz von Berlichingen*, and the yet more famous novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* to his credit, constituting a literary passport, an "Open Sesame" to the intelligentia of the world, a gag sufficient to stifle the lamentations of Mrs. Grundy of Weimar who endeavoured to found an anti-Gœthe league. The poet at that time was as handsome as a Greek god, and charmed young and old alike. Even Wieland, for several years the literary leader of Weimar, hailed the new-comer with enthusiasm, although he realised that Gœthe was one greater than himself. The tales about Gœthe leading Karl August astray were probably gross libels, anyway the wild weeks at Weimar soon concluded as far as Gœthe was concerned, for his capacity for hard work equalled, if it did not exceed, his capacity for wild play, and he soon settled in at Weimar with his nose to the administrative grindstone, in the manipulation of which his genius excelled. In 1776, Gœthe was appointed Privy Councillor of Legation above the heads of many long-service officials, for the Duke realised that Gœthe's presence in the little State was an indispensable tonic, a bulwark against the sit-tight-and-do-nothing policy of the old and the otiose. From 1776-1786, therefore, Gœthe deliberately fettered his literary activities. He had little time to put the finishing touches to his writings, and see them through the press, but these years constituted a period of germination for the seeds innumerable sown in the fertile soil of his imagination, many of which ripened through the influence of Gœthe's most important love affair, his intimacy with Frau von Stein. Love's gamut from the sublime to the sensual played a prominent rôle in the make-up of the man Gœthe, but to no woman was he more deeply attached than to Charlotte von Stein, seven years his senior, married to a husband who grated upon her like a slate pencil upon a squeaky slate, and the mother of a large

* Inaugural address delivered before the English Goethe Society by the President, May 28, 1888. (The population of London in 1888 was nearly 4,000,000).

family. Charlotte was not beautiful, yet when Gœthe saw her portrait for the first time at Pyrmont and heard Zimmermann's description of her, he spent three sleepless nights, aching to discover how the world "mirrors itself in her soul." Naturally Charlotte was flattered when she learnt from Zimmermann of the impression made, and the admiration of the young celebrity was to prove a balm to her jaded soul and ailing body. She was clever too, well-read, a woman of the world, and her influence on the storm-tossed poet was soothing, and restful, despite the nerve-rack which he suffered because of her desire for spiritual contacts only. He implored Charlotte to "finish her work and make him really good," for with her, as with all the other women who counted in his life, Gœthe assumed an attitude of humility. Three months after making her acquaintance Gœthe was intrigued by their soul-bond as proved by the following lines:—

"Tell me, what is Destiny preparing?
Tell me why we two have drawn so near?
Aeons since, were you a sister, sharing
Kin with me, or else a wife most dear?
Everything I am, my every feature,
You divined, my every nerve could thrill,
Read me at a glance—no other creature
Knows me as you know, nor ever will.
You could claim my fevered blood, could guide me
Better than my erring will has led;
In your angel-arms I ran to hide me,
Care from out my troubled bosom fled."*

During the first ten years of his Weimar sojourn, when he was endeavouring to shape the Duke into a first-class human, to develop the resources of the State, to introduce reforms and economy, Gœthe regarded Charlotte as his good angel, the one being who could wipe away the irritation of petty contacts from his soul and restore his clarity of vision. Yet the tension between body and soul often neared the breaking point.

II.

Though he was unaware of it, probably, he began to seek for relief if not for cure. It was not Charlotte's fault, any more than it was Weimar's fault, that by 1786 Gœthe felt he must break loose if his genius were not to be atrophied, or his body to sicken. From his early youth he had regarded a trip to Italy as an imperative necessity for his development. The love of Italy had been fostered in him by his stern old father who had filled the family home in Frankfurt with views of Rome, and had always talked of the Eternal City as though it were the Promised Land. Gœthe, with nerves frayed by the wear and tear of officialdom, desired Italy as a lover his sweetheart and eventually escaped southwards, almost like a schoolboy playing truant. Only the Duke knew of his intentions, and he was even unaware of Gœthe's address. On the 3rd September 1786, Gœthe quitted Carlsbad incognito, and on the day he crossed the Alps he felt as though he had been born and brought up in the South. His soul expanded like ripening fruit as he sped towards Rome, to which he hastened as though fearful that Fate would play him a nasty trick and baulk him of his intention to visit the wonder metropolis. Gœthe's first visit to Italy was a kind of half-way house in his life journey, for when he returned to Weimar he was in his thirty-ninth year and he lived to the ripe old age of eighty-two. In point of experience as well as of time, the Italian sojourn traced a line of demarcation through Gœthe's career. It was in Italy that he found his mature manhood, that he learned to view himself in perspective, and to sift and appraise life's values with reference to his duty as an artist and a seer.

From his callow days as a Leipzig student, when he had sown a goodly crop of wild oats in his desire to sample the motley merchandise displayed in life's shop window, and thereby had gained knowledge invaluable for the basis of his creative work, Gœthe had always taken himself seriously as a poet. He early contracted the habit of hoisting himself out of life's tight places by chronicling his experiences in his works, in many of which he employed

*Translation in Goethe: *The History of a Man*, by Emil Ludwig, English translation by Ethel Colbourn Mayne. Putnam's Sons 1928. Vol. I, page 55.

self-portraiture, so that bits of biography can be picked out from between the crevices of most of his literary structures. Take for example *Die Laune des Verliebten—The Wayward Lover*—dating back to his Leipzig days and written and re-written, polished and re-polished, in 1766-67. In it he immortalised his passion for Anna Katharina, the daughter of a vintner and restaurant keeper named Schönkopf, an amazingly sweet-tempered girl, whose very absence of " pep " enabled Gœthe with his dæmonic temperament, to treat her abominably, tormenting her with jealousy for which there was neither rhyme nor reason and generally making a doormat of her. Soon after Gœthe's nervous break-down, brought on by excitement and excess, and his consequent departure from Leipzig, Kätchen became engaged to a friend of his, but her portrait always occupied a place of honour in the ladies' gallery of his memory.

Die Mitschuldigen—The Fellow Culprits, dating from the same early period as *The Wayward Lover* proves the stern vein of realism in the poet's equipment. In his autobiographical *Fiction and Truth* written late in life, Gœthe tells us that early in life he gained insight into the chasms beneath Society's crust. " How many families had I not known more or less intimately whose foundations had been undermined by bankruptcy, divorce, seduction, murder! " He would condemn nobody, for he was never certain that in circumstances identical with those of the transgressor, he might not have acted in an identical manner. The moral of *The Fellow Culprits*, therefore, is truly Biblical :—" He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone." All the characters are exceedingly earth-besmirched, but the situations grip, and the effects get across the footlights in a manner which proves that Gœthe's early intimacy with the stage was to stand him in good stead all down life's highway, when he was engaged upon dramatic work. The most powerful scene in the drama is a masterful blend of the grim and the ludicrous. The innkeeper and father of Sophie, Söller's wife, proceeds to the room of the guest Alcest, to read in secret a certain letter that Alcest has received, the appearance of which has excited the old man's curiosity. Alcest, Sophie's lover before her marriage, has persuaded Sophie to visit him on the same night while her husband is away at a dance. Söller, thinking that Alcest would be out, proceeds to his room and steals the contents of his cash box. Before he can sneak away Söller witnesses an innocent but affectionate scene between Sophie and Alcest. Sophie and her father, next day, mutually accuse each other of the theft. Eventually Söller is compelled to confess his guilt, but as he is aware of Alcest's *Rendezvous* with his wife, innocent though it was, he has the whip-hand over Alcest, and the curtain falls as Söller exclaims :—

" For this once we've all escaped the halter! "

Gœthe's idealism found vast scope in his historical play *Götz von Berlichingen* published in 1773. Götz was loyal to the backbone, but greatly resented the memorable edict published by the fifteenth-century Emperor Maximilian I. In this proclamation, the Emperor declared private warfare between the barons to be illegal and this ordinance, like the Secret Tribunal which clandestinely condemned criminals to death without a hearing is one of the mainsprings of the drama. The vitality of the play is stupendous, and in several of the characters the author mirrored various aspects of his own chameleon-like character. The good-hearted Weislingen with his wobbling will, easily influenced for good or evil owing to his impressionability, is a portrait study of one side of Gœthe the many-souled. Another side is represented by Franz, the ardent youngster, who forgets loyalty and even poisons his master Weislingen because of his mad passion for Adelheid, the beautiful vamp who uses him as a cat's paw. In Franz, we glimpse Gœthe the youthful lover, while in Elizabeth,

Götz's wife, we see the reflection of the staying power and fine texture of Gœthe's mother Frau Aja.

The whirlpool of democracy was beginning to swirl around Europe, and rumblings of the approaching thunder of revolution were audible, when *Götz* was published in 1773. Gœthe was hailed as the leader of the bright young politicians of the period, while the fact that the older generation regarded *Götz* as turbulent and dangerous, heightened the esteem in which it was held by those to whom the thought of revolt was a stimulant. Gœthe was far too level-headed to be over-elated by the praise bestowed upon this child of his imagination, and he regarded it merely as a preparation for the something bigger and maturer that, instinctively, he felt he would compose in the future. He was content to bide his time too, he knew instinctively that his genius would mature slowly and that it was just as profitable to knock his head against a brick wall as to endeavour to hustle his development. *Werther*, published in 1774, supplemented the fame which had accrued to Gœthe through *Götz*, and broadcasted the author's name and repute, not only through Europe but also farther afield. *Werther* reveals many of the author's fundamentals, for the hero is one aspect of Gœthe himself, a Gœthe however, devoid of that backbone and grit which prevented the genius from committing suicide despite the fact that, as he tells us in his Autobiography he coquetted with death, and in his *Werther* days went to bed with a sharp dagger by his side, oftentimes half-attempting to plunge it into his own breast. Carlyle did not overcolour the picture one whit when he likened *Werther* to "a voice from the unknown regions; the first thrilling peal of that impassioned dirge which, in country after country, men's ears have listened to, till they were deaf to all else." The narrative—simplicity itself—is the story of a sick soul. Werther, young, artistic, emotional, blows his brains out because he is in love with a woman who will not be unfaithful to her husband. Gœthe adopted the form of letters for his book and the last epistle addressed by Werther to Lotte, the heroine, reveals Werther's flabbiness as though his soul were laid on an operating table.

During the crowded years of 1775-85 the seeds of *Egmont*, *Tasso* and *Iphigenia* germinated in Northern climes, but they required the Italian sun for the fruit to ripen. Although by no means dramatically perfect, *Egmont* holds the boards even to-day because the characters are real flesh-and-blood men and women, none of your historical puppets dependent for effect upon costume and the accurate setting of their background. Egmont was the dashing leader of the Netherlanders during the reign of Philip II of Spain, when the sturdy Northerners were crushed like insects beneath the Spanish heel. Egmont was a great fighter, the victor over the French at Gravelines and St. Quentin, a magnetic chief adored by all the people, a superlative lover whose mistress in the drama prefers to poison herself than to live on after his execution.

"Why is everybody so fond of Count Egmont?" asks Soest, a shopkeeper, and answers his own question as follows:—

"Why, because one can read in his face that he loves us; because joyousness, openheartedness and good nature speak in his eyes, because he possesses nothing that he does not share with him who needs it, ay, and with him who needs it not. Long live Count Egmont!"

"Oh, what a man he is! All the provinces worship him. And in his arms should I not be the happiest creature in the world?" exclaims his sweetheart Clara. Here we have the key to Egmont's character. His naturalness, absolute lack of affectation and his wealth of sympathy appeal to every class of audience, for his is the human touch that unlocks every heart. Gœthe depicted the Spanish oppression so graphically that one feels the grip of the Duke of Alva tightening round the throats of the Netherlanders, and the injustice of Egmont's execution arouses the

indignation of everyone who has read or seen the tragedy.

Clärchen the heroine is delightful. A girl of the people, even as Gretchen, she is of sterner stuff than Faust's beloved and is Egmont's mate spiritually as well as physically. The scene in which Egmont appears in Spanish dress wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece was imitated by Scott in his *Kenilworth*, when Leicester appears before Amy Robsart garbed in the costume affected by "princes when they ride abroad."

When Clärchen sees the Order of the Golden Fleece, Egmont explains to her that:—

"This chain and Order invest the wearer with the noblest privileges. On earth I acknowledge no judge over my actions, except the Grand Master of the Order, with the assembled chapter of knights"*:—

Whilst Leicester informs the admiring Amy that:—

"This collar...is the badge of the noble Order of the Golden Fleece, once appertaining to the House of Burgundy. It hath high privileges my Amy, belonging to it, this most noble Order; for even the King of Spain himself, who hath now succeeded to the honours and demesnes of Burgundy, may not sit in judgment upon a knight of the Golden Fleece, unless by assistance and consent of the Great Chapter of the Order."

Scott struck another note in unison with Gœthe's when he made Leicester exclaim:—

"We that toil in courts are like those who climb a mountain of loose sand.....I stand high, but I stand not secure enough to follow my own inclination...But, believe me, I will reach a point, and that speedily, when I can do justice to thee and to myself."

Compare Leicester's speech with Egmont's words cited below and the influence of the German over the Scotch writer is so obvious that it is reflected in the very turn of the phrases.

Egmont retorts when his Secretary urges prudence:—

"I stand high, but I can and must rise yet higher. Courage, strength and hope possess my soul. Not yet have I attained the height of my ambition; that once achieved, I will stand firmly and without fear."*

Tasso is an arresting study of the great Italian poet, and in it Gœthe immortalised, in the guise of the Princess, his best-beloved Charlotte von Stein.

"Wouldst thou define exactly what is fitting,
Thou shouldst apply, methinks, to noble women."†

These lines reveal the sum and substance of Lotte's make-up, for the fabric of her nature was of exquisite refinement and even after she had given herself to Gœthe, decorum was her watchword. In *Tasso* too are foreshadowed Charlotte's doubts as to man's stability of character, for there is no denying the fact that she was on the wrong side of forty when her lover having barely reached the prime of life, fled to Italy:
The Princess tells Tasso:—

"'Tis order woman seeketh; freedom, man."
and adds:—

"...ye with violence pursue
A multitude of objects far remote.
Ye venture for eternity to act,
While we, with views more narrow, on this earth
Seek only one possession, well content
If that with constancy remain our own.
For we, alas! are of no heart secure,
Whate'er the ardour of its first devotion."†

Tasso replies to the Princess in the same strain as that in which Gœthe addressed Charlotte, when he implored her to "make him really good":—

"Teach me to do whate'er is possible!
My life itself is consecrate to thee.
When to extol thee and to give thee thanks
My heart unfolded, I experienc'd first
The purest happiness that man can feel.
My soul's ideal I first found in thee."†

Tasso is as polished in form as it is pictorial in background, and its portraiture of suffering genius is superb. The reefs of etiquette and precedence at the Court of Ferrara irk Tasso constantly, as those at Weimar would have been to Gœthe, had the latter not possessed sufficient of the superman to leap the hurdles of conventionality, and become a law unto himself.

In *Iphigenia*, versified in Italy, Gœthe the romanticist outweighed Gœthe the classicist, although as the skeleton of his work the German author selected "Iphigenia in Tauris" of Euripides. Citizen of the world as he was, with boundless devotion to humanity, Gœthe could only view his subject matter through spectacles that cast a sympathetic

* *Egmont* translated by Anna Swanick. London, G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1918.

† *Torquato Tasso* translated by Anna Swanick, London, G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1918.

hue on everything he looked at, and he imbued Iphigenia herself with a gentleness and lovableness utterly foreign to the harsh, crafty, cold-as-a-stone priestess, described by Euripides. The original prose version of *Iphigenia* had been staged at Weimar, when the title rôle had been played by Corona Schröter, a lusciously handsome girl, whom Gœthe had imported from Leipzig to be the particular bright shining star of the theatre he managed. Naturally Gœthe had fallen head over ears in love with her, and equally naturally, Charlotte von Stein had sulked and refused to attend the performance in which Gœthe played Orestes to Corona's *Iphigenia*. The passion for Corona, however, was but a passing fancy, and the idealistic side of Iphigenia's nature was modelled on Charlotte's character.

III.

In Italy, Gœthe had met several charming women to whom, in greater or lesser degree he had been attracted, yet he hoped that on his return to Weimar his former relationship with Lotte would be renewed. Great was his disappointment to find Charlotte changed, cold, uninterested in his travels, jealous of his development and his extended vision. Weimar seemed to him devastatingly narrow and hide-bound, and Charlotte with her querulousness, her ill-health and her tantrums produced the effect of a series of cold douches upon his enthusiasm. His heart strings tightened in her presence, and a couple of weeks or so after his return he was as depressed, more depressed probably, than before he visited Italy; for he was now fully conscious of the joys of the southland and his soul ached for them. Then the "sun steeds of time" that Egmont mentions bore the light car of Gœthe's destiny into a strange channel, one from which it was not to emerge until the poet was an elderly man. One fine morning he took a walk in the Park and, woman-sensitive as he was, his attention was attracted by Christiane Vulpius, a beautiful girl, who presented a petition to him, on behalf of her brother, a young author who wished to make headway as a translator and was tragically well acquainted with the sordidness of Grub Street, as indeed was Christiane herself, for her father had drunk his family to distress and she had scratched up her living by the manufacture of artificial flowers.

Christiane resembling a young Dionysos reminded Gœthe of Italy, and it was not long before they were meeting regularly at his little "Garden House." Less than two years later, Christiane bore Gœthe a son and was established in his sumptuous town mansion, a wife in everything, excepting the title *Frau*. The elite of Weimar of course cold-shouldered Christiane and looked down upon her child, all but the Grand Duke who stood godfather to the baby and supported and defended Gœthe's attitude.

Frau von Stein in particular was intensely peeved and disgruntled, and it was many years before out of the frayed ends of past love she wove the tissue of friendship. Gœthe sealed the tomb of their love with the following epigram:—

"Once I had a love. She was my most precious possession, but I have her no more. Be silent and support the loss!"

The genius knew his own mind and hints, whether broad or narrow, failed to influence his line of conduct, although sneers and jibes at Christiane hurt him deeply. Though Christiane had received but a patchwork of education, she was as alert mentally as physically, and was endowed with much horse-sense. "We don't kiss all the time, but talk sensibly as well." This was Gœthe's summary of their intimacy, and the fact that the poet discussed with her the optical and botanical researches to which he devoted so much time, and wrote for her the "Roman Elegies," proves her capacity for stimulating him mentally. These poems are some of the most stirring that Gœthe ever penned, and the difference between Christiane's generous abandon and Charlotte's pin-pricking conscientiousness

that nagged both her lover and herself, and often left him raw and bleeding, is revealed in the Third Elegy:—

"Blush not, my love, at the thought, thou yieldest so soon to my passion,
Trust me, I think it no shame—think it no vileness in thee!
Shafts from the quiver of Amor have manifold consequences. Some scratch,
And the heart sickens for years with the insidious bane:
Others drawn home to the head, full plumbed, and cruelly pointed,
Pierce to the marrow, and straight kindle the blood into flame.
In the heroical age, when goddess and god were the lovers,
Scarce did they look, but they long'd, longing they rush'd to enjoy."*1.

At last he had found that peace for which he had so long yearned:—

"Oftentimes I mistook, and often came to my senses,
Happier never I was. Happiness now is this girl.
Oh, if this too be mistake, spare me, ye gods that mistake not,
Suffer the dream to go on, till I wake on the lonely shore."*2

After several years of antipathy, during which Gœthe and Schiller had seen very little of each other but had managed to jangle each other's literary nerves, the river of Fate swept the two poets into each other's arms. When Schiller read *Iphigenia* his heart warmed. To him it was the rebirth of antiquity for its beauty sank into the depths of his soul, and he exclaimed ecstatically that he wished to hear nothing else for a couple of years at least. Schiller's "Storm and Stress" methods, which Gœthe had outgrown long since, rattled the elder poet pretty thoroughly, but as the two geniuses established contacts they realised that on fundamentals they were at one, and their intercourse proved to be a mutual literary stimulus that gave birth to glorious achievements. Gœthe maintained that Schiller had created a new youth in him and restored him to Poetry. One of the most important of Gœthe's works brought to fruition under Schiller's protective inspiration was *Wilhelm Meister*, the centrepiece of the great triumvirate *Werther, Wilhelm Meister, Faust*. Part I of *Wilhelm Meister* is one of the world's greatest novels of the stage. Part II is a stupendous compendium of the philosophy of Gœthe Citizen of the World, and for all its excrescences, digressions and planlessness is a work to live with, and re-read, for it is packed close with wisdom and it takes time to extract from it all the meat of sagacity contained therein.

When Gœthe started *Wilhelm Meister* in 1776, he contemplated a self-portrait something on the lines of Werther. The hero is a young business man whose aim and ideal is to succeed as an actor, for which reason the original title of the first part was *Wilhelm Meister's Theatrical Mission*. The experience which Gœthe gained during his first years at Weimar as theatrical producer and actor-manager stood him in good stead, when giving close-ups of the life of the touring company with which Wilhelm associates himself. Many of these scenes are as vivacious and readable as the descriptions of Sanger's Circus in *The Constant Nymph* by Margaret Kennedy. Human interest is strongest in the First Part, and the earliest characters have the divine spark of immortality. Mignon will live as long as German Literature is a vital force, and her song *Knowest Thou the Land* is an undying testimony to Gœthe's passion for the Sunny South.

Never was there a more charming Bohemian than Philine, whom all the men adore and all the women envy.

Gœthe's passion for Shakespeare is revealed through the mouth of *Wilhelm Meister*, and every word of Wilhelm's criticism of Hamlet —in the interpretation of which rôle Meister is supposed to have achieved his greatest stage triumph—is a memorial of the German's appreciation of the Englishman's art.

In Thérèse, Gœthe mirrored the cheerfulness, charm and refreshing common sense of his wife, and so delightfully is she described that she commands the affection of every class

*1 Translation by Sir Theodore Martin.
*2 Translation in Gœthe: *The History of a Man*, by Emil Ludwig. English translation by Ethel Colbourn Mayne. Putnam's Sons 1928. Vol. I, page 304.

of reader. One feels that were there more Thérèse Christianes in the world, there would be less nerve-rack and irritability amongst lovers and husbands. At the close of Part I, Wilhelm is united with Natalia, a type of sublime womanhood, but as a German apprentice has to complete his training by travel, so Wilhelm in the Second Part is depicted as wandering in the Alps with his son Felix, whose education is one of the main threads in the variegated fabric of the story. The sub-title of Part II is "The Renunciants," and the two pivots round which the narrative revolves are work and renunciation. Many of the isolated incidents therein reveal Gœthe's mastery as a short story writer, for they rival in grip the tales of Guy de Maupassant. They are a refreshing contrast to the exposition of the author's views on life in its every aspect. The Eutopia which Gœthe depicts in the *Wanderjahre* is every atom as interesting now as when it was conceived. Three schools of thought are held in equal honour, Paganism, Philosophy and Christianity, and perfect religious tolerance is the order of the day. His vision extended to our own time, and the confession of faith at the close of Carlyle's translation foretells the League of Nations:—

"We can look upon ourselves as members of a union belonging to the world. Simple and grand is the thought; easy its execution by understanding and strength. Unity is all-powerful; no division, therefore, no contention among us."

"Two duties we have most rigorously undertaken: first, to honour every species of religious worship, for all of them are comprehended more or less directly in the creed: secondly, in like manner to respect all forms of government; and since every one of them induces and promotes a calculated activity, to labour according to the wish and will of constituted authorities in whatever place it may be our lot to sojourn, and for whatever time."

"Keep not standing fix'd and rooted,
Briskly venture, briskly roam;
Head and hand, where'er thou foot it,
And stout heart are still at home.
In each land the sun doth visit
We are gay, whate'er betide:
To give space for wand'ring is it
That the world was made so wide."*

To commemorate the Centenary of Gœthe's death, the town of Minz is publishing a "World Edition" of Gœthe's works in fifty volumes under the supervision of the Gœthe Archives in Weimar. It is to be hoped that this admirable enterprise will gain for *Wilhelm Meister* many new admirers, whose post-War outlook will enable them to appreciate the grandeur of the work that was condemned by several English critics of the last century on the score of coarseness!

(To be continued)

* "Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels" with an introduction by Thomas Carlyle. J. M. Dent and Sons. Everyman's Library, 2 vols. Vol. 2, page 336.

What Calcutta Reads*

By MR. K. M. ASADULLAH
Librarian, Imperial Library, Calcutta

ORIGIN AND SHORT HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY.

The Imperial Library has, so to say, a double origin. The Secretariat of the Imperial Government possessed a library known as the Imperial Library, which was founded in 1891 by the amalgamation of the several departmental libraries, of which the most important was that of the Home Department which contained many books that formerly belonged to the library of the East India College, Fort William, and the Library of the East India Board in London. The Library was an official library intended for the use of the Secretariat only.

THE CALCUTTA PUBLIC LIBRARY AND THE METCALFE HALL.

In August 1835, at a meeting held under the presidency of Sir J. P. Grant, the Calcutta Public Library was founded with the object of "establishing a public library of reference and circulation, which was to be open to all classes and ranks without distinction and be sufficiently extensive to supply the wants of the entire community in every department of literature, the property to be vested in the trustees for the benefit and use of shareholders." It was housed at first in the house of Dr. F. P. Strong, in Esplanade Row up to July 1841, when it was shifted to the College of Fort William in Writers' Buildings, and continued to be housed there till June 1844.

In the thirties of the last century, when Lord William Bentinck had left India, and his successor Lord Auckland had not arrived as yet, the interregnum was filled up by the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe, as Governor-General. He left his mark in the short period of his administration by having an Act passed by the Supreme Council, the object of which was to remove the restrictions previously imposed on the Indian Press. This measure earned him the well deserved title of the "Liberator of the Indian Press." The admirers of Sir Charles decided to perpetuate his memory in a suitable manner, and it was decided in February 1838 to erect a building large enough to accommodate the said Public Library of Calcutta, in addition to the Agri-Horticultural Society, which like its sister institution had no home of its own. Government granted the site on which the hall was built, and a sum of Rs. 70,000 was raised by public subscription. The foundation stone of the building was laid with full Masonic honours on the 19th December, 1840, by Dr. James Grant, in the presence of the Governor-General and all the members of the Council. The building was completed in 1844 by Messrs. Burn and Co., and was named "Metcalfe Hall." The ground-floor was occupied by the Society, while the first was given over to the Calcutta Public Library. This library was registered in June 1851 in the Supreme Court under Act XLIII of 1850 as a Joint Stock Company associated for literary purposes, and in 1871 as the same in the office of the Registrar, Joint Stock Companies. Government made over to the Library 4,750 Volumes from the College of Fort William, originally as loan, out of which a portion (about 300 volumes) was given to the Indian Museum in 1871. As regards the remaining volumes Lord Mayo, the then Viceroy, made an absolute gift of them to the Library. The management of the library was in the hands

* Paper read at the Rotary Dinner Meeting held on the 7th July 1931, at the Great Eastern Hotel.

of a committee of three curators chosen by the proprietors and first class subscribers. A sub-committee appointed in 1873 to make suggestions for the improvement of its management resolved to appoint a Library Council composed partly of proprietors and partly of subscribers, which body was henceforward to be responsible for the general management of the affairs of the library. But public apathy towards this institution began to be manifest about 1880 and it had its chief effect on the finances, so much so that the building itself was allowed to fall in disrepair. This state of affairs continued till about 1899, when that great Viceroy of India, the late Lord Curzon came out to this country. During the course of his visit to the public buildings and offices of this London of the East, he was greatly disappointed to see the condition in which the Society, the Calcutta Public Library and the Imperial Library of the Secretariat were. Consequently he decided to establish an Imperial Library for the use of the public which should be worthy both of its name and the place where it was to be located. Lord Curzon thus set about this task in right earnest, and it was on the 24th February 1899, that the first step was taken in the matter by making enquiries whether the two institutions, viz., the Calcutta Public Library and the Society were willing to be bought up, and to find out at the same time the original rights and the financial position of the Public Library. From the long correspondence that took place during the following two or three years, it is quite clear that Lord Curzon was most anxious about the early establishment of the Imperial Library; but due to some legal and other difficulties, and the protracted and troublesome correspondence between the Government and the Trustees of the Calcutta Public Library, it was not possible for some time to come that the Government could buy the proprietary rights from both the Society and the Library in the Metcalfe Hall and the books belonging to the latter. To confirm and validate these transactions, a short bill was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council and passed as the "Imperial Library (Indentures Validation) Act, 1902."

IMPERIAL LIBRARY.

The necessary repairs and equipment of the Hall, the work of weeding and cataloguing, and the transfer and arrangement of books were completed towards the end of 1901, and on the afternoon of 30th January 1902, the new Imperial Library containing about 100,000 books was formally opened by the Viceroy, in the presence of the leading residents of Calcutta, the object of which in the words of its founder was: "The existing Imperial Library will form the nucleus of the new institution, which will be provided with reading rooms, Public and Private, as at the British Museum and Bodleian Library. It is intended that it should be a library of reference, a working place for students and a repository of material for the future historians of India, in which, as far as possible, every work written about India at any time can be seen and read." In 1923 it was found that the Metcalfe Hall was no longer sufficient to meet the daily growing requirements of space, and so the library was shifted to its present home, 6, Esplanade East, formerly the Foreign Office.

MANAGEMENT.

The control of the institution rests with the Central Government, who manages its affairs through a Library Council, the first of which consisted of four members with the Hon'ble T. Raleigh as President, and the Librarian as Ex-Officio Secretary. This arrangement continued till about the middle of 1929, when the Government of India reconstituted the Library Council, which now consists of the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India as its Ex-Officio Chairman, two representatives of the Bengal Government, two representatives of the Calcutta University, and three gentlemen nominated by the Government of India to represent interests outside Bengal. From the same year the local Government has agreed to contribute Rs. 20,000 annually towards the

maintenance of the Reading Rooms, while the rest of the expenditure, which comes to about Rs. 60,000 a year, is all borne by the Central Government. After tracing this rather long, but perhaps not uninteresting, history of the Imperial Library, it would be only appropriate to see how far the library has fulfilled the aim and object with which it was founded by its illustrious founder, and as laid down in the aforesaid extract from the official records. Consequently, we start first of all with the Reading Rooms. The Library possesses three reading rooms, the general, the private and the Ladies'. Admission to all these is free, but regulated by admits, which are issued without any charge on applying to the Librarian and signing a declaration to abide by the Rules and Regulations in force for the time being. People under the age of 18 are not allowed to use the Reading Rooms. The Reading Rooms are open daily from 10 in the morning to 7-30 in the evening, excepting on Sundays and Gazetted holidays, when they are open from 2 to 5 in the afternoon only. The General Reading Room is equipped with a fairly large collection of Reference Books, consisting of directories, year-books, dictionaries, encyclopaedias, university calendars, etc. In addition to these, there is a modest representative collection of books of all sorts of subjects, which being in constant demand are located in the Reading Room for easy consultation by those who require them. Besides all this material, a large number of periodicals and magazines, and a few papers are also provided for perusal. The Private Reading Room is intended for the use of scholars and those engaged in systematic research work, while those ladies who do not wish to sit in the General Reading Room may resort to the one provided for their exclusive use. Open shelf system is followed in the General Reading Room, whereby readers can themselves take out from the shelves any books they want to study, while those which are not to be found there can be supplied on the asking. There is a Superintendent of the Reading Rooms whose duty is to help or guide the readers, if they stand in need of that. As a proof of the popularity of the Reading Rooms, it may be interesting to note that 44,798 persons attended them during 1930-31, or about 4,000 more than in the previous year. The same number for the first quarter of the current year is 11,202 or 126 persons a day on the average. If we compare these figures with similar figures for the year 1903, the total comes up to 15,093 or 45 per day. As to the books read, we find that about 30,000 volumes were requisitioned from the Stack Room, and the same number for the past quarter is 8,486 or 95 a day, while in 1903 only 3,000 books were consulted or 10 a day. To turn to the subject matter, it is found that all sorts of books from official publications or blue books down to Zoology have been consulted. The subject analysis of books read in the Reading Room was not started till 1909, when it was found that Vernacular books were most popular with the readers, after which they were fond of reading religious works. But a year after that, Science attracted the readers' attention, and it is seen that 1,014 works of science were consulted in 1910, while religion as a natural result of the onslaught of Science was pushed back to the fourth place in the list. For the following four years we have no such record, but in 1915 it is found that Calcutta had taken to literature as its favourite with 1,635 books to its credit. It seems to have endeared the Calcutta intellectuals very much, because year after year literature is found to be the most widely read subject, so much so that in 1922-23, the number of books of literature rose to 7,390. This figure continued to increase, until 1925-26, when 8,139 books of literature were consulted, which seems to be the last year of its glory, for although it continued to hold its grip fast, yet other subjects began to attract the attention of the readers, as a result of which its number fell to 5,158 in 1930-31. The time at my disposal does not permit my giving similar details about the likings of Calcutta in the matter of study, so I will give only short details of its dislikings, and pass on to another aspect of

their pursuits. 56 books of bibliography were consulted in 1909 while next year Social Reform got the last place with 55 books to its credit, and in 1915, the honour of being the last on the list was claimed by Physics with only 16 books. From 1922-23 Numismatics has occupied the least attention of the reading public of Calcutta, though the signs are that Numismatics shall have one day to vacate this place for some other subject, as the number of books in this subject which was only 14 in 1922-23, and 23 in 1925-26, rose to 52 in 1930-31.

The account given above is of the enthusiasts who come to the Reading Room, spend some time in reading books, and go away. There is another class of readers also, who believe in taking the fullest advantage of the facilities offered, and who not being content with their reading on the spot, borrow books for use at their homes. Their number is fairly large. A reader of this class deposits the price of the book or books he borrows, or if a constant or regular reader, he deposits a lump sum as security, and borrows books of the value of his deposit. The borrower in order to make a thorough study is allowed to keep books for one month ordinarily, but he may do so for a longer period with the permission of the librarian. He can borrow two works or six volumes at a time. This enables him either to study more than one subject at a time, or read several books on the same subject. This class of readers is not confined to Calcutta alone. People outside Calcutta, living in any corner of India constitute this class. They get books by post, the forwarding charges both ways being borne by them. About 7,500 vols. were lent to such readers during the year 1930-31 against deposits amounting to about Rs. 12,000. A subject analysis of the books read by these borrowers shows that during the first quarter of 1931, out of about 1,800 books lent, 436 were of literature, 196 of Religion, and 176 of History. For the last place on the scale there is always a competition between more than one subject, and this time, it was between Numismatics and Geology, with one book to each's credit. Turning again to our Calcutta patrons, it is found that 88 out of every hundred hail from Calcutta, 4.50 from Bengal, and the remaining 7.50 belonging to other parts of the country. The material that the Library collects for the use of the readers and borrowers consist of all sorts of publications as to subjects or language. Administration, Archæology, Astronomy, Biology, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geology, Law, Medicine, Philosophy, Politics, etc., are all represented in the stock and in such languages as Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Javanese, Pali, Persian, Punjabi, Russian, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Urdu, and others. While the library does its best to provide as much reading material by purchase, as its finances permit, others are not slow to come forward to add to this number by making gifts of books. The number of such publications received in 1930-31 was 674, while the total number of books added in the same period was about 13,000. It should not, however, be forgotten that the library does not only supply printed books to read, but has a fairly large and quite valuable collection of those gems of the past, the MSS: These form a separate section by themselves, and the number of these in Arabic and Persian alone comes to about 1,000. The most precious of them all is the Tarikh-i-Herat (History of Herat in Afghanistan), of which no other copy is supposed to exist anywhere else. This collection is the gift of the late Maulvi Sayyid Sadr-ud-Din-Al Musavi, Zemindar of Buhar, Burdwan District.

The library is not unmindful of providing periodical literature in the shape of dailies, weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies, etc. These again cover all sorts of subjects and languages. The total number of periodicals received is 334, of which 132 are purchased for a sum of about Rs. 2,500 annually. The rest are presented as gifts. Old vols. of most

of these periodicals are frequently used by research scholars.

For the officially minded readers, the library provides the biggest collection available anywhere in the country, of official documents or publications issued by the Imperial Government and the several Local Governments, besides all the Parliamentary Blue Books, and an almost complete set of the Debates of the British Parliament, the U. S. A. Government publications, the League of Nations' publications, and the Phillipine and Ceylon Governments' publications.

The vernaculars are not neglected, and a larger collection of Bengali literature will not perhaps be found anywhere else in Bengal, excepting in the Imperial Library.

Although Imperial by name, the library does not follow aristocratic methods in the matter of selecting and buying books; but is ever ready to receive suggestions for additions of suitable works to its stock, barring of course Fiction, which is banned.

In order to give the readers and borrowers an idea of what to read or rather what is available for reading, two kinds of catalogues are maintained, *viz.*—The Subject index and the Author Catalogue. These are available in two forms, that is printed and on cards. The Calcutta readers generally use the latter, which are always up to date even for the last addition made to the collection. The mofussil readers have to depend upon printed catalogues, which can be lent like other books or sold for a price which suits all pockets. Other catalogues are in the course of preparation.

The authorities not being satisfied with what they provide for the entertainment of those making use of the library are now seriously considering the ways and means for increasing its resources by converting it into a Copyright Library. The advantages of this conversion will be several, the chief one of which will be that the Library will by law become entitled to receive free of cost a copy of every book published in the country. Of course this is the first attempt of its kind that is being made in India, although much smaller countries like Great Britain have as many as six copyright libraries, of which the chief is the British Museum. The Museum is entitled to receive free of charge a copy of any book published in India, which it requires for its purposes. Or in other words, the Copyright Library of India has so far been located in England instead of in India. With the forthcoming changes in the administration of the country, it is only meet that India should possess at least one place where any book published in any part of it, could be found and seen.

To keep the readers in touch with what is being daily added to the library for their use, weekly lists of select books acquired by the library are published in the several local dailies, and some outside papers. I take this opportunity of appealing to such of the papers who are not publishing these lists, kindly to see their way to oblige the reading public and the library authorities alike by making known to the former what is procured for their use in this University of the People, the Imperial Library.

American Language

King's English Not Used

By Dr. SUDHINDRA BOSE, M.A., Ph.D.

A Professor of English in the University of London, Sir Israel Gollancz by name, has assailed the American language the other day to the great amusement of the American people. He referred to Americans speaking "like a herd of Gadarene swine." He also states that "from all ends of the earth fresh barbarisms are pouring into the country," and that the English language is now being menaced by the American. That's interesting.

The American reply to the English Professor has taken the form of asking these questions : Who can stop the use of new words and phrases? What can be done about it? What harm will so-called barbarisms do? Didn't every language develop by "barbarisms"?

WHAT'S PURE ENGLISH?

Many defenders of a language in its present state forget that a language is molded without reason by the masses of people. Language, Webster says, is "the body of words and methods of combining words used and understood by a considerable body of people," and again he defines it as "any means of expressing or communicating feeling or thought." Thus, language is a tool to enable people to make things easier for themselves. To the stylist, language is a temple and each word is a lighted candle. But to the masses, words move in overalls with much work to do.

As long as words are simple, clear, straightforward and convey the connotation to the people to whom it should be conveyed, what more should one ask? The trouble with so many English purists is that they think the language is "degraded" by the incursion of foreign words. They should agree with James Russell Lowell when he says: "Wherever a language is alive, it grows." A committee of English Professors cannot change the trend of English—cannot prevent it from changing, developing. They can no more stop the onrush of language with its "barbarisms" than they can bring back time which is past. Moreover, the advocates of so-called standard English must know that the language spoken by Englishmen consists of street French, vulgar Latin, and peasant Scandinavian jumbled together. There is no infallible litmus test of "pure" English.

Apropos of the frequent English complaints that England is taking more and more American, one may inquire where the King's English now resides. Where is it to be found? Once it was the language of the southern countries, always with exceptions; again it was the language of London, excluding of course, the cockney; again it was the Oxford jargon. Some otherwise intelligent critics claim that the language of the public schools—of Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and the like—is the authentic English tongue. It may be doubted whether a Lancashire miner and a Lincolnshire farmer could understand each other. There is Yorkshire English and southern English, peasant and townie English, all firmly set and so far differentiated that Englishmen in different countries may well have difficulties in understanding what the other says. These, to the Englishman, are quaint diversities, though the cockney or the Oxford lingoes may sound to Americans far more like barbarous distortions and affectations.

AMERICANISM Vs. BRITICISM.

Advocates of Anglo-American unity do not like to admit that America differs from

England not only in things social and political, but also linguistic. There is a wide divergence in vocabulary and pronunciation between the two peoples. Englishmen complain about the "nasal twang" of Americans and Americans are not one bit slow in returning the compliment. They retort by saying that the English gutteral is unpleasant, that the English accent is very disagreeable, and that the English speech is not infrequently unintelligible. If Americanism is sneered at in the British Isles, so is Briticism in the United States.

Shortly after the Great War I happened to be in England where I saw an enterprising London tobacconist put up a sign bearing the legend, "American Is Spoken Here," to the front of his shop. He was imitated by various other London, Liverpool, and Paris shopkeepers.

Many Americans tell me point blank that they do not speak a degenerate English. They speak the American language. They say that they do not like to be hyphenated imitation Englishmen with their language a mere loan from England. Englishmen may detest American-English, but it is developing along its own lines and is slowly and inevitably differentiating itself from the British-English. Americans are creating an American language of their own. The King's English is all right in the King's own United Kingdom among his subjects, but it plays little part in American life and manners. It seems to me that on some not too distant to-morrow the pretense of a "common language" between the United States and England will have to be given up.

The American language is not inferior to English spoken by Englishmen in their native land; it is different. Just as Americans have built their skyscrapers differently making them a product of this country; just as they have inaugurated their own ways of systematizing and conducting business; so they have shaped their language to suit their needs. Americans are a strong nation and therefore their language is vigorous and colorful.

The English literary tradition is gradually disappearing from the United States. The process began soon after the American Declaration of Independence. Noah Webster, the great American lexicographer, argued in 1789 that the time for regarding English usage and submitting to English authority had already passed, and that "a future separation of the American tongue from the English" was "necessary and unavoidable." "Numerous local causes," he foresaw, "such as a new country, new associations of people, new combinations of ideas in arts and sciences, and some intercourse with tribes wholly unknown in Europe, will introduce new words into the American tongue. These causes will produce, in course of time, a language in North America as different from the future language of England as the modern Dutch, Danish and Swedish are from the German, or from one another." In his Dictionary, Webster introduced radical changes in spelling and pronunciation.

There is at the present time a growing revolt among American literary men against the colonial-minded doctrine that the standards of English are the only reputable standards of Americans. Mr. Rupert Hughes, whose own novels are full of racy and effective Americanisms, asks his compatriots in a recent article in "Harper's Magazine" not to submit to English precept and example. What he wants is "a new Declaration of Independence." He is for the American language, which he calls the Statish language. He goes on:

"Let us sign a Declaration of Literary Independence and formally begin to write, not British, but United Statish. For there is such a language, a brilliant, growing, glowing, vivacious, elastic language for which we have no specific name. We might call it Statesish, or for euphony condense it to Statish. But, whatever we call it, let us cease to consider it a vulgar dialect of English, to be used only with deprecation. Let us study it in its splendid efflorescence, be proud of it, and true to it. Let us put off livery, cease to be the

butlers of another people's language, and try to be the masters and the creators of our own."

FUTURE OF AMERICAN LANGUAGE.

The American language, or if you prefer to call it American-English, is not an artificial product. It is the living expression of the mind and spirit of American people. As philologists tell us, there is no intrinsic right or wrong in the use of language. What is right now may be wrong hereafter; what language rejected yesterday, may be accepted to-day or to-morrow. Lauguage is ever subject to changing and shifting. None but pedants will try to restrict a living language with iron-bound rules of impersonal grammarians.

The current American-English differs, in some respects, from British-English in spelling, pronunciation, and syntax. He who wishes to study the subject at great length can do no better than to consult H. L. Mencken's "American Language," a work of distinguished scientific scholarship.

To the American mind, which is quicker and wittier than the English mind, the British-English seems at times appalling. No doubt it serves the purpose of the natives of the foggy Isles. But the American language seems to be more vivid than the English. It is full of pungent epithets, vigorous expressions, and racy substantives. The unique imaginativeness and resourcefulness of the Americans are coining new words, are reaching out for vivid forms almost every day. Some of these Americanisms are extremely original and brilliant. Mr. Mencken compares them to the great disadvantage of the British-English, and gives innumerable instances. He says: "**Movie** is better than **cinema**; and the English begin to admit the fact by adopting the word; it is not only better American, it is better English. **Billboard** is better than **hoarding**. **Office-holder** is more honest, more picturesque, more thoroughly Anglo-Saxon than **public servant**. **Stem-winder** somehow has more life in it, more fancy and vividness, than the literal **keyless-watch**."

What will be the future of the American language? Obviously a very difficult question to answer. The American form of English is now spoken by three times as many persons as all the British forms taken together. Americanisms are flooding the English of Canada, Australia, Far East, and even the British Isles. The American language is much more of a pusher than the English language. It may not annihilate the English language; but as the tongue of the most go-ahead nation of the world, it will be a dominant language for the world.

Federalism in India

By
Prof. NARESH CHANDRA ROY

The idea of an all-India federation now grips the attention of the people of this country. For the last several months, they have learnt to think in terms of an India, free and united on the basis of federalism. So far as British India is concerned, the federal idea is not of course new at all. It has inspired the British Indian politicians for the last thirty years or more. It is one of the legacies of the historic Viceroyalty of the late Lord Curzon. Up to 1833, the Company's government in India was much too decentralised. The Governments of Madras and Bombay were to a great extent autonomous and exercised jurisdiction independent of the Government at Calcutta. As the provincial Governments thus enjoyed an appreciable amount of autonomy and independence, so did the district and other local officers of the Company. They looked upon themselves as so many local potentates with semi-independent authority to exercise over the people under their charge. With the passing of the Charter Act of 1833, began a reaction against this principle of sectional autonomy. An era of centralisation now set in. The outbreak of the mutiny gave an accession of strength to this reaction. Now and again indeed attempts were made to check this tide of centralisation, but the centripetal forces proved triumphant and by the time Lord Curzon came out to India, the Government of India had drawn to itself all authority and power. Lord Curzon was an administrator with a unique driving force and uncommon self-confidence. He wanted to make himself the ultimate and final authority in all questions of Indian administration. He had hence not only an ample faith in the policy of concentration and centralisation hitherto followed, but he believed also in extending it to its logical extent. Soon after his accession to the Viceroyalty, he proceeded to demolish the last vestiges of autonomy which the local and provincial governments had still left to them. The central government under his leadership was to initiate all policy and originate all measures. The provincial and local authorities were only to be the agents for the execution of the policy laid down by the Governor-General in Council. Lord Curzon even looked askance at the Governments of Madras and Bombay which differed to some extent from the other provincial governments and enjoyed some privileges not shared by the others. It was not to his liking at all that the Governors of these two presidencies should have any direct relationship with the Secretary of State and should have any policy initiated by them, and not dictated by the Government of India. He wanted these two presidential governments to be reduced to the status of the other provincial governments. Although he could not reduce them to Lieutenant-Governorships as he desired, he was successful in curtailing much of their authority and jurisdiction. All powers were now concentrated in the hands of the Government at Calcutta and Simla. All initiative and enterprise were now pumped out of the out-lying authorities, and vested in the Governor-General in Council. British India now presented an appearance of apoplexy at the centre and anæmia in the outlying limbs.

Against this policy of grab, a reaction was inevitable. An opposition against the forces of centralisation now gained ground in the country. To protect themselves from the freaks of a centralised despotism, the people of India now set about organising a movement for the development of local self-government

and provincial autonomy. The danger of there being only one spring from which all authority was to flow and all insipration to emanate, was now brought home to all. They now started an agitation for the development of local and provincial springs of power, independent to a considerable extent of the main spring at the centre. The Government of India under Lords Morley and Minto was also convinced that centralisation had been carried too far. They appointed a Royal Commission to enquire and examine as to how far decentralisation of the Indian administration was necessary and desirable. The terms of reference were, however, very narrow and the recommendations of the Commission proved to be unsatisfactory. The official deconcentration which was recommended by Hobhouse and his colleagues could not meet even halfway the demands of the people in this direction. The leaders of political thought in British India were now aspiring not only to some deconcentration of authority, but to a real decentralisation that would make British India a federation of a dozen autonomous provinces. Local, municipal and provincial autonomy was now the ideal of the British Indian politicians.

The Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford submitted in 1918 emphasised of course the unitary character of the Indian Constitution. But the Act of 1919 based mainly upon the recommendations of this Report introduced a constitutional system which ultimately must develop a real federal character. Since the inauguration of the Reforms, the political thought in British India has flown rather rapidly along the channel of federalism. It has been recognised almost universally that federalism is the only safe path of democracy in such a far-flung country as British India. It is looked upon as the only effective method for encouraging and preserving the spirit of liberty and freedom. There have been of course some detractors of this principle who have protested that federalism will not fit in with the traditions and tendencies of this country. It will, they say, stimulate the separatist forces which have been ever present in the country and reduce it to the situation of the 18th century. Federalism, they are sure, will only revive the Great Anarchy from the depths of which India was lifted by the supreme efforts of the Indian Civil Service. The votaries of this opinion include such honoured names as those of Sir Siva Swami Aiyer and Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar, an ex-president of the National Congress. They are indeed in favour of a considerable decentralisation in the administration of India. But they fight shy of the federal principles which will weaken the central government and undermine thereby the strength of the only instrument which can maintain the stability of the Indian state.

The number of those, however, who still worship in the temple of unitarism is very limited in these days. The general trend of political thinking in British India is towards federalism. The federal cult has now caught the imagination of the people. The Mahomedans especially have taken firmly to the idea. In the country as a whole, they are in the minority. In the central legislature, therefore, they cannot expect to have any predominant voice. In some provinces, however, they command a clear majority and if these provinces come to enjoy full political autonomy, they will have a chance of exercising political predominance in these parts of the country. The federal ideal has hence made a deep appeal to the Mahomedans and they are to-day the most enthusiastic advocates and the most logical exponents of the federal principles. Nor are the Hindus less zealous in respect of the Indian federation. They too welcome it as the haven of local liberty and freedom. Thus both the major communities are in favour of decentralising British Indian administration on the basis of federal principles.

Until last year, there has been practically no serious discussion for associating the Indian States with British India in any stable political union. Before the Reforms of 1919, it

was a clear and well established policy of the Government to keep the Indian States in complete isolation. Each individual state was to be connected and associated only with the Government of India and with no other power. All powers of inter-statal action were vested in the Government of India. The introduction of the Chamber of Princes in 1920 was no doubt a serious departure from this century-old custom. It broke down to a considerable extent the social and political isolation of the Indian States. The Chamber of Princes became the meeting ground of the different Ruling Chiefs of India. Through the machinery of this organisation, the Indian States came to be associated with one another in some vague political relationship. The association set up has of course been a very loose one, but it is all the same a definite landmark in the progress of union among the States.

While, however, a step was thus taken towards a closer relation among the States, the gulf between them on one side and British India on the other was emphasised and broadened rather than narrowed and bridged. During the Chancellorship of H. H. The Maharaja of Patiala, the Special Organisation of the Chamber of Princes was engaged in a detailed study of the relations between British India and the Indian States. The object of this study was not, however, to discover the ways and means for a closer union between the States and British India. It was rather to prove that the Indian States were a body altogether separate from, and absolutely independent of, British India. Conclaves were held, books and pamphlets were inspired, and a complacent Commission was appointed only to emphasise that the States had nothing to do with British India and its Government. Their relations were direct with the British Crown. Up to 1929, this separatist movement dominated the atmosphere of the Chamber of Princes. It was hence almost unthinkable that in the Round Table Conference of the last winter, Their Highnesses would step forward to bless any scheme of all-India federation. Even as late as July 1930, persons very intimately associated with the Chamber of Princes could not imagine that the Indian States would ever entertain any proposal of union with British India beyond a loose form of Confederation. A true federation was looked upon as altogether outside practical politics. A book, Federal India, was published about this time under the joint authorship of Col. Haksar and Mr. K. M. Panikkar. The Colonel is the Political Member of the Government of Gwalior and was a delegate to the Round Table Conference, while Mr. Panikkar happened to be the Deputy Director of the Special Organisation of the Chamber of Princes and Secretary to the Indian States Delegation to the London Conference. Both of them were thus the official exponents of the ideals of the States. The one object of their writing the monograph could only be to give currency to the political ideas and principles which were imbuing the Indian Princes at this time. The opinions embodied in the book were in fact a reflection of the views of Their Highnesses who were to join in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference. Let us now take note of the views and principles which Colonel Haksar and Mr. Panikkar tried so correctly to explain and advertise. The joint authors surveyed and examined the lines and principles on the basis of which the different federal unions were set up in the modern world. But they did not think it wise to recommend that the Indian States should be united with the British Indian Provinces on any such lines of federalism. Federal principles in fact were definitely rejected and tabooed by these two distinguished officers of the States. The conditions laid down by them for bringing the two Indias together would not produce any federal union, but bring forth only a vague and loose form of confederation between the States and British India. Thus it may be safely assumed that even on the eve of the Round Table Conference, Their Highnesses were definitely of opinion that federal principles were quite unsuited to the traditions and circumstances of

this country. But the atmosphere of the Conference which met in London in November last, seemed to have a soporiphic effect upon the separatist ideas of the Princes. It blunted their particularist tendencies and stimulated their idealism as regards an all-India federation. Their Highnesses now vied with one another in welcoming the basic principles of federalism for bringing about a union between the States and the Provinces of British India. For the time being their enthusiasm knew no bounds. But people who had eyes to see could easily understand that many of the Princes had become federalists under temporary stimulation, and they might in the near future be overtaken by a reaction. The *volte face* which the Maharaja of Patiala has now made may be explained in this light. It of course does not redound to his credit that an experienced administrator and statesman of his standing should undergo such a somersault in political views in the course of six months. But although it cannot be excused, it can be explained this way. The enthusiasm for all-India Federation which was evinced last winter has thus cooled down to a great extent. But what its future really is cannot yet be read on the wall.

Disillusioned

By
"A MIDDLE-AGED MAN"

(A middle-aged man looks at life and says you must make the most of another Spring).

I am going to take the world into my confidence, and say, if I can, what I think and feel about the little bit of experience which I call my life, which seems to me such a strange and bewildering a thing.
—A. C. Benson.

I have arrived at a time of life when it is possible for me to look both backwards and forwards. In a moment of exaltation I seem to survey my life as Wordsworth surveyed the City of London from the Bridge of Westminster.

"All bright and glittering in the smokeless air."

There are no towers, theatres or temples in the distance but I see the river of life glideth at his own sweet will. I could see it sparkle under sun-shine or darkened by the shadows, now splashing into a foam of futile fury and anon moving with the majesty of deep waters. I see the whole scene with a serene equanimity. I see the causes and consequences of things with a supreme dispassion. I now see none of those colourful visions gleaming in the distance; nor the splendour that never was on sea or land that seemed to give a heightened sense of ecstasy to my life.

Whither is fled the visionary gleam,
Where is it now the glory and the dream?

Disillusioned! But I had none of the shock of disillusionment; for the process has been slow and steady. Little by little, as we gather up our experience, the sense of reality comes home to us with a vividness that does not, however, fade away into the light of common day. I wonder what a magnificent future I had treasured up in my fond imagination! It has vanished with youth and its other fantasies. So too have vanished that agility of body and buoyancy of spirit so necessary to sustain the exuberance of youth. I am no longer capable of the passionate friendships of bygone days. I am seldom oppressed by ambitious plans or dreams of personal ascendency. In the tragic background of life's stern realities how little the trumperies of our old desires count! In the scale of immensities how frivolous our ambitions and foolish our vanities! Beautiful still are the sunset and evening sky.

But the clouds that gather round the setting sun,
Do take a sober colouring from an eye,
That has kept watch over man's mortality.

Much has been made of the prowess of youth since Stevenson wrote his famous apology for life at twenty-five, while age has gone on imposing its authority by right of primogeniture. There is indeed much to be said for the courage of youth and the wisdom of age; but truth is always in the golden mean. It is the middle-aged men and women that are setting the pace. "It is they and not the younger crowd," says Sir Phillip Gibbs,

> "Who are busy shaping out the future not without anxiety—trying to prevent another massacre of innocents, doing something to make life more pleasant for those who are coming along, adding a little to the store of knowledge, writing books that are most worth reading (at least more worth reading than those produced by undeveloped minds), controlling, organising, handing on a torch which youth seems reluctant to hold lest it should burn its fingers or lest it should go out as perhaps it may when the wind blows . . . . .
>
> "It is middle-age which has most mental energy, most interest in the affairs of

> life, most staying power and most enthusiasm for a game or a job. Youth says, 'Why worry?' but middle-age says, 'Let's get a move on.' Youth says, 'There's lots of time ahead,' but middle-age says, 'Do it now, or time may catch us bending!'"

Yes; time rushes along, and middle-age is in a hurry to play its part and finish its job and make the most of another spring. Our hairs may be getting grey and our feet may falter "but the mind does not become middle-aged. It remains strangely and incurably young."

> It is the same mind that looked out upon the world at twenty-five with just a little more experience (but not much), a little more tolerance for other people's habits, a little more pity, and a secret sense of humour in seeing how other people are as foolish as ourselves.

Yes; that is where the disillusionment comes in. It is said that man suspects himself a fool at thirty and knows it at forty—(SHAKESPEARE). It is therefore the less likely that he will be blind to the follies of his neighbours. No wonder that the men who loomed so large have now shrivelled to their proper dimensions.

"What a speck have they dwindled into!" There is many a sheep in lion's skin. For smartness of address does not always go with a corresponding smartness of mind. And I could now see the dissembling folk as they trudge along the road in their masquerade. I have no longer the old, youthful admiration for the successful man: because I now realise that climbling and creeping are done at the same altitude—(SWIFT). You cannot have the cake and eat it too, for pushfulness is the first born of vulgarity. I find something banal in the complacent man who strides along with a stupid satisfaction. I remember how self-conscious I used to be and how I hankered after the applause of the listening crowd; that time is past. I was a child then and I was trying to impress my neighbours with my antics. But when that role is taken up by an elderly man, it looks vulgar and vociferous. Nor am I impressed by dramatic demonstrations of even the heroic virtues. For there is a sinister side to all violent exhibitions of power, not altogether fit for human nature's daily food. After all there is nothing like simple kindliness and the character of "the man in black" going about doing good by stealth is one after my own heart. For it is truly said that "Great men owe a fourth part of their fame to their daring, two-fourths to their fortune, and the remaining fourth to their crimes." Possibly, as Voltaire held, a consideration of petty circumstances is the tomb of great things. But to me as for R.L.S. gentleness and cheerfulness come before all duties, and the older I grow the more sensitive I become to the loveliness of things.

> Then too there comes a sort of patience. In youth mistakes seemed irreparable, calamities intolerable, ambitions realisable, disappointments unbearable. An anxiety hung like a dark impenetrable cloud, a disappointment poisoned the springs of life. But now I have learned that mistakes can often be set right, that anxieties fade, that calamities have sometimes a compensating joy, that an ambition realised is not always pleasurable, that a disappointment is often of itself a great incentive to try again. One learns to look over troubles instead of looking into them. One learns that hope is more unconquerable than grief. And so there flows into the gap the certainty that we can make more of misadventures, of unpromising people, of painful experiences than one had hoped. It may not be, nay, it is not, so eager, so full-blooded a spirit. But it is a serener, a more interesting, a happier outlook.—(A. C. BENSON).

Like the dear old Benson at the college window, I have grown "to demand less of

the world, less of nature, less of people, and behold a whole range of subtler and gentler emotions come into sight, like the blue hills of the distance, pure and low." I remember the time when I was thrown into fits of violent passion if anything went wrong. The slightest ripple on the surface threw me into a paroxysm of despair. But as we have generally more pains than puddings in life, youth was all one long drawn agony of nerves. If I fail in an examination now, I would no longer hide myself in a temple corridor and shun the society of men.

Then I have learnt to face facts without flinching. I do not regard my neighbour the less because he is not a monster of genius and virtue. I have begun to love him for his failings. One of the most cherished memories of my father is an act of supreme improvidence. Late, one winter evening, as the family were awaiting the sire's return from town with provisions for the night, what was our surprise as we beheld a strange cubical piece of workmanship in wood ceremoniously deposited before us with the joy of conquest in my father's eyes and a bewildering sadness in our own. Obviously it was purchased for a price that could have fed the half-a-dozen hungry mouths for a week. We were looking at one another in dismay not knowing what to say. For an unkind word would have rent that noble heart in twain. And so in silence and sadness mother and children were meekly listening to an eloquent exposition of the pater-familias on the extraordinary virtues of that delicate woodwork. But to us it was all wooden and nothing more. And now, after years of changing fortune, it is still a possession which we would not barter for a kingdom. What lines of noble improvidence and scorn of calculation are treasured up in that piece of simple woodwork! And so we are all one in this republic of genial folly and I have an instinctive sympathy with those who share my improvidence. For to understand all is to forgive all—(PASCAL). What prejudices I have shed—those unmeaning, whimsical and absurdly delusive clouds that obscured my understanding and withered up my affections. I remember the time when I would not shake hands with a barber nor dine with a whiskered son of Islam!

Stripped of all extravagances, life is still vastly interesting and each day that passes has a new lesson in service and charity. If we grow sadder and wiser we also grow more tolerant, with a keener sense of beauty and humour and subtler appreciation of joy in fellowship.

> But thou that didst appear so fair
> To fond imagination
> Dost rival in the light of day
> Her delicate creation.

We realise more and more that true happiness is no easy matter; it is very hard to find it within ourselves and impossible to find it anywhere else—(SCHOPENHAUR). We learn too that the happy life might also be the good life if like the Greeks of old we love the beautiful and cultivate the mind without loss of manliness.

> "The days that make us happy make us wise."
> —Masefield.

And so with a growing sense of prudence we learn to exercise a wise economy of our possessions and cease to burn the candle at both ends.

How often have we witnessed the waste of vital energy over the trifles that don't matter? Discrimination is of the essence of happiness. As Prof. Russel puts it very wisely in his recent book on the **Conquest of Happiness**:

> "Some people are unable to bear with patience even those minor troubles which make up, if we permit them to do so, a very large part of life. They are furious when they miss a train, transported with rage if their dinner is badly cooked, sunk in despair of the chimney smokes and vowing vengeance against the whole industrial order when their clothes fail to return from the sanitary steam laundry."

These men betray a total want of balance and are pitifully demented. They know not

the things that matter from those that don't: and are absolutely insensible to the comedy of life.

> O! wad some power the giftie gie them
> To see themselves as others see them.

> "The energy that such people waste on trivial troubles would be sufficient, if more wisely directed, to make and unmake empires. The wise man fails to observe the dust that the housemaid has not dusted, the potato that the cook has not cooked and the soot that the sweep has not swept. I do not mean that he takes no steps to remedy these matters, provided he has time to do so; I mean only that he deals with them without emotion.

Professional moralists are nearer tired of preaching the virtues of self-denial and our old religions are more concerned with death and hereafter than our present life. I hold with Russel "that conscious self-denial leaves a man self-absorbed and vividly aware of what he has sacrificed! In consequence it fails often of its immediate object and almost always of its ultimate purpose." This green flowery earth and the moving humours of men have enough material to make our life wholesome and happy, and we often miss the simple and straight way to happiness that is so near to every one. For to grow old in such wise is to be an artist in life. "He who has arranged his soul in her own proper jewels of moderation, and justice and courage and nobleness and truth is ever ready for the journey when the time comes."—(SOCRATES).

Empire Marketing Board's Report*

A steady increase in the sales of Empire produce in the United Kingdom is recorded in the Annual Report of the Empire Marketing Board just published.

"The growing habit of buying from within the Empire has attained an impetus in the United Kingdom", states the Report, "which even the world-wide economic depression has been powerless to retard".

Twenty-two commodities, drawn from four Dominions and several Colonies, were noted in the Annual Report of the Empire Marketing Board for 1928-29 as having been imported into the United Kingdom in the previous two seasons in greater quantities than ever before in their histories. Again, the Board's Annual Report for 1929-30 showed that twenty-five new records had been set up, in the year then under review, by Empire foodstuffs, as regards volume of imports into the United Kingdom. Nearly half these did even better in the year now being considered, while a further substantial list of Empire foodstuffs established records. Apples from Canada and from New Zealand reached this country in record quantities in 1930, as did bananas from the British West Indies, butter and cheese from New Zealand, coffee from British East Africa, currants from Australia, eggs from Australia and South Africa, grapefruit from South Africa and Palestine, lamb from New Zealand, oranges, peaches, plums, sugar and wine from South Africa, pears from no less than four Dominions, and tobacco from India.

A number of other foodstuffs are also mentioned in the Report for which, while the 1929 record was not reached in 1930, the last year's imports surpassed all previous years, except 1929. These include Australian raisins and sultanas, New Zealand frozen pork, Ceylon tea, Australian sugar and British Malayan canned pineapples.

CHANGES IN PUBLIC TASTE.

The people of the United Kingdom are proving themselves steadily more willing to buy from within the Empire. Many factors have combined to bring about this encouraging result. First, more scientific attention is being paid to-day than ever before by Empire producers to the need for supporting the natural high quality of their goods by grading and orderly marketing in all its branches. Secondly, distributive traders of all kinds in the United Kingdom have shown themselves wholeheartedly resolved to further the progress of Empire buying along sound economic lines. Thirdly, the contact between producers overseas and wholesale and retail traders in the United Kingdom grows steadily closer. Fourthly, consumers in the United Kingdom, men and women, are becoming more aware of the excellent and wide range of Empire products and of the importance of Empire buying.

EXTENSIONS RECOMMENDED.

When the Imperial Conference met in 1926 the Board was only a few months old, so the Conference of 1930 was the first to be held since the Board began actively to perform its functions. The Conference passed the Board under review and adopted a number of resolutions affecting its present and future activities. Surveying the Board's work since its inception in 1926, the Conference expressed itself as satisfied that it is valuable to the Commonwealth as a whole, and recommended its conti-

* Fifth Annual Report of the Empire Marketing Board (Empire Marketing Board, 2, Queen Ame's Gate Buildings, London, S.W., 1.) 1931.

nuance and its extension in certain directions, notably in the spheres of market intelligence, statistical surveys and market promotion. The Conference noted and approved the Empire Marketing Board's programme of research, involving commitments approaching £2,000,000 from the Empire Marketing Fund, as well as independent contributions by Empire Governments.

A REGIONAL "SALES DRIVE".

Another extension of what may be regarded as the Board's more directly commercial activities in the field of Empire marketing is instanced in a special campaign which was undertaken, at the beginning of 1931, in Lancashire, with a view to increasing the sales of home and oversea Empire butter in that area. Here long established prejudice in favour of casked butters of pale colour was held to be too deeply entrenched to permit an effective distribution being made of Empire butters, particularly those from Australia and New Zealand. The Board decided that, as large supplies were available of butter of first-rate quality from these Dominions, an effort should be made to overcome this sales resistance by a definite appeal to the distributive trades. The Board, therefore, called into consultation the London Managers of the Australian and New Zealand Dairy Produce Boards and invited their co-operation in a concerted effort.

An office was accordingly opened by the Board in Manchester early in January. Calls were made, in the first instance, upon the importers and wholesalers in Liverpool and Manchester and their co-operation in the scheme secured.

The Board's officers then proceeded to call upon every retailer in Manchester and certain other Lancashire towns in order to influence those who did not at present stock Empire butters. The results of the campaign have been remarkably successful, 2,940 shops, out of 6,620 visited, were selling Empire butter when the campaign began, while, before it closed, the number had risen to 4,903, an increase of 2,000 shops selling Empire butter. The close co-operation of the two Dominion Dairy Produce Boards unquestionably contributed to this success. There is clear evidence that the old prejudices against boxed butters have been broken down—it is hoped, permanently. The experience gained in this experiment of employing travellers without samples, in close co-operation with the representatives of the oversea producers, encourages the Board to believe that they have here a field capable of considerable extension. Indications suggest that the continued use of the three methods of approach, which have been a feature of the past year's work in the field of marketing promotion, may materially contribute to the Board's success.

PUBLICITY.

Eight methods of publicity have again been used.

First, advertisements have been inserted in the national press and in trade and local papers.

Secondly, posters have been displayed on the 1,750 frames distributed over 450 towns. The sets of posters have been changed seventeen times in the year. Hoardings were used at Birmingham. Reproductions of suitable posters with leaflets were issued to 22,000 schools in the United Kingdom which had applied for them.

Thirdly, display material for shops has again been sent out and leaflets, both for housewives and for schools, have been issued in great quantities.

Fourthly, lectures have been given.

Fifthly, wireless talks to housewives have been arranged, by courtesy of the British Broadcasting Corporation, following which 20,000 individual applications were received for leaflets. The Chairman of the Board and of the Research Grants Committee both gave talks in connection with the Board's work.

Sixthly, the Board has taken part, extensively, in exhibitions and shopping weeks.

Seventhly, meetings of business men, traders and producers have been addressed.

Eighthly, the distribution of films through theatrical and other channels has been developed.

THE BOARD'S METHODS.

Each of the methods hitherto employed by the Board for the furtherance of Empire marketing has again proved valuable in 1930-31. The policy of making grants for scientific research work in the United Kingdom and in the oversea Empire has been continued. Economic investigation and market enquiries have been carried out on a more intensive scale; and publicity, in all its branches, has been used to popularise the wisdom of Empire buying. It has always been the Board's view, in every Empire country, Empire buying begins at home; and the fact that the producers of the United Kingdom have first claim in their own country on the home consumer has, as always, been stressed in the Board's appeal.

MARKET INTELLIGENCE.

The importance of collecting information as to supplies of Empire and foreign commodities available from week to week, and of disseminating such information as widely as possible among Empire producers and others concerned in Empire trade, has been fully appreciated by the Board. The issue of weekly notes for the fruit and dairy produce trades has been extended. The latter include figures, hitherto unavailable, of butter in cold storage, and these have made possible a study of the consumption of imported butter, which in the first five months of 1931 was found to have risen by about 14 per cent. over the corresponding period of previous year—an increase almost entirely derived from Empire sources.

CONSUMERS' PREFERENCE.

The Board's machinery for testing the differing market requirements of the United Kingdom has been extended and a number of investigations have been conducted and their findings made available to producers and others concerned. Experimental shipments of Empire commodities which might find a market in the United Kingdom have been organised in co-operation with the authorities in the countries of origin. Studies of wastage in transit have been made.

TWO EMPIRE SHOPS.

The year has been notable for outstanding activity in this field. The experiment tried at Glasgow in the previous year of popularising and extending the sale of Empire produce by the opening of a shop, in which samples were sold to the public under conditions which secured the goodwill and co-operation of the trades proved definitely successful. A similar shop was, therefore, opened in Birmingham in January of this year, and plans are under consideration for acquiring the tenancy of other shop premises in various centres for periods not exceeding six months. These shop experiments have the merit of affording an opportunity to Empire countries in turn of making a special display of their produce in surroundings which are designed to stimulate public interest, and under conditions which, thanks to the keen interest taken by the distributive trade, are likely to be productive of permanent results. The temporary establishment of an Empire shop in a particular district also provides a centre at which the publicity and marketing activities, both of the Board and of the Governments concerned can be strikingly concentrated.

THE COLLECTIVE CONSUMER.

The importance of securing the practical interest of the large buyers of foodstuffs, such as local authorities, institutions, hotels, shipping companies and other bodies which undertake catering on a large scale, has been recognised from the outset, and tentative steps to develop this field of activity have been taken on more than one occasion. During the past year the Board felt justified, as a result of the experience they had gained since their formation, in beginning serious effort in this field. A special staff was, accordingly, appointed to call upon local authorities, after suitable introduction, and to discuss with them

the extent to which their purchases of Empire goods might be increased. This experiment has already proved to be fully justified. The reception accorded to the Board's officers by local authorities all over England and Wales has been most encouraging, and some two hundred authorities have invited the Board to submit suggestions for incorporation in their tender forms, when these are under revision. The new forms of tender become operative, in the majority of cases, on the 1st April. It is too early yet to judge of the full effect of the changes which have been made as a result of the advice tendered by the Board, but there is no doubt that the purchasing power of local authorities is in course of being mobilised in the interest of Empire trade in no uncertain fashion.

"A Normal Successful Assembly"

By
Mr. K. R. SASTRI, *Advocate*

A decade's work of the League has dispelled the widespread distrust at its *bona fides*, the smaller South American Republics had learnt to value their continued association in the Geneva organization, and the East while "Big Few's rattle" had been given valuable moral support by Britain's First Labour Premier.

The Eleventh Assembly was presided over by M. Titulesco, the Rumanian Minister in London.

M. BRIAND'S EUROPEAN FEDERATION

M. Briand's Scheme of European Federation not at all seriously taken cognizance of in 1929 had a better hearing in the eleventh Assembly. M. Briand was elected Chairman of the Committee of investigation to examine replies to M. Briand's proposed Federation of Europe. The Committee with meet in January 1931, during the session of the League Council.

The final adoption and signature by about 30 States of the convention on Financial Assistance to State-victims of oppression is another achievement of this Assembly. The minimum sum guaranteed by the signatories to the Aggression Convention comes up to 50 million gold francs.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT

The first Committee in 1929 had appointed a Committee of Eleven to report on the purposed amendments to the covenant to bring it into line with the Kellogg Pact. This Committee met under the presidency of Signor Scialoja in Geneva from February 25th to March 5th, 1930.

The amendments proposed by the Committee are the following and the effect of them is indicated by italicised portions:—

Preamble:—"In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by *accepting the obligation* not to resort to war."

IN ART. XII.—PARA. 1.

"The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will *only employ pacific means for its settlement.*"

"*If the disagreement continues, the dispute shall be submitted* either to arbitration or to judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council. The members of the League agree that they *will in no case resort to war* for the solution of their dispute."

IN ART. XIII.—PARA 4.

"In the event of any failure to carry out such award or decision, the Council shall propose *what measures of all kinds* should be *taken to give effect thereto*, the votes of the representatives of parties shall not be counted.

IN ART. XV.—PARA 6.

"The members of the League agree that they will *comply with the recommendation of the Report. If the Council's recommendation is not carried out, the Council shall propose suitable measures to give it effect.*

PARA 7.

It shall examine the procedure best suited to meet the case and recommend it to the parties.

NEW PARA.

At any stage of the examination, the Council may, either at the request of one of the parties or on its own initiative, ask the permanent Court of International Justice for an advisory opinion on points of law relating to the dis-

pute. Such application shall not require an unanimous vote by the Council.

The purpose of the amendment is to eliminate "The right to go to war" under the covenant in their private interests. In spite of Lord Cecil's and Prof. Noel Baker's warm championships of the amendments, Japan, Scandinavia, Roumania and certain jurists expressed apprehensions of these amendments. The First Committee had thus to defer these amendments to 1931.

The Second Committee has agreed to the proposal of the Indian Delegate Sir Jehangir Coyajee for a Scientific enquiry into the causes of the present agricultural and industrial depression. Sir D. P. Sarvadhikari also believes that India stands to gain by having a delegation at Geneva.

In the Committee discussing Traffic in Drugs, an Indian Delegate stated that the cultivation of the poppy and the consumption of opium in India has decreased considerably.

For long, discussions had taken place at Geneva that particular nations had dominated in the League Secretariat. A resolution to reorganize the Secretariat stressing its international character was thus passed.

The Bench of the Permanent Court of International Justice for the next nine years was also selected.

As so ably pointed out by Mr. H. Wilson Harris, the failure of Franco-Italian Conversations re. disarmament and the triumph of German Fascists under Hitler were sufficiently disturbing to cloud the Geneva atmosphere. The Eleventh Assembly has nothing dazzling to its credit, but it has really taken steps "unmistakably for cohesion, at a time when that process was necessary."

Old Religion and New Science

By
Mr. K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.

The belief of man—how it came to him or from what source within or beyond him, nobody who is not illumined knows or can know for certain—is that there is a universal Soul which is in some subtle relation to individual souls, whether it is a relation of identity or an organised relation or a relation of rulership. There is Being at the back of all the varied and infinite Becoming known as the Universe consisting of the warp of Space and the woof of Time—such Being being not the only source of such Becoming but being the stuff of such Becoming. Such Being is not a mere intellectual abstraction or postulate or hypothesis, but is a fact and a reality and can become a fact of realisation as direct and as keen and as vivid and as undeniable as the perpetual self-awareness of our limited self.

Such is the song of religion. Science till recently sang a different song. It analysed Matter and found itself against a seeming stone wall. It knocked against the atom and rebounded from it in a resilient mood. When, smarting from knocking its..... against the atom, it came to the analysis of mind, it had its revenge. It declared that there was no mind apart from the brain. It followed, therefore, that when with the body the brain died there was an end of everything. "Dust thou art, to dust returnest."

But meantime the New Physics went on battering at the seemingly solid gates of the fort of atom. Before such battering the gates began to give way, it was found that the atoms were not the solid bricks of the Universe and that the atoms were partly electrons and partly space. Thus solid matter began to disappear in smoke, so to say. The molecule is perceptible to sense. But ether, electrons as ether-modifications, energy,—are all as intangible as soul. Thus, materialists have to be materialistic without the basis of matter? Professor Eddington says: "The atom is as porous as the solar system."

In the same way the whirligig of Time brought about other revenges as well. The more intensively mental phenomena were studied, the more untenable became the theory that the mind is but a product of the brain. Many puzzling phenomena which would not be put by as due to ignorance or fraud began to be classified by highly cultured and even sceptical minds. As Laplace says: "We are so far from knowing all the agents of nature and their various modes of action, that it would not be philosophical to deny any phenomena merely because in the actual state of our knowledge they are inexplicable."

The modern examination of the workings of the subliminal self, of clairvoyance and clairaudience and telepathy and mesmerism and hypnotism and other powers, of mediumistic phenomena, of automatic writing, of crystal gazing, of spirit-forms and spirit-conversations, and of other connected matters relating to psychical research, form a great part of the modern challenge of death by life. In Wordsworth's words: "We feel that we are greater than we know." J. A. Hall says well: "It is established, then, that there can be mental or psychic activity of many kinds, sensational, intellectual, reminiscent, emotional, volitional, creative, over and above anything that the conscious mind is aware of. Science has proved that we are greater than we know."

Thus the seesaw of modern thought is remarkable. Matter is vanishing and spirit is coming into its own again. The new philosophy says that by way of integration of the new phenomena we can well say that human minds have a common source. Though our levels of normal waking consciousness are diverse and distinct like the bright colours of the spectrum, and though we can get *en rapport* with each other during our waking states only by the clumsy contrivances of speech and writing, we are in touch with one another in our substantial levels. Each of us, to use a well-known illustration, is like a stream of water issuing from the city taps, but the water comes from the same reservoir and is the same. James says well: "A sort of..... thinking in all of us seems a more likely hypothesis than that of a lot of individual souls." The subluminal self is there and is imperceptibly and sluggishly active like the moon in the daytime sky of the normal waking consciousness. It is powerfully active during dreams and trances and other similar states. It is also likely that the living and the dead form an inter-linked group on the mental plane. Mr. J. A. Hall says: "The Brotherhood of Man has long been a religious postulate, but it has had to rest its appeal on theological grounds which no longer seem sufficient to many honest souls. But it is now supported by science. Knowledge now goes hand in hand with faith and love." We realise that we are bound together into a larger unity of spirit. Our mutual rivalries should, therefore, be rivalries of service, not rivalries of hate. By service of others we serve ourselves as well. The happiness of others brings in our own happiness as well. We realise that the human race is but a vast family and that the proper ideal is not competition but co-operation. There is a conservation of values as surely as there is a conservation of energy.

This new attitude of science is profoundly religious and is akin to the attitude of Faith. In it Reason and Faith attain unity. But as yet there is the dominance of the Human aspect just as in the older attitude of science there was the dominance of the Matter aspect. The real function of Religion is in the refinement and sublimation of the human aspect. Emerson says well:

> "Draw, if thou canst, the mystic line,
> Severing rightly his from thine
> Which is human, which Divine."

There are not only modes but grades of consciousness as well, and it is our duty to rise from the plane of mind including psychology and spiritualism as it is our duty to rise from the plane of matter. When we react those wider and higher realisations, mere personal survival in other bodies, material or mental, will become as unimportant as the search for this or that bit of matter—gold or silver or iron—which comprises the totality of our earthly ambitions. The perfections of being and consciousness and bliss standing as far above our lower minds as our minds are above matter will become the objects of our search and striving and attainment. Such realisations will be as much above mind as above time and space and causation which constitute the texture of matter. Even in such beatific realisations which are above mind and matter, there could be grades and levels. When we are in a state of union with the Supreme God we awake out of the sleep constituting the life of mind and the life of matter. We can dimly realise even now that at such a high level we may not be afraid or unwilling to shed our present narcissism—our present worship of our narrow individual selfhood. Such a supreme realisation is realisation in truth and bliss—(SACHCHIDANANDA). When we step down from that height into the world of mind and matter, our reactions are reactions of beauty and goodness and result in aesthetics and ethics. But when we soar again into the highest empyrean of realisation, we have our perfection in the bliss of Truth and in the truth of Bliss. From Matter to Mind in the net of the Gunas, from

such Mind to the pure Sattvic mind, from such Sattvic Mind to Sachchidananda,—such is the golden stairway shown alike by New Science and by Old Religion. "Eye has not seen nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of man to conceive, the things which God has prepared for them that love Him."

Zenshiro Noguchi

By (the late)
SIRDAR PURAN SINGH

Kinza Hirai, Professor of English in the Women's University at Tokio as well as the Commercial College there, was a friend of mine, as was also his friend Zenshiro Noguchi whom I met at Kobe in 1903. Three years ago I heard that they were both dead. They were remarkable men. Zenshiro Noguchi was a genius, a poet-painter and an ardent Buddhist seer of inspiration and spiritual insight. He took a keen delight in things human and divine, and mingled them up in his daily life which was a continuous poem, mystic, musical as the sound of a waterfall heard in a temple at dawn. He lived entirely on and for his poetic ecstacy. He did not think that any other form of self-expression was legitimate for man, but of a speechless roseateness of flesh and its perfume of rapture. Accordingly, he wrote only once in his life: The story of his own baby from its birth to death convering a period of about 2 years, which he showed me with great pride in manuscript. "It is all about the little baby of man, I have written down every moment of its little joys and sorrows. It is a gospel of future, when to rear good children will be the highest ethics of man," said he. This book in manuscript which perhaps was never published was surely his masterpiece, full of details. He told me he awoke and slept with the baby and made a complete record. This was when I met him last at Kobe. He then had just married and was working in the Sunrise Petroleum Office.

When he would be at the point of bursting with joy uncontainable even in his strong well-knit frame, when his eyes would be red with *saké* and his face beaming with the divine light of Buddha; only then he would occasionally condescend to waste his joy in drawing a picture with hardly about two or three strokes of his brush, and write a Hokko poem on one side of it in the Chinese hieroglyph, and put his red seal to it below, and offer it to any of his friends who may be present.

He was a man of rapturous silence and made everybody happy wherever he was with little words and crisp humorous sentences. He was the very spirit of humour and wit and it so played on his face set with deep black almond-shaped eyes; just a wink or a twitch of the lips or a quiver of his cheek-muscle caused an exciting and infective laughter amongst the people who got round him and listened to his short stories. If he would be serious, he would make people cry. But he was seldom in that tragic mood. He took life as birds take it, tragic only when they are starving for want of grain or water, or when pierced by a stray arrow of a huntsman.

Both Mr. Z. Noguchi and Mr. K. Hirai went to the United States of America as representatives of Buddhism in the Great Parliament of Religions held in Boston in 1893. Mr. Hirai was a Buddhist monk. He made eloquent speeches and Dr. Barrows in the proceedings always refers to him as "Eloquent Mr. Hirai." While Mr. Noguchi kept quiet, serving his friend as a private secretary, and absorbing silently the "Democracy of America."

On their return from there, both thought of "doing something" as they told me. Mr. Hirai after his return resigned his orders as a Buddhist monk and gave up the monastery, and Mr. Z. Noguchi had only his old mother to look after, but he had provided her with sufficient funds for about 2 years before going

to America, and they had done just about a year in that country, so these two friends had for the time being no encumbrances whatsoever. Mr. Hirai on his return did not pay a visit to his monastery nor Mr. Z. Noguchi to his mother. They decided to become "pilgrims" and visit the interior of the country and talk to the country people at large of their American experiences. The Japanese "pilgrim" is a wonderful person, dressed in tight trousers coloured blue, a loose and short kimono coming over it secured by a rope belt, and a huge straw umbrella-like hat, fastened by means of a string going round the chin and a staff and straw sandals. This is all his kit which he carries about himself. His vow is to go round all the temples on foot. He is to go over the country's temples mostly begging his way and contenting himself with whatsoever the charitable people might give him. It is a kind of temporary monkism taken upon themselves by the simple village folks.

Messrs. Noguchi and Hirai dressed themselves as pilgrims and started on their lecturing tour assuming poetic names. It took about a year of hard foot-travel in the whole of the interior country to give their American experiences to the people.

II.

Almost a year had gone by, when they reached Osaka, the large industrial city in Japan and here they took up another role and another guise. They now wished to earn their own living, quite tired as they were of depending on the charitable doles and they started their itinerent shop of aerated water and ice. Mr. Z. Noguchi hung the balance-like Lemonade shop astride his shoulders, in one pan being the ice and the other sundries, and in the other the sparkling bottles of aerated water. Mr. Hirai went ahead with his friend from street to street, crying *Kori Kori* (ice, ice), *Ramone Ramone* (lemonade). And they did earn their living, enough to pull on for some time. As the Summer ended, the shop opened by these two great philosophers had to be given up. But both in their pilgrimage and in their sojourn at Osaka, they loved to come in intimate contact with the submerged majority of the unlettered peasant class. And by their contact with them, they succeeded to impart many new outlooks on life and labour to the poor farmers.

III.

Messrs. Z. Noguchi and Hirai parted from each other at Osaka, to seek "fresh fields and pastures new." It seemed they were not taking the "wage-earning" aspect of life, with any seriousness. They were busy with themselves most of the time and their inner rapturous state of consciousness made them absolutely reckless about both the "to-day" and the "to-morrow" as to what they shall eat and what they shall drink. Their feeling of irresponsibility towards what the lesser men call "duty," "action," "work" was becoming almost infinite. Fully drunk with divine joy, they spoke intoxicated words and they moved in love and rapture and ecstacy of their inner self. So to say, all their actions were self-prompted by some divine impulse, for they had ceased to think for themselves. They were looked after by gods, as they had ceased to look after themselves. As birds dance from bough to bough and wing away and sing, so these two friends lived and loved. Though they cared not for time, they were in exact time for everything, they told me.

IV.

Mr. Noguchi after separation from his friend, at Osaka, went to see his old mother who was now at the verge of starvation, for all what her son had provided was exhausted. The mother remonstrated with him and ordered Mr. Noguchi to go and get some job, for she said roaming free in this world was not of the essence of true religion. Z. Noguchi immediately bowed down to her commands and left the house. An hour or two later, he was ushered into the presence of the

Director of the Dai Nippon Railways, in his office, at Tokyo. Zenshiro bowed down like a humble applicant and on being questioned gave his Nom-de-plume that he with his friend had assumed for himself. It may be stated here, that their work in America had been greatly admired by the Japanese press and both the names were now celebrated names; so in order to conceal their identity and pass their days away from the worry of public applause, they had completely disguised themselves.

"I see you have applied for a post in the Railway Department," said the Director.

"Yes! O most honourable sir!" said Noguchi.

"What are your qualifications? And what kind of post do you desire?" said the Director.

"Any job, O most honourable sir. My qualifications are that I can sweep the platforms well, if you please to give me that job, O most honourable sir. I also know a little Japanese writing and am also familiar with *Kata Kana*, I know a little wrong English, I might do as a clerk, O most honourable sir. Anything will do for I want to earn a few coins a day to support my old mother. I am not a married man sir, so I have not much burden upon my shoulders," said Mr. Noguchi.

The Director looked at him from head to foot and back again remarked:

"You seem to be a very intelligent man. And you are ready to do any job, even the humblest one of sweeping the platform for serving your mother. I admire you. I have only just one post vacant and I appoint you as station clerk, Kyoto, would you take it? It carries only 15 yen a month. I am sorry I have nothing else just yet. I hope you would rise slowly up the ladder." said the Director.

Ari gato (Thank you) O most honourable sir, that will do. I don't know if I could please my master by my work, but I will try my best. Good-bye sir!" said Noguchi.

"God-bye !" said the Director.

IV.

The station master at Kyoto was a bit of an ego; he knew how to lord it over his subordinates. Everyone was afraid of him and so was the new station clerk. Mr. Noguchi would make more than a dozen mistakes in every draft he would be asked to put up, with a view to allowing superiority to the station master by making him give the literary finish to the drafts. And the station master while correcting Mr. Noguchi's draft would curse him, shout at him, foam at his mouth with anger, and abuse the Director for sending such raw youths to do such responsible works. Mr. Noguchi was in Kyoto for about a year, making fresh mistakes in his work every day, drawing upon himself the wrath of the station master, a wrath in which the station master felt happy at being able to prove his own superior genius which he considered to be unrivalled in the station yard of Kyoto. In his superior frame of mind, the station master failed to make any distinction between one kind of subordinate and another, and so at times he would order Mr. Noguchi to clean his table and office and stoke coal into the stove used for warming his office room. Mr. Noguchi did faithfully what he was ordered to do while disgusted with his dulness. The station master would do the office papers himself and send his clerk on sundry duties, stoking the stove, keeping a merry fire in his room, running errands or doing his household work, buying vegetables for his wife, etc. As usual with him, Mr. Noguchi minded nothing, but his hands and face would be smeared with soot and smoke, and he looked like a little fireman while in office and not a clerk.

V.

It was a little frail Japanese house of a poor old woman in Kyoto, which Mr. Noguchi had selected for his lodging on arrival in Kyoto, his mother being at Tokyo. This woman served him with great zeal, for she saw a blessing coming to her with this

guest. On the very day, Mr. Noguchi took up his lodging, two more guests came. Mr. Noguchi's knowledge of English was of great use. And he was a painter, so he made for his landlady many interesting advertisements which attracted the foreigners to her place. And slowly the little place began to grow, and in a couple of years it was a regular hotel for such foreigners as wished to get into direct touch with the native institutions and things of Japan without the intermediation of foreign style hotels and the usual guides' interpretors. For the guests Mr. Noguchi was a whole Japan in himself. Many American friends of Mr. Noguchi found him there as a pleasant surprise and the fame of the hotel at Kyoto spread far and wide owing to the presence of Mr. Noguchi.

As the Sun would set, and the temple bells of Kyoto would ring across the little streamlet that divides the city into two, the opposite hillside being studded with glorious red-lacquered temples, Mr. Noguchi would take the little girl of his landlady into his lap and relate to her stories. The most interesting of these narratives which lightened up the soul of the young girl was the latter's biography projected by Mr. Noguchi before her so vividly that she caught the fire of life and its ambition to be a great woman of Japan. She persuaded her mother to put her to school and Mr. Noguchi coached her. She, as prophesied to her by her teacher Mr. Noguchi, made quick progress in her studies and shone in her class. Miss — afterwards entered the Woman's University at Tokyo and in her days became one of the most intellectual ladies of her time and a great literary celebrity.

Mr. Noguchi, the great Buddhist seer, had not only blessed the place of his lodging by bringing to it in his trail an unprecedented prosperity—the growth of a small lodging place into a great hotel for foreigners—but he thus created out of Miss — the daughter of his landlady, a great woman by forecasting to her a great life and giving to her vital suggestions. Of course, Mr. Noguchi kept a constant and parental watch on his ward and when I met him years later he told me he considered Miss — as one woman in Japan who combined in herself the best of the East and the West and was yet so simple in her original Japanese apparel and form that she successfully concealed her great learning and culture from all eyes by her disguise of artistic simplicity. She had not *extraordinaries* of the "Educated" about her, she looked like a country girl with a refined face that attracted people by her great mental concentration and one felt charmed in her presence without her making any show of her knowledge. Mr. Noguchi in his talks always insisted on the perfect simplicity of the Eastern life but adding to it all the glory that could be brought in from the West. There was prosperity and culture of the soul for people who came in contact with this Buddhist. He was a holy man though every night he drank his cup of *Saké*.

In the absolute disguise of a poor clerk, he managed to live in Kyoto unrecognised. He himself lived on 5 yen a month and sent 10 yen to his mother. He was a man of rapture, that needed neither money, nor raiment, nor bread.

VI.

One day when snow was falling outside, Mr. Noguchi, as usual, was feeding the stove with coal in the station master's room, when from the window came an American voice calling out: "Hallo Mr. Noguchi! Hallo Mr. Noguchi —You here!" Mr. Noguchi looked up and it was Mr. J, the President of the American Theosophical Society. Mr. Noguchi promptly advanced and offered him his soot-besmeared hands.

"Hallo Mr. J! You here? How we meet in this world and what a joy it is to meet friends once again in life," said Mr. Noguchi. (While relating this little episode Mr. Noguchi remarked to me that he had never been shy of his position in life whatever it

was. When Mr. J called him he expected him to shake hands with him just as he was. It was not the physical that greets the human eye, and he thought that it was our souls that shake hands).

Mr. Noguchi went out to have a talk with Mr. J who consulted him as to the best place to get a comfortable lodging in Kyoto.

"Of course, Mr. J, where I stay," said Noguchi, and told the Jinrikshaw man to take Mr. J to his place and he gave a little note for the landlady.

The station master was rather surprised to see his clerk talking to an *Aio* (foreigner) with that unmannerly familiarity, but in his mind, he put it down to the usual curiosity of English-knowing Japanese to go up officiously and seek an acquaintance with a new-comer to trim their English a bit. He was lost in a confused sort of reflection about the superior way all the same with which he greeted Mr. J, therefore, as soon as Mr. Noguchi re-entered his office, the station master enquired who was that foreigner whom he greeted with such familiarity and who greeted him back as Mr. Noguchi. "It is strange," he went on, "the name you have given in this office is not what you responded to to-day at the window. There seems to be some mystery. Who are you?"

"O Most Honourable sir! I am your most humble clerk," said Mr. Noguchi with a very respectful bow in the Japanese style.

"And who was that foreigner," said the station master.

"He is an old friend of mine whose acquaintance I had made in America and we met just now after years," said Mr. Noguchi.

"So you have been to America. Are you then Zenshiro the famous Zenshiro who went to America to teach them our glorious religion," cried the station master with joy.

Mr. Z. Noguchi stood silent with his eyes fixed on the ground, as the station master continued:—

"Mr. Noguchi! By your disguise for the last two years, by allowing superiority to me, you have degraded me in my own eyes. I have been so disrespectful to you all these days. I did not know, I did not know, I was dealing with our greatest poet, painter, philosopher, and Buddhist seer. Pardon me! Pardon me, for all my rudeness."

Saying this, the station master took the dust from under the feet of Mr. Noguchi and anointed his forehead and his breast.

VII.

He told me once how he was sent to jail. He was staying in a hotel in the Interior country. The policemen came, according to regulations for his name and address. "My name is a man: I live on this earth: the whole world is my home." The police questioned him further.

"Do you worship the Emperor?"

"No. I am a king to myself."

"And the law of the land?"

"No. I don't acknowledge any law."

"You are a Japanese?"

"I am, but I wish to have my personal freedom."

After a great deal more of similar questions and answers he was arrested as a rebel, and sent to jail. But when they found soon after that he was Zenshiro Noguchi—they set him free.

Two Poems

By
FREDERICKA BLANKNER

QUERY AND ANSWER

How can they fear death, these people, and want living,
When life is but the minute-minute giving
Of unslain heart to pain that would slay mortal?
For living heart is the eternal portal of pain.
Is that why they fear death, these people, more than living,
More than the giving of their hearts to living pain?
Because in death the heart holds ache that has no throbbing,
Without the ease of breath that would be robbing
Some bit from pain, because in death the portals close
And do not swing again?

FRIENDSHIP

I have own secrets that the tongue would tell:
Yet I can see you do not find my thought:
I try for phrases and I state them well,
But you remark the book that you have bought;
Failing, I hint them and I feel the air
So heavy with their pulse that your near heart
Must shrink, then meet them—But the weather's fair . . . .
A week ago you saw the racers start . . . . .
And then I merely look them, and the dream
Of all I am is starting from my eyes—
But you are worried that the broider'd seam
Of your new frock is pucker'd, or the skies
Promise more rain . . . . . "Yes, dear, I understand—
We know each other—" You touch my hand.
Our senses bring the world, but where is sense
To give us to the world of deaf-blind men?
In shout or silence, each to each alien
Like sunlight shining without recompense
Of vision. Friendship is a mock of fate:
All soul is secret, closed, and isolate.

The late Mr. Eardley Norton

An Appreciation

By

AN "INDIAN NATIONALIST"

Lately a remarkable life quietly passed away. He died a hoary veteran at the ripe age of seventy-nine. This sketch is a tribute to the memory of one whose eloquence, wit and ready repartee (at the Bar, on the platform and in private conversation) still ring in the ears of hosts of people all over the land. Everything about Mr. Norton was brilliant—his speech, his style of writing, and his conversation which was sparkling, full of wit, humour, and merriment. And beyond doubt in certain fields of forensic eminence, he had no compeer in India. Born at Madras on the 19th of February in the year 1852, Eardley Norton was an eminent Victorian, who spent practically the whole of his life in India, mostly in Madras, till he made an excursion to Calcutta to shake the pagoda tree, before his final retirement to England, in 1924. Just seven years of peace and quiet supervened, before Time yielded his spirit to Eternity. He died in his home, in Kent, on Monday, July 13th last, loved and honoured.

For forty-seven long years, from the day that he started his practice in Madras at a time when the Bar there was rich in legal talents, his had been an exceedingly powerful and dominant influence, first in his own province and then throughout the length and breadth of the country. Eardley came of good legal stock, and was born as it were with a wig on his head. He was the son of Mr. John Bruce Norton, who was Advocate-General of Madras from 1843 to 1871, and grandson of Sir John David Norton, one of Her Majesty's Puisne Judges of the Madras Supreme Court. The youthful Eardley was educated in Brussels; and to that fact perhaps we may ascribe his affection for the French language, and a certain Gallic flair that was so noticeable in his speech and general outlook on life. Later, he went to a private school and then on to Rugby School. From Rugby he went on to Merton College, Oxford (after which he named his house, at Madras), where he read about as much or little, as convention and a gay existence, as an undergraduate with a mercurial temperament in those less exacting days, demanded. From Merton he joined Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the Bar in May 1876. He then joined the Oxford Circuit and went to the Sessions at Oxford and Gloucester. The present Lord Darling was a contemporary of his, and Eardley used to tell amusing tales of the young barrister with the alluring name, who was commonly addressed as "My Darling." From 1876 to 1879 Eardley remained in England doing a little work and appearing as Junior in an occasional Indian Appeal in the Privy Council.

Mr. Norton landed in Madras, in July 1879, and shortly after his arrival was appointed Coroner of Madras. He held this mournful office for eight years till it was abolished by Government. In those days a number of Englishmen were among the leaders of the Bar, and Eardley's rise was not meteoric at the start. But his great gifts could not remain hidden. He had perfect command of the English language, a vocabulary that was amazingly wide, a voice that carried far, and a presence that dominated and fascinated every onlooker. It is not easy to speak of Mr. Norton's career at the Bar in India except in terms which might sound as a language of exaggeration.

Nature was lavish in endowing him with all the qualities which make a great Advocate. Within a few years after his landing in India, he acquired a lucrative practice in the profession and in later years, there was hardly a sensational or important case in which he did not appear on one side or the other. His was a most conspicuous figure, in Madras, for nearly thirty years. In fact the Bar was represented, so to speak, by two traditions, the Bashyam tradition and the Norton tradition, the one standing for deep erudition and subtlety and a closely reasoned advocacy, the other for wonderful skill in cross-examination, brilliancy, and wit, and a perspicuous presentation of the complicated facts of a case. Mr. Norton, as an Advocate, threw his whole personality into his client's case and, as a result of his buoyancy and self-confidence, even a weak cause assumed strength at his hands and was fortified and enriched without any relation to its merits. His unrivalled skill in cross-examination is well known. It is believed that in some respects he represented the old Hawkins tradition in the art of cross-examination, and sometimes specious critics of the art were apt to regard his cross-examination as tending to be a little too lengthy.

Mr. Norton's skill was specially noticeable in cases involving technical knowledge like medical science, engineering and technology. He would never get into the hands of an expert, but the expert was sure to flounder in his hands. His quickness of comprehension was amazing. It is not every great Advocate that commands the faculty of thinking on one's legs, but Mr. Norton was endowed with this pre-eminent and supreme quality. His sparkling, if occasionally caustic wit, his endless fund of homour, his quick repartees imparted a distinctness and style to his manner which was unrivalled. A case in which he appeared could seldom be dull or boring. He marshalled the complicated facts of a case in a superb manner, he made the details of the case converge as if towards a spearhead. It seemed as if literature was falling from lips without the least touch of pedantry about it. He could hit off a phrase or indulge in literary quotation, without making it appear to the Court that he was straying away from the argument. The essentially human note which characterised his addresses won judge and jury alike and made him a great verdict-winner, and it may not be an exaggeration to say that it looked as if he dominated the Tribunals before whom he appeared. His very presence in a cause created an unconscious tremor both in his lay and professional opponents. Love of law for its own sake was not a trait of his. It cannot be said that his arguments were marked by close legal analysis, subtle reasoning or profound erudition, though (when well instructed) he could present what may be called a legal case with as much ability as a case involving complicated facts. He was the one Madras Advocate whose services were requisitioned in every part of India, including Burma.

The "Lion of the Madras Bar" was an appellation of Mr. Norton. Once he was placed in the witness-box of the Small Cause Court in an insignificant case. A junior vakil cross-examined him. Himself a terrible cross-examiner, Mr. Norton floundered and the case went against him. When asked how he happened to be hypnotised by a *chota mouse*, he smiled and said that like the lion in the fable, he was kind to the mouse. Many years later, when practising in Calcutta, once there was a breeze between Mr. C. R. Das and Mr. Norton. The former said that Mr. Norton was trading on his reputation. The latter retorted that he (Mr. Das) had yet to make it. Mr. Norton's mere presence brought sunshine. Often while a case was proceeding in Court, he would draw a caricature of the presiding Judge or of counsel opposite, or write a doggerel with regard to something relating to the case; then the bits of paper would be circulated to members of the Bar sitting in Court and would cause considerable mirth. Throughout his career of forty-seven years at

the Bar, of which twenty-seven years were spent in Madras and twenty in Calcutta, Eardley Norton never grudged to place his services or his brilliant talents and intellectual resources at the disposal of those whom he considered to have been wronged, or were otherwise incapable of commanding the services of the man who was an advocate first and all else afterwards.

It was in the famous and now historic trial of Nirmal Kanto Roy before the Criminal Sessions of the High Court of Calcutta, for the alleged murder of an unfortunate Inspector of Police, that the sacrifices which Mr. Norton made in defending that youth without any honorarium, in two consecutive sessions each occupying not less than from eight to ten days of the busiest practitioner at the time in India, amazed the Indian world and his brother members at the Bar. Yet, in doing what he did, he never felt, as he often repeated in after years, that he had done anything which any other advocate in the discharge of his duties to his client, and in the realisation of the best and highest traditions of the profession to which he belonged, would not do. It was in this trial that he showed how bold and fearless a member of the English Bar could be. He would not allow anybody to stand between him and the client, whose innocence he was protesting. It was in this that Mr. Norton may be said to have reached the height of his powers, moral and intellectual. Even under the scrutiny of such great antagonists as the late Sir B. C. Mitter and Lord Sinha, the prosecution witnesses (mostly police witnesses) went down with cruel tenderness, and the revolver said to have been responsible for the murder of the Inspector "refused to go off" before the jury. It was a triumph which only Mr. Norton, of all advocates, could achieve.

An outstanding incident in Mr. Norton's career took place in 1888, when Mr. Norton was arraigned before the High Court of Madras by Mr. Henry Sullivan, the Senior Member of the Madras Council, on a charge of professional misconduct, alleged to have occurred during his speech to the jury in defence of a client. The latter and his servants were acquitted of charges of dacoity against Mr. Garstin, the Senior Member of the Board of Revenue, and subsequently Mr. Sullivan filed the petition against Mr. Norton. The latter, upon advice received from the Advocates-General of Bengal and Bombay, appeared personally in defence of his honour before all the Judges of the High Court. The petition was dismissed, Mr. Norton successfully pleading that the privilege of Counsel rested, in India, on precisely the same footing as in England, and not as was argued by the other side, on the Indian Penal Code. Mr. Norton in later years declared that he had vainly awaited another similar advertisement. Sullivan versus Norton has remained the leading case on the subject. After twenty-seven years in Madras, Mr. Norton abandoned his practice there and went, in 1906, to Calcutta, where he practised for nearly twenty years. At first he had to contend much against local jealousy, but he soon became one of the foremost Counsel there. He was engaged in nearly all the important criminal cases, though while working in Calcutta, to quote one of Mr. Norton's own sayings, "he was just as good or just as bad in civil suits," as he was on the criminal side. Twice, as we have mentioned before, Mr. Norton defended Nirmal Kanto Roy before Mr. Justice Stephen on a charge of murder. On the first occasion the jury returned a verdict of guilty by five to four, which was a nullity, and on the second occasion the youth was acquitted by another jury by a majority of six to three. The judge declined to accept the verdict and directed that the accused should be put up once more for trial. At this stage Lord Carmichael, the Governor of Bengal, stopped further proceedings, by asking the Advocate-General to enter a "nolle prosequi." In the important Alipore Bomb case, Mr. Norton appeared for the Crown. Sri Aurobindo Ghose, in whose case intense interest was taken, was defended by the late Mr. C. R. Das, and escaped conviction. There were many

exciting incidents during the trial and Mr. Norton's junior was shot one afternoon during Mr. Norton's absence from the court.

Like many other early Britishers who came and lived in India, like the Humes and the Wedderburns, for instance, he took a sympathetic interest in India's political progress, though latterly one cannot fail to notice that his interest waned a bit. He believed in the spirit of goodwill and co-operation as the key to the relations between Britain and India. From his father he inherited the genuine sympathy he had for the political aspirations of the people of the country he had made his own for half a century. In the early days of the national movement, he was a prominent figure in the Indian National Congress and the speeches that he made at the earlier sessions of it are of a piece with the best delivered on the English political platform—whether on the Tory or on the Liberal side. Few men, even from the Congress platform, have condemned the India Council (in London) in stronger terms than did Mr. Norton at the open session of the second Indian National Congress over which the late Mr. Alfred Webb, M.P., presided at Madras, in ——. The most striking political speech of Mr. Norton was that at the 3rd Congress (1887) in which he urged resolution, courage and endurance, until the rights demanded by the Indians were obtained by them. "I was told yesterday by one," said Mr. Norton, "for whose character and education I cherish a great esteem, that in joining myself with the labourers in this Congress, I have earned for myself the new title of a 'veiled seditionist.' If it be sedition, gentlemen, to rebel against all wrong; if it be sedition to insist that the people should have a fair share in the administration of their own country and affairs; if it be sedition to resist tyranny, to raise my voice against oppression, to mutiny against injustice, to insist upon a hearing before sentence, to uphold the liberties of the individual, to vindicate our common right to gradual but ever-advancing reform—if this be sedition I am glad to be called a 'seditionist' and doubly, aye, trebly glad, when I look around me to-day, to know and feel I am ranked as one among such a magnificent array of 'seditionists.'" In 1920 Mr. Norton was elected by the non-official European community of Madras—amongst whom he had not lived for many years to represent it as its first member in the new Legislative Assembly. He sat in the Assembly through the first session from February to the end of March, 1921. He then went to England under medical advice and he resigned his seat in 1922. In 1923 he appeared as leading Council on behalf of the Maharaja of Nabha in the commission appointed to enquire into the disputes between that ruling chief and the Maharaja of Patiala. This was the last forensic appearance of Mr. Norton who retired to England in 1924, where he lived till he passed away.

There was not one Eardley Norton but many. To see him in his garden at "Merton," Kodaikanal—gardening was his hobby—or at his dinner table, was to see him in many ways at his best. He was a delightful host with a fund of anecdotes that always sparkled, and laughter was ever upon his lips. But in his study he was another man. He was there a demon for hard work. He considered ten hours work a day quite normal. He spoke in Court more rapidly than most advocates. Yet his lucidity was unimpaired. He cultivated courtesy as a fine art; he had the grand manner and he continued the tradition of an older age when men studied the art of being considerate to others. He knew how to combine the chivalry of the West with the elaborate dignity of the East. The combination proved irresistible. In private life the great advocate who carried his sword and fought many a battle at Court was simple as a child. He was generous to a degree and his generosity sometimes bordered on what may be termed prodigality. He was really a gifted man. He was a writer of no mean repute, endowed with a rich style, flashing humour and caustic wit. His reminiscences, published some years back in the then "Looker-on" of Calcutta, were a piece of brilliant writing.

The notes, called "Olla Podrida," from the humorous and delightful pen of Mr. Norton which used to appear in the "Hindu" were a tonic even to a misanthropic dyspeptic.

We have always to measure a man by his vision and judged by that test Mr. Norton stands out a really great man, whose name will not fail to be noticed by posterity in the pages of the history of liberty and of the national movement in India. We cannot deny him the title of one of the greatest Englishmen who dedicated his life, his talents, his energy and his all to the service of our Motherland. It may be according to his lights, but all the same it was an unstinted and selfless service. The great deceased had won for himself a niche in the hearts of us all by his supreme dedication to our cause, by his concentrated work, by his tremendous force of energy, by his intellectual and logical potency, and above all by his life in which were honesty and practical spirit so singularly well-combined. Whatever he set his heart upon, Mr. Norton worked for his goal with a courage, persistency of will, and single-mindedness, rare at all times, and rare above all things, in the days in which our lot is cast.

MOTTO.—A reviewer of books is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell; M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."*

BOOKS OF THE MONTHS.

"The Sorrows of Churchill"*

It would seem that the late Marie Corelli's *Sorrows of Satan* has now been cast into the shade by what might be called "The Sorrows of Churchill." This is a book called *India : Speeches of the Right Hon'ble Winston Spencer Churchill* and deserves to be widely read by educated Indians, with a view to understand the mentality of that great Conservative statesman. The book is a collection of Mr. Churchill's speeches on India—the opening one being the speech he delivered, on the Amritsar atrocities of 1919, in the House of Commons, in July 1920—the rest, numbering nine, are his more recent speeches and writings, beginning with November 1929 and ending with March last. The topics covered in the later speeches deal with Dominion Status for India, the Round Table Conference, Conservative Differences on India, the Gandhi-Irwin Pact and its consequences, Britain's Duty in India and others on similar subjects, all (of course) conceived, written and delivered from the characteristic Churchillian standpoint. We have no desire to summarise any of these speeches, they have already received a more than fair measure of publicity in the press of this country. On the principle of knowing the worst that your opponent can say against your case, it is desirable for every Indian public man and political reformer to have by him handy a copy of this book, alike for reference and careful study.

But the most interesting part of the little volume is not so much the collection of speeches it contains, as the typical Churchillian Introduction with which it opens. This short foreword of about eight pages is, in itself, a remarkable production. It is an indication of the Churchillian mind, now for the first time exposed to public view by Mr. Churchill himself. In this short study of a great subject the author is anxious to explain how he came to agree at all to the principle of responsible Government being established in the Governments in India. Mr. Churchill is anxious to make out that he is a gullible, guileless soul, who can be easily imposed upon by anyone who cares to do so, and that accordingly he was gulled into his conviction (about responsible Government being suited to Indian conditions) by no other person than that wily Oriental, the late Mr. Edwin Samuel Montagu, once Secretary of State for India. How did Mr. Montagu do the trick? We shall let Mr. Churchill state it in his own words. He says: "Our colleague, Mr. Montagu, was accustomed to point in private to the preamble of the India Bill and also particularly to clause 41; he represented his plan as a mere experiment which could be arrested or reversed at any time. As for the Assembly at Delhi, it was only a 'debating society' without power to

India: Speeches of the Right Hon'ble Winston Spencer Churchill.—Thornton Butterworth, Ltd., 15, Bedford Street, London, W.C.

affect the course of events in opposition to the will of the Imperial Government. Thus these assurances seemed sufficient and were accepted by the re-constituted Cabinet in the peculiar circumstances; and that is the measure of their responsibility." So it was neither the fault of Mr. Churchill nor of the reconstituted coalition Cabinet at the time, if responsible Government was declared by the British Parliament to be the goal of India's legitimate aspirations. It was all the fault of Mr. Montagu and Mr. Montagu alone. He it was who deluded his colleagues into the conviction (as embodied in clause 41 of the Government of India Act), that the Commission to be appointed could recommend that the principle of responsible Government could be "extended, modified or restricted." These are the three words to which Mr. Churchill has referred to in the passage quoted above. If Mr. Churchill really believed that once the principle of responsible Government had been established in India, be it in howsoever modified a form, it would be open to the British Government, ten years later "to extend, modify or restrict the degree of responsible Government then existing therein," all we can say is that he is no statesman. Who does not know the principle of constitutional law—if he knows anything at all about the matter—that (as declared by so great and eminent an authority as Lord Mansfield) the King in Parliament may not grant to his subjects a concession at all, but if and when he does it, there is no power on earth which can revoke or cancel it, though the view to the contrary may be embodied in a million statutes. That, however, is poor Mr. Churchill's first ground for his insufferable sorrow, for which he lays the blame entirely on the broad shoulders of the late Mr. Montagu.

But this is not all. Mr. Churchill has other and profounder reasons for additional sorrow. The next one is that while the Simon Commission were still gallivanting, in this country, examining the question of Indian self-Government and had reached a unanimous agreement that all reference to "Dominion Status" was to be studiously excluded from their wonderful report, the then Viceroy, Lord Irwin, saw it fit on the 1st of November, 1929, to make a distinct and unequivocal declaration in favour of "Dominion Status," which according to the sapient Mr. Churchill "completely prejudiced the report of the Statutory Commission" and "the effect of the Viceroy's declaration was to destroy the value and credentials of the Simon Report." But, here again, that was not all, and unfortunately for Mr. Churchill, sorrow was to succeed sorrow, and the last but one blow which evidently broke his back, was the announcement of the meeting of the Round Table Conference. What happened at it last year? "After a few days of flowery speeches, the Round Table Conference converted itself into what was practically a constituent assembly and proceeded to draft, in outline, at any rate, a federal constitution with Indian Ministers responsible to an All-India Assembly, the whole subject to safeguards, which, as was carefully explained, were only appropriate to the transient and transitional period before full 'Dominion Status' would be enjoyed by the Indian political classes." This was, according to Mr. Churchill, the second great disaster, the first having been the declaration by Lord Irwin of "Dominion Status" being India's "destined goal." But "the third great disaster" and "degeneration of affairs" had yet to take place, which evidently crushed outright poor Mr. Churchill's heart. This was the Delhi Pact between Lord Irwin and Mahatma Gandhi in March last. "As a result of these parleys between a successful law-breaker and the Viceroy, Mr. Gandhi," says Mr. Churchill, "became the supreme figure in Indian political life, the fame he gained by his triumph over the Government of India enabled him to dominate and control his own extremists, the moderate elements which were represented at the Round Table Conference faded into insignificance, and the whole question of constitutional reform of India has now been converted from a decision of the British Parliament into an attempt to make a treaty with Mr. Gandhi." Matters were at this stage when Mr. Churchill laid down his

pen on that memorable and historic date in his life, namely, May 1st, 1931, and brought his Introduction to a close. As there are no later speeches in the collection before us, we do not know the exact condition of that great statesman's heart or mind, at present. But his views are so amusing, so antiquated, so antediluvian, and so childish that we earnestly hope that he will recover from the shocks that he has received, during the last three years, in matters relating to India, and be able yet to contribute to the discussion of Indian problems from his own Churchillian point of view. In the meantime, we deeply sympathise with him in his many sorrows, and it is, therefore, that we have chosen to designate his book as "The Sorrows of Churchill."

A European Jogi's Autobiography*

By An "Amateur Jogi".

Major Yeats-Brown's autobiography—called *Bengal Lancer*—is truly a remarkable work of enthralling interest to students of Indian culture. Nor is it surprising, considering the author's varied career and diversified experience. Major Yeats-Brown was educated at Harrow and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. In 1904 he joined the King's Royal Rifle Corps, for his probationary year in India, and was gazetted from there to the 17th Cavalry, Indian Army. He served in it from 1905 till 1913. At the outbreak of war he was in England on leave, and joined the Fifth Royal Irish Lancers. He served for six months in British and Indian Cavalry on the Western Front, before being transferred to the Mesopotamian Flight of the Royal Flying Corps. With this unit he was twice mentioned in despatches, and awarded the D.F.C. for intercepting the Turkish communications between Bagdad and Felujah. He returned to India, at the end of the war, in 1918. In 1924 he retired on pension, and became special polo correspondent of *The Times* and *New York Herald Tribune* for the International Polo Matches on Long Island. Subsequently he joined the *Spectator*, of which he became the Assistant Editor in 1925. He has travelled widely in Europe, America and all over India. He was a well-known pig-sticker and polo-player, being a member of the team which won the Inter-regimental and Indian Cavalry tournaments in 1922.

But sport and soldiering were not his chief interests. Through the story of Bengal Lancer runs a deeper purpose than the description of *choses vues:* it is the interpretation of the Indian philosophy through the medium of personal experience, and in terms which the West can understand. Beginning with his early days in the *corps d'elite* of the Indian Army—the Bengal Lancers—Major Francis Yeats-Brown describes his comrades at work and play, his bull-dogs, his polo-ponies, the thrills of pig-sticking, and the fascination of the nautch; but through this subaltern's India we see rising a picture which later dominates the scene: the philosophy of the Hindoos. So strange a story is this of the evolution of a normal everyday young Cavalry officer into an initiate in Vedic mysticism that we hesitate to label it. From pre-war India we pass in abrupt transition to the Western Front, where the author served with British Cavalry until he was transferred to the Royal Flying Corps in Mesopotamia. There are vivid scenes of the first battle of Kut, and of a desert raid by air to

**Bengal Lancer.* By Major F. Yeats-Brown. (Victor Gollancz Ltd., 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London). 1930.

cut Turkish telegraph lines; then follows capture by the Turks, and escape from captivity. But the war is only an interlude. Back in India, in 1920, Major Yeats-Brown travelled over 40,000 miles in the course of special tour in this country, meeting every Indian of note and seeing everything of interest from the temple of Kumari, at the southern tip of the peninsula, to the transborder villages on the Kabul road. The pictures of Indian festivals, the glimpses into the temples, the astonishingly frank conversations of the author with Hindu priests, and the pageantry of the car of Juggarnath amidst the swarming devotees of the idol are described in masterly fashion; and the story mounts in interest to a climax whose scene is laid in the Himalayas. In an appendix, the talented author outlines the little-known and greatly misunderstood subject of Yoga from the standpoint of a practical student, and suggests a startling theory with regard to the miracle of the raising of Lazarus as told in the 11th Chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, which is highly fascinating. With rare freshness of thought and phrase, *Bengal Lancer* brings the sights and sounds of India to the reader, and opens the door of her philosophies to him. Apart from its great value to students of Indian culture and philosophy, the book has a distinct literary value, since in the purely literary sense it is a book that stands out in dazzling distinction beside a melancholy pile of Eastern "memories" and "autobiographies." As mere photography his book is superb; as prose it is almost unique, being a series of glowing word-pictures of very great merit. It is thus a book of permanent interest.

II.

The manipulation of contrasts reveals the artist in the author, as does his knack of leaving a thing unsaid, so that the echo of it goes forward in the mind, just as the echo of a gong marches on long after the stroke that gave it birth is done. Thus, at Agra, where he spoke with a yogi who said to him: "If you go to Benares, Sahib, you may find your Guru. You may, I cannot tell. But I will give you his name since I was told that you would come. It is Paramahansa Bhagwan Sri. Having humbled your heart and slain the desire of works, you may find him." He writes: "They were slow, dreamy words, spoken not to me, it seemed, but to the Jumma which was carrying down the white flowers and the yellow flowers that are the daily tribute of India to her gods and goddesses. Amongst these flowers rose an arm, as if waving a good-bye. It sank under the even waters, without sound or ripple, but the turtles had seen it and were coming from every direction, making tracks like the periscopes of submarines. A big white turtle reached the body first, and worried it, and raised its obscene idiot's head with a ribbon of flesh in its mouth, snapping, gobbling. Others arrived. Soon there was a red foaming and scuffling where the body of a girl had been. I turned away, but Sivanand did not flinch. '*Sarvam Khalvidam Brahman*,' he said '—all this is indeed God.' Somewhere in the distance, a bugler sounded reveille. Its notes drifted to me across the flower-stream water, with its corpses, and turtles, and the reflection of the splendour that Shahjehan had made for the love of a woman." A passage such as this compels attention. The mind goes forward, brooding on unsaid things, on unseen things. The mood is one of sweet melancholy, such as is inspired by the study of loftiest thoughts clothed in highly artistic language. What is revealed in Major Yeats-Brown's book is India. You will go a long way before you find another book which so surely captures the elusive unity and the baffling diversity of India. From the beginning the people interested him. "Nineteen thousand of them were born every day. A staggering thought, all this begetting and birth." He was repelled as well as fascinated, and he sketches with pointed words the things that repel him. In Benares "the temples are terrible, the river beautiful. In the temples there is a worship of foetus-like figures, smeared with red, that lurk amidst the acrid corruption of milk and wilted flowers, and cattle ordure, and bats and blood." "The city

fascinated me and repelled me, like Yoga, like India." Yoga, indeed, fascinated him, and he questioned closely into its ways, and practised some of them, while still troubled by a doubt. "Was all this talk of the Brahmins a screen to shield them from modern life?" But could modern life touch them? "Our railway bridg and the mosque of Aurangzeb dominated the city in a physical sense. But Christ and Mahomed had not prevailed; and at Buddha Gaya, near by, where the Enlightened One first turned the Wheel of the Law two and a half millenniums ago, stood the ruined shrine of what was now a great foreign religion. Creeds and conquerors had left Hinduism untouched." All this displays a rare insight into Hinduism. At last it has come—the perfect autobiography of the cultured Englishman in the East. We use the word "perfect" in the modern technical sense as implying, that waste by-products have been eliminated, and that the essence of experience alone remains. And the vast and varied experience embodied in *Bengal Lancer* deserves careful study and consideration.

Education: A Negative Process*

By Mr. W. S. Maulik, M.A., Cantab.

With the union of the sperm and the ovum the life of the individual organism begins. What the individual is capable of doing or becoming is determined by the particular quality of the materials that unite to form it. From the moment of the union the resulting structure continues to elaborate itself, and this elaboration is either favoured, opposed, or variously modified by the surroundings in which the individual has to live.

Perhaps this is better explained by the following illustration. An individual may be compared to a ship at sea. The performance of the ship is limited by the material and manner of its build. How far it can realise that which it is capable of doing depends on the environment in which it finds itself. Storms, currents and other influences of the sea are modifying the behaviour of the ship, while under the power of its own steam it is urging itself on to its maximum achievement. If these influences are altogether favourable, the ship is lucky and attains its maximum without difficulty, but we remain ignorant as to the quality of its materials. On the other hand, adverse circumstances, though affecting its final result, put the ship to a test. So it is with the individual organism.

Although there is general resemblacne in the processes of the development of an individual, the case of one is different from that of another. Consider the matter symbolically.

Let A^{1} represent an individual and x^{1} its maximum performance.

Let A^{11} represent a second individual and x^{11} its maximum performance.

Let A^{111} represent a third individual and x^{111} its maximum performance,
and so on.

Assuming that the environment in each case is the same, the maxima x^{1}, x^{11}, x^{111} will not equate.

To sum up. The education of a human being depends initially on his composition, and no two human beings are capable of reaching the same level. These two principles are fundamental.

**The Kingdom of Earth* by Cedric Dover. (Allahabad Law Journal Press 1931.)

The education of a human being begins when he terminates his parasitic existence on his mother and starts a separate existence of his own. From that moment things begin to impinge on him. He reacts, that is to say, he either accepts or rejects. After a few years he is the product of the society in which he has been brought up. Its acceptances, beliefs, prohibitions, superstitions have become his own, if not wholly, certainly partly. Some go throughly life identifying themselves completely with their social group. Some of them may be successful, good, great and all that the terms imply. But there are others who, perhaps owing to their fundamental composition, begin to suffer from conflicts. They find themselves unable to accept all that their society has to offer. They find that there is an inherent conflict between the ideals and realities of life. These conflicts and their consequent pain favour a reflecting disposition leading to search and analysis.

Mr. Cedric Dover's book *The Kingdom of Earth*, is an illustration of what has been stated above. The young author hoists the banner of revolt, because he has discovered, early in life, that he cannot bring himself in harmony with the general acceptances of society. From the nature of things such writing is more of an analysis of self than the consideration of an external problem. The author does not lack the courage which is required to make a public statement of his convictions. The book contains ten essays on many things: Religion, Miracles, Education, Sex, Eugenics, War and other social problems. Although he does not claim any originality of thought, it may be stated that whatever he has to say he says clearly and vigorously; and many young men will find a faithful rendering of thoughts that have lain inarticulate in their own confused depths.

When a man feels the necessity of questioning current beliefs he begins to discard his mental accretions. His mind reaches out to a wider horizon. His vision is enlarged. When the mind is undergoing this change his values change accordingly. He is experiencing self-education, or the rebirth of the mind. In this sense education is essentially a negative process rendering possible the inner freedom to be achieved.

Mr. Dover's essays (which deserve to be widely read) bear evidence that he has been reborn. I wish him luck in his adventurous journey of mental exploration, but it cannot be guaranteed that he will be 'happy' or ever attain his objective. It will be a continuous search—the fate of the mental explorer.

Bird's-Eye-View Critical Notices

(1) BIOGRAPHICAL REMINISCENCES OF INDO-BRITISHERS

1. **Personal Reminiscences in India and Europe of Augusta Becher.**—Edited by H. G. Rawlinson. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1930.

2. **The Garden of Fidelity.**—Flora Annie Steel (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London), 1930.

3. **Outlaws I have Known.**—By Sir Theodore Piggott. (William Blackwood and Sons, Ltd., 45, George Street, Edinburgh), 1930.

4. **India—Stepmother.**—By Sir Claude H. Hill. (William Blackwood and Sons, Ltd., 45, George Street, Edinburgh), 1929.

Bechers was a well-known Anglo-Indian family, a member of which—Anne Becher—married a Thackeray and thus became the mother of the famous novelist. The book under notice, *Personal Reminiscences in India and Europe of Augusta Becher*, is of quite unusual interest. Written for her children, it is a moving picture of the life of an officer's wife before and during the great Mutiny; of the trials of taking a family round the Cape in a sailing-ship; of incredibly long journeys by night through trackless jungles in the palankeen; and of the interminable dark days of 1857, and more than that, she tells us all about those petty details of everyday life, the 'doolies,' the dinner parties, the manners and customs of the times, which are so essential if we are to reconstruct the picture of those days in all its lights and shades. It is a very interesting record of Anglo-Indian life round about the time of the Mutiny written with simple charm.

Annie Flora Steel is well-known as a writer of many novels dealing with India. Her *Garden of Fidelity* is her autobiography. On reading it one feels as if it was her farewell gift. It was written in her eighty-third year, and is the harvest of a discerning eye, and an acute mind. It is not "emotion remembered in tranquility;" on the other hand it is an engaging book, expressing in an informal way a dynamic and fearless personality with a sturdy and independent philosophy of life. The great puzzle is—how in her active and practical, and busy public and domestic life, she ever found the time to write her books. This book will be treasured by all lovers of Mrs. Steel's writings.

Nearly every European who has crossed the Red Sea, and thinks that he has a turn for writing, writes a book about his experiences in India. And there is ample excuse for a man who spent forty years as a Judge in India to write *Outlaws I have Known and Other Reminiscences of an Indian Judge*. Sir Theodore Piggott, the author of the book under review, would appear to be a shrewd businessman besides his other qualifications, whatever they may be. He noticed that the appetite of the British reading public for books on crime, whether in the form of detective fiction or of that of studies in criminology, remains unsatiated, also that a book purporting to be a study of Indian psychology issued under the name of a judge with long experience, would at the present juncture command a good sale. There is nothing unusual or sensational about this book. Sir Theodore gives us merely the story of a dacoity in Budaun, of Moharram riots in Lucknow and Amroha, of two clever rogues, of the troubles at Chauri Chaura and the like, but he has made the most of his material. He has a lively pen and an attractive style, and though the tragedy at Chauri Chaura was grim enough, the result is a most entertaining volume.

The number of books on India which issue from foreign publishing houses—specially British—is at present larger than at any time in our history. India has forced itself upon the world, and friends and foes are busy writing books with which they try to help or hinder, while she unscorned forges ahead. *India—Stepmother*, by Sir Claude Hill—a retired Indian Civilian—is characteristic of the spirit that pervades "the steel-frame." There is abundant sympathy in the book with the people of India, but it is too manifestly the sympathy of the super-man for erring humanity. The nationalist aspirations for Swaraj are frankly beyond his understanding, for he cannot contemplate a future when the British element, even in the Civil Services, can be fully done away with. Sir Claude spent a portion of his service in the Political Department, and this readily affords him the excuse to speak of his "friend" Maharaja X or Nawab Y, and to give some description of their States. Excursions into the domain of Hindu religion and sociology and the author's obvious and total ignorance about them provide additional flavour to the book. Miss Mayo's *Mother India* is praised and the statements therein confirmed. The book is expressly written for foreign consumption, and will give a fairly good idea of the amount of falsehood and misrepresentation to which our country is subjected at the hands of those to whom after all she is nothing more than a step-mother, who provides them with bread and butter.

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(2) RECENT BOOKS ON ART

1. **Pompeli.**—By Amedeo Maiuri (Instituto Geografico De Agostini: Novara, Italy), 1930.

2. **Wonders of Italy.**—By G. Fatto-Russo. Sixth Edition. (The Compiler, Florence, Italy), 1930.

3. **An Introduction to Persian Art.**—By Arthur Upham Pope (Peter Davis Ltd., 30, Henrietta Street, London, W.C.), 1930.

4. **The Carpets of Persia.**—By Creassey Tattersall.

Persian Art.—By Sir Denison Ross. (Both issued by Luzac and Company, 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.), 1931.

6. **The Persians.** By Sir Denison Ross. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1931.

7. **Persian Painting.**—By Mulk Raj Anand (Faber and Faber, 24, Russell Square, London), 1931.

The series of illustrated monographs "Italian Cities and Landscapes," edited by Cesare Rossi and Marco Boroli, aims to be the most interesting and artistic description of Italy that has ever been done. Each monograph gives a complete description of the natural beauties, monuments, and works of art of the place dealt with; the texts are compiled by very competent writers and contain most accurate descriptions, both scientific and artistic; and each volume is embellished by a great number of photographs (about 200) and reproductions of about ten original water-colours in perfect modern Intaglio Printing. This is a work of great delight and interest, alike to lovers and students of Italy and to travellers. The geography, history as well as the natural beauties, folklore and artistic monuments are well and concisely described. The monographs are published in Italian, English, French and German. The latest volume *Pompeli*—the book under review—is a magnificent and, we think, up till now quite the best and most uptodate work about this marvellous city of the dead. The author Amedeo Maiuri, superintendent of the Antiquities of Campania, who was till recently personally associated in the excavations, has brought to bear in the writing of this book his great scientfic, artistic and historical knowledge of the subject. Besides nearly 200 photographs, the volume is embellished with reproductions in colour of 14 water-colour paintings of Luigi Bazzani, who has caught the local colour and atmosphere remarkably well.

Wonders of Italy, the well-known and indeed meritorious work of G. Fatto-Russo has been issued in a revised and enlarged edition. It is of great help to the traveller in

Italy for it indicates at a glance the notable places and works of art in the cities covered by his itinerary; it gives a good idea of the natural beauty as well as of the art of this lovely land to those who have never visited it; to others it serves as a vivid memento of places and things once seen; and lastly it is a splendid repertory for the student of art. The present volume has been brought uptodate and embraces all the important monuments and gives their accurate descriptions. It has 2,939 illustrations, some of which are beautiful reproductions in colour of the great Italian Art treasures.

The International Exhibition of Persian Art held last year in London is to be thanked for the publication of quite a number of extraordinarily informative and authoritative works on Persia and her art. One of the best of the batch is *An Introduction to Persian Art* by A. U. Pope, the director of the exhibition. This is the first substantial work in any language dealing with the arts and crafts of Persia as a whole. It provides much valuable and new information, the result of the author's personal research in Persia and in the principal museums of the world. It is refreshingly unpedantic and therefore easily comprehended even by the layman. The illustrations embrace architecture, sculpture, bronzes, carpets, textiles, ceramics, calligraphy, miniatures, landscapes, and—not the least important—gardens; in a word, no branch of the arts and crafts is left out. The chief feature of the volume is the wonderful series of photographs taken by Mr. Pope himself in the course of his travels in Persia, where, by reason of his official position as Honorary Adviser in Art to the Persian Government, he was granted access to places and buildings from which foreigners have hitherto been rigorously excluded. It is altogether a most valuable book.

Persian Carpets by Mr. Creassey Tattersall is a very useful little book for those interested in Persian carpets—and who is not. It tells in a small compass all that is authentically known about them and how to take care of them: it is a most fascinating study of a useful and comforting art.

Persian Art is a helpful and valuable little book, prepared in conjunction with the Commissioners of the Persian Art Exhibition, in London. There are eight chapters, by well known experts, following on the historical Introduction, by Sir E. Denison Ross, and the table of Persian Dynasties:—Persian Art, by Roger Fry; Early Persian Art, by C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum; Architecture, by K. A. C. Cresswell, F.S.A.; Painting, by Laurence Binyon, LL.D., of the British Museum; Pottery and Glass, by Bernard Rackham, Keeper of Ceramics at the Victoria and Albert Museum; Textile Art, by Leigh Ashton (Vict. and Alb. Museum); Metal Works, by Leigh Ashton. There are twenty plates, of which three are in colour, a map of the ancient and modern Persian Empires and bibliographies to each chapter. The small book is quite sufficient for obtaining a good general impression of Persian Art.

The only comprehensive work on the subject is Lord Curzon's *Persia*. But it is out of print; besides his long dissertations and speculations on political problems are, like Curzon himself, out-of-date. Sir Denison Ross has therefore done distinct service in writing *The Persians*, which covers in a short space the geographical, historic, artistic and literary aspects of Persia, and the author's hope is fully justified. It makes Persia more of a reality to the general reader, and gives him that familiarity with its history and geography which enables him to think of Persia, not as some strange remote land, but as one as real and living as any country nearer home. For brilliance and conciseness this book cannot be bettered.

Persian Painting is an essay by Mr. Mulk Raj Ananda—a distinguished Indian critic. It is quite a good introduction to the Persian Art, the different schools of which are here described. It covers a large ground in its 40 pages.

(3) RECENT LEGAL LITERATURE

Public Administration in India.—By A. K. Ghosh. (Calcutta University, Senate House, Calcutta), 1931.

Mr. A. K. Ghosh is a highly qualified exponent of Indian constitutional law. His bulky volume—called *Public Administration in India*—is a revised text of a series of extension lectures delivered by the author in 1926, under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. In its present form it is a systematic treatise on the Indian constitution. The book consists of eight chapters, dealing with 1. the "Home Government" of India; 2. the Government of India; 3. the Provincial Governments; 4. the Administration of Justice; 5. the Maintenance of Law and Order; 6. the Army in India; 7. Finance and Revenue; and 8. Legislatures and Law-making. The sketch is—as the author himself describes it—historical, structural and functional. The historical portion of the book sets forth clearly the history of the relations between Britain and India from the Regulating Act down to the present time. The other parts of the book describe in detail the existing system of Government. The book is a lucid statement of the system of administration obtaining in India to-day, and the author brings matters right down to 1930, closing with the proposal for the Round Table Conference. It is a useful book alike for the purposes of study and of reference, and will be found valuable by students of the Indian constitution. Though it is not always possible to avoid controversial methods, the author is quite fair in stating the problems, without stifling his own opinion. The book is an admirable exposition of Indian administrative institutions, and should be welcomed as a sound, though critical, sketch of the present constitution of this country.

An Outline of English Law. By W. Summerfield (John Hamilton, Ltd., 42, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.) 1931.

Mr. Summerfield's *Outline of English Law* is the latest addition to the "Vanguard Series," the books in which give brief outlines of some of the most important subjects of the day, in such a manner as to make them intelligible the layman. The reader will learn more from a volume of this series than by struggling through many technical works on the subject. As an excellent example, we may refer to Mr. Summerfield's *Outline* which is cleverly extracted. The author has squeezed into it the essentials of English law for the lay public, in the short compass of but 140 pages. This little book is an introduction to the law, rather than a substitute for legal advice. It explains in interesting fashion and in simple non-technical language the sources of law, and the organisation of the courts, the different branches of law are enumerated, and more detailed attention given to the subject matter of commercial law. A special chapter is devoted to Arbitration. Though a mere handbook, the *Outline* is a most readable work. Full of solid learning (well indexed), this unique manual is extremely serviceable to the ordinary man and woman, as well as to the student who is thinking of law as a possible career.

Ancient Law: By Sir H. S. Maine, (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1931.

"Maine can no more become obsolete through the industry and ingenuity of modern scholars than Montesquieu could be made obsolete by the legislation of Napoleon. Fads will be corrected, the order and proportion of ideas will vary . . . . but in all true genius, perhaps there is a touch of Art; Maine's genius was not only touched with Art, but eminently artistic; and Art is immortal" so writes Sir Frederick Pollock, in the Introduction to his standard edition of Maine's *Ancient Law* (John Murray). As part of the "World's Classics Series," the Oxford University Press have just published an attractive little pocket edition of this classic, to which Professor Kemp Allen contributes a most useful and interesting Introduction, in which he puts Maine's treatise in its proper historical setting. He stresses the neglect of the history of law prevailing before the time of Maine, with the appearance of whose book "modern historical jurisprudence was born," and indicates briefly both

its strongest points and those elements which have been made the subject of later criticism. Equally serviceable and useful is the edition of Maine's treatise (in Messrs. Dent's "Everyman's Library"), edited with an illuminating Introduction by Professor J. H. Morgan, which helpfully guides the student.

Principles of the Constitution of the United States of India:—Part I. By R. G. Pradhan, (Advocate, Nasik, G. I. P. Rly.) 1931.

For students of Indian constitutional problems, Mr. Pradhan's little book is sure to prove useful and helpful. The author who is a student of political science, and has also practical experience of the working of dyarchy—as he was a member of the Bombay Legislative Council—has set himself the task of examining the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, considering what principles ought to govern the constitution of India, and in the light of those principles planning a scheme of constitutional reforms that should be introduced in this country. Accordingly in his Part I, the author has dealt with three fundamental questions, viz., (1) the question of an All-India Federation, (2) the question of defences, and (3) the question of the minorities. His treatment is sound and instructive and indicates a thorough grasp of the subject. The book should be servicable equally to students of the subject and political reformers.

The Indian Bar Councils Act, 1926: By P. Krishnan Nair, Bar-at-Law, (V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu and Sons, Madras) 1931.

The second edition of Mr. Nair's *Indian Bar Councils Act* is welcome. It opens with a useful introduction of 34 pages, giving an historical survey of the establishment and functioning of Bar Councils in different countries. We find in the appendices the Report of the Select Committee, the discussions in the Legislative Assembly, the texts of all the previous Acts and the Madras Bar Council Rules. The book will be found very useful by both the Bench and the Bar, and Mr. Nair's book being compendious and accurate deserves to be kept handy by all Judges and practitioners.

The Province of the Law of Tort: By P. H. Whinfield, LL.D. (Cambridge University Press Fetter Lane, London, E.C.), 1931.

So long as the Law of Torts remains uncodified in India, there will be need for text-books on the subject, and we welcome Dr. Whinfield's Tagore Law Lectures, 1930. This book (called *The Province of the Law of Tort*) is intended to help students of the English Common Law, on both sides of the Atlantic and in India. The author traces the historical origin of Tort and discusses the relation of the Law of Tort at the present day to other legal topics, such as contract, bailment, trust, quasi-contract, crime, property law, and quasi-delict. The chapter on quasi-contract is in itself a monograph on that subject, owing to the dearth of English legal literature dealing with it. Though the book is not a digest of Indian case-law on Torts, it will be highly valuable to Indian practitioners and judges, as an excellent compendious sketch of the principles of the Law of Torts, as developed in England and followed in this country.

The Indian Income-Tax Act.—By V. Rajagopala Aiyar. (Madras Law Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras), 1931.

Mr. Rajagopala Aiyar has written a comprehensive commentary on that justly much-hated Act, which authorises the impost and realization of the Income-tax in this country. The great trouble about this statute—from the commentator's standpoint—is the frequency with which it is altered, and an amending Bill is pending in the Central Legislature even while the ink, with which this book is printed, is scarcely dry. But those who, unmindful of these difficulties, desire a lucid and fairly exhaustive commentary on *The Income-Tax Act*, cannot do better than keep handy the book, under review, which is systematic and elucidative, and explains the principles in the language of the greatest expounders of the law—namely, the High Court Judges themselves. We have no doubt that Mr. Rajagopala Aiyar's edition of *The Income-Tax Act* will be

of the greatest utility alike to the lawyers and the departmental officers.

The Middle Temple's Contribution to the National Life.—By Sir Lynden L. Macassey. (The Solicitor's Law Stationery Society, Ltd., 22, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.2), 1931.

Sir Lynden Macassey's "reading" delivered in the Middle Temple Hall, on the 13th November last, and now issued under the title of *The Middle Temple's Contribution to the National Life* should interest all "Middle Templars"—whether barristers or students. It is an interesting discourse on the great and important part played by members of the Middle Temple (from the time of its institution as an "Inn of Court" till now) in the various spheres of activities—politics, statesmanship, authorship, journalism, army, navy and others. The tabular lists appended will be found useful for reference, while the judicious comments on them are fully informative. Altogether this "reading" on the Middle Temple and the "Middle Templars" is bound to make a wide appeal, amongst those connected with that famous "Inn of Court"—the Hon'ble Society of the Middle Temple.

A Handbook for Magistraies.—Second Edition. By (Rai Bahadur) Labhu Ram. (Deputy Commissioner, Gujranwala, The Punjab), 1931.

The first edition of Mr. Labhu Ram's *Handbook for Magistrates* appeared in 1928—with a commendatory foreward from the pen of Sir Shadi Lal, Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court. Its appearance now in an enlarged and extended text, in the second edition, will be welcomed by the junior magistracy in the country, for whom it is primarily intended. It has many merits—being lucid, accurate, sound, systematic and fairly exhaustive of the magisterial duties and responsibilities. The author, as a magistrate of thrity years' standing, has a thorough grasp of the subject he deals with, and his work should, therefore, find a large circulation amongst the magistracy, in the country, to whom we have much pleasure in commending it.

Law of Transfer of Property: By Mr. Justice Lal Gopal Mukerji. Second edition (Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad), 1931.

The Indian Arms Act Manual: By G. K. Roy. Eighth edition (The author, Napier Town, Jubbulpore) 1931.

Mr. Justice Lal Gopal Mukerji's *Law of Transfer of Property* is a revised and enlarged edition of his excellent text-book published in 1925, under the title of *Law of Transfer (Inter Vivos) in British India.* Cast in the form of lectures, it is an able and sound exposition of the branch of law it deals with and should be popular with our students . . . . Rai Bahadur G. K. Roy's *Indian Arms Act Manual* is a standard work on the subject. The latest (eighth) edition is fully up-to-date and thoroughly abreast of the latest changes in the law and the rules made under it.

Negotiable Securities in British India: By M. Krishnamachariar (Madras Journal Office, Mylapore, Madras) 1931.

The Mercantile Law of India: By T. Ramachandra Row. (Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras), 1931.

Dr. Krishnamachariar's *Negotiable Securities in India* is a work of high order and great merit. It not only deals systematically with the connected laws relating to negotiable instruments, but also with those concerned with banking and other commercial laws. Its exposition of the subject is accurate and sound, while the case-law digested is fully up-to-date. It is a notable acquisition to Anglo-Indian literature. . . . The first "book" of Mr. Ramachandra Row's *Mercantile Law of India* was appreciatively reviewed in the *Hindustan Review* some months back. The second "book" is equally useful and deals with the law relating to Agency, including Master and Servant and Accounts. The work, when completed, will be a valuable addition to the literature of Anglo-Indian law.

The Main Institutions of Roman Private Law: By W. W. Buckland, LL.D., (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.) 1931.

The Main Institutions of Roman Private Law by Dr. Buckland, is intended to replace his *Elementary Principles of Roman Law*, now out of print, but it is not a second edition of that book. It is more systematic in plan; and aims at giving a general view of the different institutions of the Private Law and of the notions which underlie them. But its purpose is the same: it is for the use of students who have read the Institutes and little more, and it is intended to stimulate rather than to inform. It is an eminently suitable text-book for the study of Roman Law in the Indian universities, as the treatment of the subject is lucid and interesting, while the exposition is thoroughly sound and instructive.

New Light on the Rouse Case: By J. C. Cannell, (John Long Ltd., 34-6, Paternoster Row, London) 1931.

The Rouse trial is the most remarkable of this century. Until now the fascinating story had not been adequately told. As a journalist on the staff of the *Daily Sketch* Mr. Cannell made a close investigation of the case from its early days, met all the women concerned, attended the Police Court proceedings and also the trial. Throughout the case he moved intimately behind the scenes. Naturally in his highly interesting inside story Mr. Cannell has new and curious facts to reveal. He is fearless in his revelations, comments and criticisms, and his book makes fascinating reading. The book should appeal to a large circle of readers.

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(4) LATEST BOOKS OF REFERENCE

The Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations 1930-31. (League of Nations, Information Section, Room No. 197, Geneva, Switzerland) 1931.

The League of Nations has published *The Statistical Year-Book of the League of Nations 1930-31*, which is a continuation of the *International Statistical Year-Book, 1929*. The *Year-Book* has been considerably expanded as compared with last year's edition, and now contains 121 different tables. Among the new tables added, the following are of special interest at the present moment: unemployment by groups of industries; strikes and lock-outs; yield of bonds; index number of shares; discount rates of central banks; and market rates of discount. The production tables have not only been increased in number but they have been supplemented in many cases by price quotations expressed in gold francs per metric unit. In view of the fact that the phenomena of the economic depression are the object of general attention, a special effort has been made to give statistics as up-to-date as possible. The majority of the tables cover the year 1930 and most of the agricultural tables show the harvest of 1930-31. Similarly, some of the recent population censuses have been taken for calculating the world's population and the ratios of natural movement.

The *Year-Book* contains, for the first time, several specially prepared geographical maps which show all the countries, with their possessions, etc., mentioned in the various tables. To make the statistics of the *Year-Book* easier to handle, the usual detailed table of co-efficients for converting currencies, weights and measures have been expanded. There is a table for converting the currencies of 61 countries at par; a table for converting currencies at the rate of exchange ruling in 1930, and another giving the principal conversion co-efficients for metric weights and measures and for the weights and measures in use in the United States, the British Empire, Japan and Turkey. Finally, there is a table containing a number of conventional co-efficients for converting weight measure into those of capacity, and *vice-versa*. A detailed alphabetical cross-index, both by subjects and countries, is given at the end of the volume. It would thus be seen that the *Year-Book* is a most invaluable compendium of the current statistical data of the world.

India in 1929-30. (Government of India Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta), 1931.

Under section 26 of the Government of India Act a statement on the moral and material progress of India has to be presented to Parliament each year. Till 1917, these compilations used to be dry-as-dust productions. But since 1918, when the work of compiling the report was entrusted to Dr. Rushbrook Williams, it became more interesting, and the tradition has been fairly well maintained by his successors. The latest number of this well-known annual, which is called *India in 1929-30*, will be indispensable to all who wish to keep abreast of current developments in India, as it is fully equal to its predecessors in point of general interest. It deals in brief yet clear fashion with the outstanding problems of the Indian situation, combining complicated tendencies and important events into a readable narrative. It contains a survey of the financial and economic conditions of the year, together with an account of important developments in every branch of Governmental activities. Considerable space is devoted to constitutional problems and to the course of political events. The book will appeal to members of the general public as much as to students and men of affairs, for the facts and data which it so well presents, albeit, from the standpoint of Government. The utility of the text is enhanced by the inclusion of a map of India, coloured charts and descriptive diagrams. Though the writer's views, as a whole, are not likely to find favour with the Indian public, nevertheless, this annual official record has a distinct value of its own as a repertory of useful facts and figures, set forth in a readable and continuous narrative.

The Statesman's Year-Book, 1931. (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W.C. 2), 1931.

The sixty-ninth annual edition of the *Statesman's Year-Book*, is very welcome. It will be idle to say anything in praise of this valuable work of reference to students of public affairs, as it has long been recognised as the one indispensable book of reference for the statesmen, the politician, the publicist and, above all, the journalist. Each edition of it is thoroughly overhauled, judiciously revised and fully brought up-to-date, in the light of the official and other authoritative information, and the book is a marvel of condensed data, accurate, well-informed and complete. The book is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the countries constituting the British Commonwealth, the second with the United States of America and the third with the "Other Countries." Historical and statistical information about each country (and about each state or province separately, of the Federal Commonwealths or Republics and the Indian Empire) is given under most of the following heads:—constitution and Government, area and population, religion, instruction, justice and crime, pauperism, finance, defence, production and industry, commerce, shipping and navigation, internal communication, money and credit, weights and measures, and diplomatic representatives. A very useful list of books of reference—which is carefully revised for each new edition—supplements the account of each country or state, and well-drawn maps add to the usefulness of the letter-press.

The India Office List, 1931. (Harrison and Sons, Ltd., 44, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C. 2), 1931.

Perhaps the most useful reference work for use about official matters, in India, is the *India Office List*, which is issued annually by the India Office. Its usual contents comprise the following sections:—The staff at the India Office, the Indian Civil Service and all other holders of civil appointments with a substantive pay of not less than Rs. 500 a month (in classified lists under the various provinces), the Royal Indian Marine, chronological lists of heads of administration in India and in London, going back as far as 1600, the Indian orders and lists of members of the Indian

services holding British honours, the various regulations for appointment to the Indian services, extracts from civil and military regulations, an instructive article entitled "India," statistical tables, a record of public servants and the casualties for the past year. To the general reader the most interesting portion of the book is the article on "India," which gives in some forty pages the quintessence of the four volumes called *The Indian Empire*, constituting the general section of the last edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. The index contains nearly 10,000 names. The *India Office List* is full of sound and useful information about official India. In fact, we know of no other work of reference which supplies such a mass of valuable and useful information, within the cover of a single volume, to every one interested in India officialdom and their many activities and interests.

Political Handbook of the World, 1931. (Council of Foreign Relations, 25, West 43rd Street, New York, U. S. A.) 1931.

In 1928 the Council of Foreign Relations, New York, issued *A Political Handbook of the World*. The wide appreciation it received led, in 1929, to its being published in an enlarged and improved form, with the addition of a new section on the United States. Since last year (1930) the book is appearing annually. Put shortly, the *Political Handbook* is a thoroughly up-to-date and comprehensive survey of the parliaments, parties and the press of the world. The composition of governments, the character and aims of political parties and their leaders, and the affiliations and policy of political journals are its main topics. The information brought together, within its covers, is, on the whole, accurate and sound and will be of very great value to publicists, journalists and public men throughout the English-knowing world. The section devoted to India covers nearly four pages, and though that space is rather short, it gives within the limits assigned, a succinct sketch of the Central Government, the parties in the Assembly and an account of the section of the press conducted in English. Altogether it is a notable acquisition to the literature of reference works.

The Swedish Year-Book, 1931. (Press Bureau of the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Stockholm, Sweden) 1930.

The last (second) edition of the *Swedish Year-Book* appeared in 1928, and was appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review*. We now welcome its appearance as a regular annual, in English, dealing with Swedish affairs. It is a highly useful work of reference full of information about almost every aspect of Swedish national life, and it gives description of Government, finances, defence, legal system, justice, church, trade, educational position, physical features, natural resources, industry, art and architecture, social conditions, forestry, etc. The book will be instructive both to the student and the general reader, while the bibliographical list of books, in English, on Sweden and literary works translated into English from Swedish, is an interesting feature which will appeal to those who desire to follow up their studies of the sociological conditions of Sweden. The *Swedish Year-Book* in its new, thoroughly revised, edition is now fully up-to-date, and is quite abreast of the latest events and incidents in that country, and it deserves wide appreciation and large circulation in all English-speaking and English-knowing countries.

The Liberal Year-Book for 1931. (The Liberal Publication Department, 42, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1) 1931.

The three great political parties in Britain have each their organs in the press and an annual work of reference—the Labourites their *Labour Year-Book*, the Conservatives their *Constitutional Year-Book* and the Liberals their *Liberal Year Book*. A publicist who desires to be in touch with the movements and developments of the three leading political

parties in that country, should keep on his book-shelf the annual editions of each of them. The edition of the last, for the current year, is the twenty-seventh of the series. It is carefully revised from year to year. The result is that each new edition is thoroughly up-to-date and abreast of the latest political data. Some of its most attractive features, of special interest to Indian publicists, are the excellent and up-to-date sketch of parliamentary procedure, the biographies of Liberal members and the fairly comprehensive bibliography of current books of political interest. Altogether the *Liberal Year-Book* is one of the most useful works of reference.

The Labour Year-Book, 1931. (Labour Publications Department, Transport House, Smith Square, London, S.W.1) 1931.

In the course of reviews of the previous editions of the *Labour Year-Book*, we have spoken of it in terms of appreciation as a useful reference work. The current edition is deserving of recognition as a meritorious reference annual. Judiciously compiled and well-printed, the volume will be useful to politicians, publicists and public men. The topics dealt with range over the whole field of British politics, surveyed from the Labour standpoint, and include not only the principal political, social and economic problems, but also the trend of international and inter-dominion affairs during the year. The directories of the principal Labour and Socialist organizations, institutions and the press, native and foreign, is another useful feature of the work. The *Labour Year-Book* which records, from year to year, not only the progress of the Party, but takes a critical survey of the whole field of its political activities, deserves careful study at the hands of Indian publicists and public men.

Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1919-29. (Central Press Bureau of the Presidency of the Ministerial Council, Belgrade, Yugoslavia) 1930.

Following the example of the various countries of Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia and Austria, the Government of Yugoslavia have now brought out, in English, a statistical compendium of that new south-eastern state of Europe. It gives details of geographical situation, population, historical survey, state organization and administration, laws, instruction and cultural life, health conditions, social welfare, agriculture, forestry, industries, foreign trade, communications, banking and finance. The information brought together is fully up-to-date and the usefulness of the text is appreciably increased by the inclusion of a series of coloured maps, charts, diagrams and tabular statements. Altogether, it is a capital work of reference dealing with most subjects of importance relating to Yugoslavia.

Catalogue of British Scientific and Technical Books. Third edition. (The British Science Guild, 6 John Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2) 1930.

Reference Books Supplement: By John Minto (Library Association, 26-27 Bedford Square, London, W.C.1) 1931.

Both the above books are highly useful additions to bibliographical literature. The *Catalogue of British Scientific and Technical Books* (now in its third edition) is a comprehensive bibliographical survey of modern scientific literature, in English, and will be highly useful to students and seekers after information. It is all the more valuable as the scope of the work covers a much wider range than is usually associated with the term "science." . . . . Mr. John Minto's *Reference Books Supplement* is a work of great utility as it brings up-to-date the main work (called *Reference Books*) which was noticed in terms of high appreciation, sometime back, in the *Hindustan Review*. Not only later publications but also some important omissions are duly recorded in the supplement, by the publication of which *Reference Books* will long remain the standard work on reference literature.

A Student's Manual of Bibliography: By A. Esdaile, M.A. (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 10, Museum Street, London, E.C.), 1931.

Mr. Arundell Esdaile's *Student's Manual of Bibliography* removes a long-felt want from English bibliographical literature. Till its appearance, some months back, there existed no book for the student of bibliography sufficiently comprehensive and abreast of the recent advances of the science, and yet sufficiently simple. That gap the present manual, which is based on lectures given in the School of Librarianship of the University of London, successfully fills. The arts of "book-building" are first described, and instructions are then given on the collation and description of books, and on the principles and arrangement of bibliographies. The book ends with a list, embedded in an instructive, running commentary, of some two hundred of the most important works of reference (general, national, and subject) which render the handbook, under notice, highly useful and informative. The *Student's Manual of Bibliography* is thus invaluable alike for reference and study, and we have much pleasure in commending it as about the best introductory guide to the subject it deals with.

Who's Who in Filmland. Third Edition. Edited by Langford Reed and Hetty Spiers (Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 11, Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2).

The third, illustrated, edition of *Who's Who in Filmland*, edited by Langford Reed and Hetty Spiers, contains about two thousand and five hundred biographies of screen actors and actresses of all countries, as well as a number of articles on matters connected with films. It will be of great interest to the picture-goer, who wants to know all about the personalities of the pictures. Besides, there are many excellent articles upon various aspects of films. But best of all is the "complete glossary of American film slang supplied direct from a leading Hollywood studio." There is also some exclusive and new information about Russian film methods. Altogether, it is an interesting reference work.

Buddhism: A Reading Guide.—By Clarence H. Hamilton (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, U. S. A.), 1931.

Mr. Clarence Hamilton's *Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China and Japan*—as explained in the sub-title "a reading guide"—will be found highly useful by students of the subject. Divided into four parts, it deals separately with Buddhist literature relating to each of the four countries concerned. The compiler has fully succeeded in his effort to present the bibliographical literature in a form compact for the purposes of the student, and at the same time clear in its vast range for the general reader. While mainly bibliographical, the book also summarizes the salient points dealt with in the books catalogued and characterised. This combination of bibliography and an outline of the data of the subject, renders the book a notable addition to reference literature, and will be found highly useful by all students of Buddhism.

Companion Dictionary of Quotations. By Norman MacMunn. (De La More Press, 2A, Cork Street, Bond Street, London, W. 1) 1931.

Mr. Norman MacMunn's *Companion Dictionary of Quotations* is well put together (arranged under subjects alphabetically) as a collection of extracts from writers of all ages. As a handy reference book—which is carefully keyed, cross-referenced and indexed—it should prove highly helpful to students in search of appropriate quotations.

The Swadeshi Directory. (Swadeshi League, Allahabad) 1931.

The *Swadeshi Directory* is a useful work of reference—giving, as it does, under classified heads, full particulars about the manufacturers of and dealers in Indian goods.

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(5) RECENT GUIDES AND TOURIST'S HANDBOOKS

London At Home. By M. V. Hughes. (J. M. Dent and Sons, Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W.C.2), 1931.

Crowds of people in endless streets bewilder a stranger in London. At first they seem all alike, hurrying nowhere. In truth they move in an orderly way about their private ends—forming a running machine of great complexity and delicacy. Mrs. Hughes' *London at Home* gives a glimpse into the hidden interests of these people—where they eat and sleep, how they work and play, their whims and oddities. Wherever the visitor's business or pleasure may lead him, this book will enable him to see and enjoy more, by slipping more easily into the machine, so that (even for a short time) he may be "of" it, instead of merely "in" it, feeling himself always on the way somewhere, rather than in the way everywhere. Readers of Mrs. Hughes' previous book, *About England*, will know that her success lies in getting beneath the surface of things. The volume under notice does the same for London. It is charmingly illustrated with thirty pages of line drawings by G. E. Chambers, and is a capital companion to London.

London for Everyman. By W. Kent (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W.C.2), 1931.

Modelled with slight deviation on *Paris for Everyman*, Mr. Kent's book is a comprehensive guide for the visitor to London, and a welcome companion for the cockney. The 250 pages of text have been most carefully compiled; and they supply, concisely yet comprehensively, all kinds of information, historical and practical, on the exploration of London. Mr. Kent, in his *London for Everyman*, has produced a book which is unequalled for utility, variety of information, and convenience. It furnishes useful information (topographical, historical and practical) and much valuable advice about where to stay, where to walk, where to eat, also about amusements, exhibitions, shows, etc. There are also 18 street maps in colour, which are linked with a comprehensive street index. Altogether, it is a capital little guide to the hub of the universe.

Pocket Guide to May Meeting and to London, 1931. Edited by J. E. May (68, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4), 1931.

Mr. J. E. May's *Pocket Guide to May Meetings and to London*,—which appears annually—contains a good deal of useful information about the meetings, conferences, and conventions of various religious and philanthropic bodies, which are held in London, during each year. Though May is the chief month for holding meetings, the list in the publication covers those held each month until December. The publication also gives in alphabetical order a list of the exhibitions, museums and public buildings in London, and the times at which they can be visited. Its usefulness is increased by its inclusion of large coloured map of London. Persons interested in the various meetings and conferences, in London, will find this hardy annual invaluable for reference.

Seringapatam. By Constance E. Parsons (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1931.

We reviewed appreciatively last year Miss Parson's *Mysore City* and it has now been followed by her equally interesting guide to Seringapatam. Like its predecessor, *Seringapatam* also is both historical and descriptive. Like her earlier book on Mysore, *Seringapatam* is profusely illustrated, with excellent photographs, drawings and a map. The latter will be of use to those who will treat this volume as a guide, as well as to those who will study it with a view to reconstruct for themselves something of the glamour and heroism which this land had seen, in the days of Hyder Ali and his son, Tipu Sultan. The descriptive sketches of the famous monuments are well-written and the book, as a whole, represents the best type of guide-book making.

Baedeker's Belgium and Luxemberg. Sixteenth Revised Edition (Karl Baedeker, Publisher, Leipzig, Germany), 1931.

The first post-war edition of Baedeker's *Belgium and Luxemberg* would be very welcome to prospective travellers in those two

countries. The long interval since its last appearance (before the war), and the drastic changes consequent thereon, have naturally necessitated a complete revision and, in fact, the text had to be almost re-written. In its present form it is fully up-to-date and thoroughly abreast of the latest events, incidents and changes; and it successfully maintains the very high reputation which the Baedeker guides justly enjoy for being compact, systematic, accurate and containing the latest practical information about traffic and travel in the countries or tracts they deal with. Baedeker's *Belgium and Luxemberg* is, at present, the best handbook for the traveller in those countries, and should find a large circulation amongst English-knowing travellers.

Pocket Interpreters in French and German. 2 Vols. (Collins, 48, Pall Mall, London), 1931.

Messrs. Collins' "Pocket Interpreters" series opens with *Are You Going to France* and *Are You Going to Germany*? The booklets have practical subdivision of subjects (covering all the modern requirements of travellers), a complete index, neat and bold type, clear and accurate pronunciation of every word, with introductory practical advice of great utility to tourists and business men alike. They should be found highly serviceable to travellers in French-speaking and German-speaking countries of Europe.

Mid Pleasures and Palaces. By Glen Hicken (The Catholic Orphan Press, Calcutta), 1931.

In his *Mid Pleasures and Palaces*, Mr. Glen Hicken has contributed a very original piece of work to the reference literature of Calcutta, which claims to be something new in the class of guide-books. It does not seek merely to give information about Calcutta in the stereotyped form, but supplies a *vade mecum* to new comers to Calcutta, who are seeking to set up an establishment. The book contains much useful information which should prove of great assistance alike to the resident and the stranger, who wishes to know Calcutta thoroughly.

(6) RECENT ANTHOLOGIES, COLLECTIONS, SELECTIONS AND REPRINTS

We are living, in the literary sphere, in an age of anthologies, cheap reprints, selections and translations and it is not surprising, therefore, that such books fast accumulate on our library table. We shall briefly notice those recently issued from the press. The late Lord Birkenhead's *Five Hundred Best English Letters* (Cassell and Co., Ltd., La Bell Sauvage, London) is an excellent anthology of the subject—covering the period from Alfred the Great till now—and is enriched with an excellent Introduction. . . . Mr. Lancelot Oliphant's *Great Comic Scenes from English Literature* (Gregg Publishing Co., Ltd., Kern House, Kingsway, London, W.C. 2) is an anthology of fifty famous scenes (ranging from Shakespeare till to-day) of rich and joyous humour selected from the great masterpieces in English.

We have also before us half a dozen volumes of selections from the writings of Lockhart, Macaulay, Newman, Morris, Doughty and the American essayists. *Lockhart's Literary Criticism* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford) is a collection of critical judgments which makes interesting and profitable reading. *Selections from Macaulay* (Methuen and Co., Ltd., 36 Essex Street, London, W.C.) offers a comprehensive view of the writings of that distinguished essayist, historian and poet. *A Newman Synthesis* (Sheed and Ward, 31 Paternoster Row, London, E.C. 4) presents systematically the whole range of Newman's teachings in well-selected passages. *Selections from the Prose Works of William Morris* (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) is a skilfully-compiled collection of highly interesting passages and will appeal to a large circle of readers. *Passages from Arabia Deserta* (Jonathan Cape, 30 Bedford Square, London) gives excellent glimpses of Doughty's famous and immortal work in carefully-chosen extracts. *American Critical Essays* (Oxford University Press, Bombay) is the best

handy edition, for general readers, of essays written by American critics, embellished with an instructive Introduction. Last, but not least, there is the "one hundredth edition" of a famous text-book for German students of English called *British Classical Authors* (George Westermann, Braunscheweig, Berlin, Germany) containing excellently-selected pieces from the English classics, with biographical notices. Its range extends from Sydney till our own times. It is a fine text-book for all students of English literature.

Amongst reprints we have lying before us (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) the first two volumes of "Landmarks in the History of Education" series—one called *James and John Stuart Mill on Education* and the other, *Select Discourses* from Newman's writings on the Idea of a University. Both these volumes contain famous educational classics. We have then in the "Thinker's Library" (Watts and Co., 5 and 6 Johnson Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4) a number of reprints of standard works like Tylor's *Anthropology*, Buckle's *Civilization in England*, Huxley's *Lectures and Essays*, Grant Allen's *Evolution of the Idea of God*, Leslie Stephen's *Agnostic's Apology*, and others—all marvellously cheap at a shilling a volume. To the "World's Classics" (Oxford University Press, Bombay) the latest additions are Lord Houghton's *Life of Keats*, Coleridge's *Lectures on Shakespeare*, and Mr. Aylmer Maude's *Life of Tolstoy*. The "World's Classics" is a splendid collection of standard literature. Then, we have in this group two "omnibus" volumes—*Collected Ghost Stories*, by M. R. James (Edward Arnold and Co., 41 and 43 Maddox Street, London, W. 1) which is a collection of thrillers, and the *Oppenheim Omnibus* (Hodder and Stoughton, Ltd., Warwick Square, London E.C. 4) which comprises a number of the excellent short stories by Mr. Oppenheim, originally issued in four separate volumes. Lastly, we welcome the "Holland Library" (Phillip Earle—London) which includes handy little reprints of the classics, neatly got up, and well adapted for the pocket—a great convenience in travelling.

Amongst the group of miscellaneous books we have two volumes of *Selections from Mediaeval Philosophers* (Charles Scribner's Sons, 23, Bedford Square, London, W.C. 1) in the publisher's "Modern Library." They cover the whole range of Western philosophy from St. Augustine to William of Ockham. The selections are comprehensive and suited alike to the special needs of students and the general readers. The two volumes constitute together an excellent text-book of the subject they deal with. Equally welcome is the second edition of Mr. A. S. N. Wadia's *Fate and Free Will* (J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., Aldine House, Bedford Street, London, W.C.2) duly revised, in the light of experience gained since the first appearance of the book some years back.

Turning from prose to poetry, we have on our table Mr. A. R. Chida's *Anthology of Indo-Anglian Verse* (Hyderabad, Deccan) being selections from the poems of Mrs. Naidu, her brother (Harindranath Chattophadhyaya) and two other Hyderabad poets; Professors H. G. D. Turnbull's *Select Poems of Sarojini Naida* (Oxford University Press, Bombay); *A Hundred Years of English Poetry* (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London) containing a representative selection of poems from Tudor times till the middle of the last century; Richard Aldington's classical translation of *Alcestis* of Euripides (Chatto and Windus, 97 and 99 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.2); a brilliant translation by Mr. E. Phillips Barker of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* called *The Lover's Manual* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford), presenting that famous Latin classic in an attractive and appealable form, and lastly *Tales of Mystic Meaning* (Chapman and Hall Ltd., 11, Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2)

being selected prose translations from that immortal Persian classic—the *Masnaevi* of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi—the translation enriched with an Introduction by Professor R. A. Nicholson of the Cambridge University.

(7) ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE: MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

We have before us five bright little brochures by Srimati Kumari Devi (Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 5, Manicktolla Street, Calcutta) the range and variety of which bear witness to the versatility of the author. One is the *Essentials of Hindu Philosophy* culled from the classical schools; another is the *Quintessence of the Upanishads* in 32 octavo pages; then there is the *Female Seers of Ancient India*—we wish that our people would learn that women are women and not females—which is a collection of nine outstanding women of the vedic times. The authoress has also a pamphlet on the *Fundamentals of Hindu Sociology*, which is very interesting as it gives us the views of a lady, and who is besides well-versed in our sacred lore; and again she gives us in her *Pilgrims India* pen pictures of people and places drawn with fervent patriotism and deep love for the motherland. The series is eloquent of the learning, fervour, patriotism and catholicity of the talents of the authoress.

Emerson and Asia by Frederic Ives Carpenter (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, U. S. A.) is a book which should prove to be of the greatest interest to oriental readers. For, in it the author shows how, gradually, Emerson developed the oriental side in him. He was first attracted towards the East while he was still at college. Then, for some time after, he was absorbed in western studies only. In 1845, however, he again returned to his eastern studies and wrote a great deal about it. He studied during this period Confucius, Mencius, Zoroaster, Persian and Arab poetry, but above all, was attracted by Hindu philosophy. You see the influence of oriental thought on Emerson in books like *Representative Men*. Plato according to him, is half oriental: and so he became the father of the Neo-Platonists of Alexandria who were almost wholly oriental in their mysticism. He points out the influence of Kalidas and Persian poetry on Goethe and says that Shakespeare shared the supreme poetic quality with the orientals. His poems "Hematreya" and "Brahma" are inspired by his study of Hindu thought. The Hindu books which he read and influenced him most were the Bhagwad Gita, Vishnu Purana, Kathopnishad and the Laws of Manu. The author is, however, critical enough to notice that Emerson, in spite of his adoption of oriental thought, remained essentially a westerner. He could never quite understand the oriental idea of Fate. He thought that by his free will a man can overcome his Fate. In his Essay on Persian Poetry, he tries to show with quotations from Persian poets that the Persians were not fatalistic. He also tries to show the beneficent force of the illusions of the world. He hated the quietism of Buddhism, and called Buddha a knower and not a prophet.

Amulets and Superstitions by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge (Oxford University Press, Amen House, London, E.C.4) should interest the lover of the occult and mystical, because it deals with the amulets and superstitions of men. But curiously enough, there is very little in it about India. The only reason we can find for this surprising omission is that the author does not know much about India. This impression is confirmed by the fact that in one place he refers to Jainism as a sect of Buddhism. He gives a very good history of swastika, its name and significance in all countries, ancient and modern. Did it originate in India or from the Greek letter gama? The author thinks that it originated in India. In his chapter on the origin and symbolism of the cross, the author forgets to mention one thing: that it is a phallic symbol. There is also a very interesting chapter on stones and their prophylactic and therapeutic qualities. In the chapter on the Kabbalah of the Jews

he again betrays his ignorance of India: he says nothing about the influence of Hindu philosophy on the Kabbalah which Monsieur Louis Jacolliot has made quite clear in his "Occult Science in India." But in spite of its shortcomings, the book is a good book of reference.

Panoramic India by W. R. Wallace (Taraporevala and Sons, Hornby Road, Bombay) is made up of sixty-four panoramic photographs of Indian scenes, arranged under appropriate headings with an introductory commentary by Mr. K. H. Vakil, which gives everything necessary in the way of explanation and description. The photographs, admirable in conception and production, express spaciousness, and by the time the end of the book is reached the mind is adequately impressed with the greatness in dimensions and the variety in scene and activity of this country. In particular this style of photography reveals the genius for laying out a city that marked several periods of Indian history. The heads under which the photographs are classed are various; hill stations, forts, ancient cities, modern towns, temples, old designs, skylines; the scenes selected give a glimpse of India from the Khyber to Darjeeling and from Peshawar to Madura. But this is only a first plan. Other volumes will deal more concentratedly with various interests. We welcome this very valuable addition to books on India.

Mr. Donald Sinderby's latest novel, called *Mother-in-Law India* (A. E. Marriott Ltd., 37-38 Golden Square, London, W.1) deals with an entirely different problem to Miss Mayo's notorious *Mother India*. It deals prophetically with intimate life in this great country, which is so feasible as to almost credit Mr. Sinderby with occult powers. India has—like the music-hall mother-in-law—always been extremely troublesome to the Empire, and the author shows in this novel exactly what might take place if a really dangerous revolt occurred leading to the exclusion of British influence, and an inter-caste civil warfare followed the defeat of the British Raj. But, fortunately, his prophecy is not likely to come true. Although written as a novel the groundwork of this amazing book is correct in detail, as the author has lived the greater part of his life in India —has travelled in every province and has made a thorough study of both Indian and Anglo-Indian problems.

A Victorian Vintage (Methuen and Co., 36, Essex Street, London, W.C.) is delightful reading. The late Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff—its author—was a member of all the famous dining clubs of London during his long life, and was a welcome guest at countless houses where the best wits assembled. In a series of diaries running to nearly a score of volumes, he set down his record of the conversations in which he took part. The present work offers the cream of them, and will be found highly interesting. If a next edition be called for, the witticisms in French (which are many) should be presented in English renderings, for the benefit of those who do not know French.

In his *The Glory of Britain* (John Lane The Bodley Head, Ltd., Vigo Street, London, W.1), Mr. David Masters—the author—has striven to state with absolute frankness how much the peoples of the earth owe to Britain, for the marvellous inventions that make life easier, the striking medical discoveries, the ideas which have helped to sweep away slavery and tyranny and intolerance. He tells how Britain has saved the world from vassalage not once but several times; how she has produced a literature unmatched by any other nation; how she has tried to teach the world to govern, to play the game, and to give justice to the underdog. There are here the stories of the pioneers who opened the doors of the unknown world to modern civilization, of the scientists who discovered new wonders, of the miracle of the British Commonwealth. It is a book for all who love Britain and the British Empire, an attempt to capture and imprison a little of the glory of Britain between two covers. The author thinks that few people will read these pages without realizing that the

major part of the structure of modern civilization is the creation of British brains and hands. It is a great pity that this otherwise excellent book is to a large extent robbed of its usefulness by stupid invective on India and her people. But this country will survive it.

The Saint and Satan by Melusa Moolson (India Publications, Ltd., Gloucester House, Charing Cross Road, London) is supposed to be a humourous account in rhyme of Mahatma Gandhi. But some element of truth is essential in all humour, or the falsehood should be so obvious and blatant that it reveals truth more clearly. Now judging from this standard, the Saint and Satan brochure, under review, is not humourous. It even lacks the childish glee provided by the game of rhyming with "There was an old woman of Clapham."

People in the Public Eye

SIR VICTOR SASSOON

The Sassoons came from Spain in the first instance. They are believed to have been descended from a group of families known as Ibn Shoshan, who at one time held the position of the *Nassi* of Toledo. The family claimed to be of Davidic descent, and Abraham Sassoon, a Kabalist who flourished in Venice early in the seventeenth century, stated that his family were descended from Shephatiah, the fifth son of David. There are numerous references to the Sassoons in Hebrew mediaeval literature, and the name is to be found in the Talmud. There can be no doubt that the Sassoons are one of the oldest Jewish families in the world. Gradually the Sassoons made their way to the East—from Toledo to Venice, Salonika, Constantinople, Cairo, Jerusalem, and to Broussa. Finally, they settled in Mesopotamia. For nearly three centuries the Sassoons lived at Baghdad, distinguishing themselves for their wealth, learning, and piety.

The position of the *Nassi*, to which the descendants of Shoshan succeeded at Baghdad, was, centuries ago, one of great influence and power. The Commander of the Faithful confirmed his power and authority by granting them a seal of office, and everyone, whether Jew, Mahomedan, or of another faith, was commanded to rise in the presence of the *Nassi* and to salute him respectfully, under a penalty of one hundred stripes. When visiting the Sovereign, he was escorted by numerous horsemen, and a crier publicly proclaimed his greatness. Permission was granted by him to the Jewish congregations, in the different countries where his jurisdiction extended, to elect *Rabbis* all of whom appeared before him to be ordained. But before the last century approached its close, the office of *Nassi* had been shorn of its significance and David Sassoon was not anxious to retain it, though it was intended that he should succeed his father in his honourable office. Owing to the insecurity, however, of the Turkish rule he quitted Baghdad for Bushire, in Persia, where a British Agent was located, and he subsequently settled in Bombay. He married his first wife when he was only fifteen years of age. The eldest son of this first marriage was the late Sir Albert Sassoon. His first wife died in 1826, when he married a second time at Baghdad. The issues from the second marriage were ten children—six sons and four daughters. The six sons were David, Reuben, Arthur, Solomon, Aaron, and Frederick. Besides the marble statue of Prince Albert, they have enriched Bombay with many noble buildings. Their business in Bombay and elsewhere in India is now, apart from their cotton mills, chiefly restricted to jute and shellac.

II

Sir Victor Sassoon, the third baronet, was born in December 1881. He succeeded his father, the second baronet, in 1924. He was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. He is chairman of E. D. Sassoon and Company. Until recently he held a Commission as captain in the Royal Air Force. Sir Victor Sassoon, who is just fifty years of age, has associated himself whole-heartedly with the public life of this country and in that sense alone his premature departure is a real loss. In the Legislative Assembly, in which he sat from 1922 to 1923 and 1926 to 1929, he had always been amongst the more progressive members. He took a leading part in the rupee ratio controversy of 1927 and the hard, clean fight he put up for the one and four penny case made him one of the most respected members of India's Parliament. In the

philanthropic and corporate life of Bombay, he had always taken an active part, whilst he had made the encouragement of civil aviation his special care. To the great mass of the Indian people he is, probably, best known for his prowess on the race-course. The two great classics of the Indian Turf, the Viceroy's Cup and the Eclipse Stakes, had both been won by him. His decision to leave his Indian stable intact, for the time being, is in keeping with the high sporting traditions with which it has always been conducted. In every sense he is the type of business man and citizen whom India could ill-afford to lose at this juncture. His future headquarters will be at Shanghai, in China.

MR. GOPAL KRISHNA DEVADHAR.

The Diamond Jubilee celebration of Mr. G. K. Devadhar, organised by the Poona Seva Sadan Society was as great a success as it was expected to be, for the function was held in honour of one who has been doing real sacrifice for the cause of the Motherland. Simple and unostentatious, with academic qualifications of no mean order, identifying himself with all movements,—social, agricultural, economic and co-operative,—his one objective in life was to ameliorate the condition of his ignorant brethren who have been toiling from dawn to dusk, "the mute inglorious Millions" and "village Hampdens," unhonoured and unsung. Away from the din and bustle of the work-a-day world, with the one solitary mission of leaving the world happier and nobler than then he found it, Mr. Devadhar has consecrated his life to the betterment of those among whom his lot was cast. His activity in the cause of social reform in uplifting the depressed or untouchable classes and elevating them to a par with the higher orders of society, his arduous labours to remove illiteracy from the land, his unceasing efforts to secure for woman her rightful place in society instead of being kept as a mere ornament for man's pleasure; his work in the economic sphere to make the lot of the agriculturists and wage-earners bearable, his constant and heroic fight in the interests of the mill-workers whose sordid condition is, to say the least, quite humiliating, his devoted, solid services to poor villagers in keeping themselves away from the clutches of the "sowcars," his organising ability and sustained endeavour in coming to the rescue of the petty merchant and the poor agriculturist by setting up a network of co-operative organisations,—all these have a hold on Mr. Devadhar of the claims and affections of his countrymen. In the political sphere he has been no less indefatigable in his disinterested services. As a leading figure of the Servants of India since it was started, naturally when the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri left the Presidentship of that body, the task of presiding over the destinies of this organisation fell on him. Quite unobtrusive, never caring for lime-light, his is a life really lived.

Born in August 1871, in a small village in the Ratnagiri District (which produced many great Maharastra leaders, men like Ranade, Bhandarkar, Tilak, Agarkar and others), of poor parents, young Devadhar obtained his primary and secondary education by his own efforts and had no ideas of greatness or false dignity during his school or college career, ideas which often mar the progress of sons of rich parents. He never felt ashamed to work his way in life even by manual work, when necessary, in the houses of those who helped him. He always disciplined himself by giving dignity to his labour. After taking his M.A. Degree, Devadhar, with a few friends started what is now known as the Aryan Education Society. A little later he joined the Servants of India Society and worked in various spheres under Mr. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, the first President of the Servants of India Society. There was not a fire, famine, flood or any other kind of distress in any part of India which did not attract the attention and sympathy of Mr. Devadhar and he went all over India and slaved in order that the sufferers might get relief. Over and above this work, he with the help of Mrs. Ramabai

Ranade and a few other ladies, started the Seva Sadan in Poona which has now its branches almost all over India, and thousands of young girls, unmarried and married women and widows have been helped by this institution. The Servants of India Society, like the Jesuit Society, puts its workers on subsistence allowance and makes them do honorary work in the service of the country. The members are given free quarters and travelling allowance only. "Chastity, poverty and service," is the badge which decorates a Servant of India, and whatever money is given to them as members of any committee or by way of a purse, goes towards the funds of the Society which distributes it in relief of children of India whose servants they have declared themselves to be. Is it any wonder then that when the Diamond Jubilee of Mr. Devadhar was celebrated at Poona, the occasion was marked with remarkable success? The purse presented to him contained a cheque for Rs. 10,500 and the contributions came from people of all classes and communities, the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay, to mention only two from among the official contributors, sending Rs. 100 and Rs. 200, respectively. The appreciative speeches made on the occasion of the celebration of the Jubilee and the list of speakers who took part which included H. H. the Rani Saheba of Sangli, the Chief of Ichalkaranji, who presided, Rev. J. Mackenzie, the Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University, Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, M.L.C., Mr. B. S. Kamat, M.L.C., Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. Rajbhoj, a leader of the depressed classes, Prof. Maydeo on behalf of the Indian Women's University, Mr. V. L. Mehta and others,—all speak to the representative nature of the men who did honour to the work and worth of Mr. Devadhar.

In congratulating Mr. Devadhar on his Diamond Jubilee celebration we send forth our best wishes that he be spared long to continue the disinterested work he has been doing for nearly half a century with a singleness of aim and whole-hearted devotion.

The Necrology of the Months

SIR BASANTA KUMAR MULLICK

In the provinces of Bengal and Bihar, with which he was intimately connected and where he put in the full term of his official career, the sudden and premature death of Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick will be widely mourned. Son of Mr. Otool Chandra Mullick, Barrister-at-Law, he was born on the 2nd of August, 1868, at Bhagalpur (in Bihar), but received practically all his education in England, and successfully competed at the examination for the Indian Civil Service, in 1887, at the early age of nineteen. After spending his probationary period at a British University, he returned to India in 1900, and served first as a Magistrate, both in Bengal and Bihar, before he took to the judicial side. On the separation of Bihar from Bengal and its constitution into a separate province, in 1913, Mr. Basanta Kumar Mullick was posted to the new province, and he held the combined offices of the Legal Remembrancer and the Secretary to the Legislative Council, in which (latter) capacity he earned great popularity with the non-official members. Before long, however, he was appointed as a temporary Judge in the Calcutta High Court, which was at that time a joint High Court of Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. In March 1916, however, on the inauguration of the Patna High Court, he was nominated a permanent Judge of that Court, and served for a full period of twelve years, retiring from the Bench at the end of March 1928, to occupy (for six months) the office of a temporary member of the Governor's Executive Council. Thus as a High Court Judge and (for a short period) as an Executive Councillor, he occupied, in Bihar and Orissa,

two of the highest offices, which a member of the Indian Civil Service could aspire to. On his retirement, towards the end of 1928, he was appointed as a member of the India Council in London, a post which he continued to fill till the time of his death.

As a Judge, Mr. Justice Mullick justly acquired a high reputation. His knowledge of law was sound and accurate, and he was not a stickler for technicalities, but was always anxious to do substantial justice. He was also possessed of most remarkable patience and wonderful equanimity of temperament. During the long period of twelve years when he sat as a Judge, he was not known, even once, to have lost his temper; and his relations with the members of the Patna Bar continued happy and cordial—a fact to which expression was given by Sir Ali Imam on the last date when Mr. Justice Mullick occupied the Bench as a Judge. There can be no doubt that his learned and luminous exposition of law, and equally so his judicial temperament, have left a deep impress on the Patna High Court. Socially, Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick was a charming personality, and with the valuable assistance and co-operation of Lady Mullick (*nee* Miss Carter), he played a very important part in the social life of Patna. He was a great believer in the maintenance of happy social relations amongst all classes and communities in this country, and not less so between the British and the Indian; and as President of the New Patna Club, and in other social capacities, he contributed to a large extent towards the realisation of his ideal. Though not actively associated with public affairs, he was like many other Indians in service, a true and staunch nationalist at heart, and it was expected that as a member of the India Council, his weight would be cast on the side of the liberalisation of the forthcoming reforms. There can be no doubt that his death, at the present juncture, is a distinct loss to the country, and it will be so felt particularly by a very wide circle of his friends in Bihar and Bengal.

MR. K. C. ROY

By Mr. S. M. Wasi

In the death of Mr. K. C. Roy, Indian Journalism has suffered an irreparable loss. His rise to influence and power in the journalistic sphere and in the public life of the country would read like a romance.

Born of a humble parentage and with not very high educational attainments to aid him, he worked, he plodded and he struggled with the one ambition to get on in the world. He was born with that instinct for journalism which is a gift vouchsafed to few, and it was the urge of this instinct which brought him out so prominently in the field of journalism from his secluded post of Assistant Manager of the Indian Hostel in the Calcutta Presidency College. He actively took to journalism in 1897 when he went to Simla for the first time as a Press correspondent. He joined the staff of the now defunct Anglo-Indian daily, the "Indian Daily News" as its News Editor. His visits to Simla became more frequent and his connections with newspapers began to develop. He became special correspondent of several newspapers in Simla including the "Indian Daily News," "The Amrita Bazar Patrika," "The Advocate of India," "The Bombay Samachar," the "Indian Daily Telegraph" and the "Statesman." Indian journalism was almost in its infancy and undeveloped in those days and there was no regular News Agency to provide news. His resources as a first class news "scoopist" compelled even the admiration of his Anglo-Indian competitors—Mr. H. Hensman, Mr. (now Sir) E. Coates, Mr. (now Sir) Edward Buck and Mr. Rattigan who were also working as special correspondents at Simla.

In 1908 his great ambition to start a News Agency took a practical shape and he found in in Mr. (now Sir) Edward Buck, and Mr. U. N. Sen his enthusiastic co-operators in this new enterprise. It was just at this time when the press-bearing telegraph system was introduced due to the indefatigable efforts of Mr. Roy and

this very much facilitated the working of his pioneer news organisation which he founded and called the Associated Press of India. A year later Mr. Roy had to meet a competitor in Mr. E. Coates, who started a rival news organisation known as the Indian News Agency. Those two agencies functioned for some time and amalgamated later.

About five years later Mr. Roy broke his connection with the Associated Press for a short time when he started the Indian News Bureau, which functioned only for a few months. It was during this short period that Mr. Roy showed himself the most striking figure Indian journalism has known. Progress was his shibboleth, nothing had ever been too difficult for him and nothing had ever daunted him. Though many obstacles beset his path, he proved himself superior in organisation and news gathering to his Anglo-Indian competitors, who recognising his organising genius and grit, again asked for his co-operation and won him over to their side.

Since he rejoined the Associated Press he continued to rule the destinies of this biggest news organisation in India up to the time of his death. His position as the head of the Associated Press of India made him an institution in Delhi and Simla.

When journalism in this country is not exactly a profession but a mission, Mr. Roy had performed a great patriotic deed by creating and focussing public opinion on important political issues by his accurate and careful dissemination of news from one end of the country to the other. Indeed, his talents and powers to secure, select and circulate news made his name a household word all over India.

By his long and close study of the machinery of the Government of India, his views were always sought by many legislators and eminent politicians. Since the introduction of the Reforms, he was longing to become a legislator himself and thereby serve his country. The Government nominated him to the Council of State in its first term and the Legislative Assembly in 1924. Since then he continued to be a member of that House till the moment of his death. Even as a nominated member he expressed his views independently and fearlessly on public questions and policies. Two questions he had made particularly his own. They were the Indianisation of the Army and the interests of Indians overseas. He was one of the members of the Kenya Committee which went to London in order to represent the case of the Indians in South Africa. He represented India at the Empire Press Conference held in London in 1930. His was the first non-official evidence tendered before the Lee Commission in Delhi, upon which the chairman warmly congratulated him.

He founded the Upper India Journalists' Association with its headquarters at Delhi and Simla and was its President till April last. He was one of the Vice-presidents of the All-India Journalists' Association which has its headquarters at Bombay. He was a Treasurer of the Delhi University and a member of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce. He valued work more than his life and died in harness amidst the scenes of his labours. His two imperishable assets—courage and determination—which made him so great, should serve as an example to all Indian youths who are out for a journalistic career. It was quite in the fitness of things that the citizens of Bengal had decided to create a chair of journalism in the University of Calcutta to perpetuate Mr. Roy's memory.

After his work on the Kenya Committee he surprised his many friends by returning to India as a married man. He married a daughter of Dr. Muthu, the famous Tuberculosis specialist, who has settled down in London. Mrs. Roy—a talented lady—has taken a keen interest in her husband's work and played the part of hostess charmingly at numerous social functions at their house in Delhi and Simla.

MR. SALAHUDDIN KHUDA BUKHSH

The death of Mr. Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh has removed a striking and vivacious per-

sonality from the intellectual world of India. Born at Patna, fifty-four years ago, his life was a long sustained devotion to the ideals which he inherited at Oxford, and which he made his own by his vast and erudite studies in Islamic literature and thought. India, in particular, and the literary world, in general, is poorer owing to the passing away of one of its ablest and most erudite Islamic scholars and writers. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's name was not confined to the Indian shores but it had crossed the seas and was respected even in Europe. He was pre-eminently a student of the Islamic literature and Muslim culture. He was an educationist of no mean repute, and his connection with the Calcutta University as a senator and syndic, as well as teacher, was an asset of which the University may well be proud. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh was the author and translator of a large number of books, which have been appreciatively noticed in the *Hindustan Review*. Above all he was a true and sincere friend, without bias or prejudice of any sort. He was equally popular with all; Hindus, Muslims, Christians and others. This is not an ordinary qualification having regard to the present tumultuous times. He was free from communal bias and treated all alike. He was an ornament of society, for without him, no social function was complete. His lively presence put life into others. His witty remarks and citations of Urdu and Persian verses were always appreciated by his hearers. In addition to his professional and social pursuits, he always found time to write. His articles in the various journals were always eagerly looked for by his admirers: almost upto the day of his death his articles appeared in the "Statesman." He was by nature a great lover of books, and his private library, consisting of several thousand volumes and some hundreds of MSS. is a valuable collection of which any individual may be proud. The instinct seems to be hereditary, for the son of the founder of the world-famous Oriental Public Library at Patna (Khuda Bukhsh Library) could not be expected to be without that trait in him. He was only fifty-four at the time of his death. His end has been sudden and quite unexpected, and the sorrow of all who knew him is consequently all the greater. His death is not merely a loss to the community to which he belonged, but to the whole of literary India. By his death the cultural life of India has suffered a severe loss. A man of vast erudition and culture he possessed in an extraordinary measure what Matthew Arnold meant by "sweetness and light."

THE LATE PANDIT VISHNU DIGAMBAR

In the death of Pandit Vishnu Digambar, on August 24, at the age of 59, India has lost one of the greatest musicians she has produced, one who was responsible to give to Indian music its inherent intellectual and social status. As a result of neglect by cultured persons and association with illiterate professionals, music had reached the greatest depth of degradation and was taboo in decent society. The devotional songs composed by Indian saints and poets and ancient musicians like Tansen and Baiju had given place to compositions of an erotic type. In fact, music and musicians had come to be associated with vice with the result that even masters of classical music belonging to respectable families, like the Guru of Pandit Vishnu Digambar, could not find a place in respectable society. If to-day the demands for higher standards in Indian music are considered as common experience, and if music is being introduced in recognised Indian educational institutions and being encouraged by Government by means of grants-in-aid and forms part of education imparted in national institutions, no small share of the credit is due to Pandit Vishnu Digambar who endeavoured, consistently and continuously to popularise these standards.

Pandit Vishnu Digambar was born in 1872 in the Kurundwad State in the Belgaum district. Even as a youth he showed signs of great promise in education but an accident through fire-works seriously and permanently

injured his eyes and rendered him incapable of continuing his studies. Young Digambar was sent to Miraj for training in music under Pandit Balkrishna Burva, one of the greatest musicians of his time and under him Digambar in a few years became a noted musician.

After fully qualifying himself as a musician, Pandit Vishnu Digambar took a tour in North India and after visiting a number of places in the Punjab finally settled at Lahore. On May 5, 1901, he established a music school at Lahore and this institution, started on a very poor scale, subsequently developed into the well-known Gandharva Mahavidayalay. It began to do good work but the Pandit had no money to meet the growing expenses. The Maharaja of Kashmir, hearing of Pandit Vishnu Digambar's fame invited him and presented him with a purse of Rs. 1,000 and as a result of an appeal made at a public meeting at Lahore a sum of Rs. 2,000 was collected and the Maharaja of Kashmir promised a donation of Rs. 150 per mensem which he contributed to pay till 1907.

Having placed the Lahore institution on a sound and firm footing, Pandit Vishnu Digambar proceeded to Bombay to establish a branch there. In a short period he was able to have a magnificent building which became the main institution of Pandit Vishnu Digambar. Bombay proved very expensive for the maintenance of the large number of poor students whom he used to teach, feed and clothe free. The Pandit selected Nasik for his headquarters and in 1922 he laid the foundation of a new building for his College. Music, by this time, had become for the Pandit secondary to Ramnama and he named the new institution as Ramnamadhar Ashram, where too he was maintaining and training a large number of poor students free of charge. The Pandit, as a result of constantly singing the sons of Tulsidas, Surdas, Mirabai, Kabir and other saints into various "rags" and "raginis" gave quite an intensely religious tone to the songs.

The amount of work that Pandit Vishnu Digambar accomplished since he established the Gandharva Mahavidayalay can be estimated from the fact that he turned out over two hundred competent teachers who are diffusing high class music in various parts of the country. Their monthly incomes range between Rs. 100 and Rs. 600, emoluments which many graduates of arts and science might well envy. There are over 40 centres in which music is taught in accordance with Pandit Vishnu Digambar's system and it is estimated that the number of persons who have received some training in music through Pandit Vishnu Digambar, his pupils or his books, is over 40,000. He published over 50 books in which his masterpieces have been reduced to a perfect notation and will thus be preserved for posterity. All this work is truly grand and inspiring. It must also be mentioned that this has been carried on in the midst of a series of terrible bereavements, for out of his twelve children—four sons and eight daughters—only one son aged about 10 years is alive.

The late Pandit by his frequent tours all over the provinces of the country, including Burma, Nepal and Ceylon and through the activities of his devoted pupils everywhere, created an inter-provincial unity and co-operation which has been hitherto lacking deplorably in the domain of Indian Art, culture and music. Thus he has left behind a name and an imperishable fame to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen.

What They Are Doing in London:

Weekly Surveys of The Round Table Conference

By
Mr. F. W. Wilson

(Dated 18th September)

The atmosphere in which the Round Table Conference is meeting this year is vastly different from that in which it met last November. Last year the Labour Government seemed more or less firmly fixed in office, and the problem was to secure the support of the Liberal Party. When Lord Reading promised his adhesion to responsibility at the centre this particular problem, as far as the Indian question was concerned, seemed to be solved, and the Indian delegates, who returned to their country last February, could, with good reason, feel secure in their hope that the rest of their journey towards a new Government of India Bill was fairly secure. Since then, however, there have been drastic changes in the political situation in Britain. With the majority of these my readers are, no doubt, fully acquainted, but it is necessary to examine the facts which dominate the situation, if an honest attempt is to be made to depict the background in which the Federal Structure Committee is recommencing its deliberations.

In the first place, there is no doubt but that there has been a gigantic, serious, and potentially catastrophic financial crisis. There was a threatened flight from the pound, and there is now doubt also but that, if Mr. MacDonald had not been able to form his new Government there would have been a grave financial disaster. Mr. MacDonald, unfortunately, could not carry with him the majority of the Labour Party. At the present moment all that has been revealed in Parliamentary debates is the fact that the biggest bone of contention between the majority of the late Ministers, and the four who have stayed in office, was the "cut" in the "unemployment dole." The new Opposition argues that this "cut" is unnecessary. The new Government, basing its argument mainly on comparative cost of living figures, urges that the "cut" is infinitesimal, and was necessary in order to make the so-called equality of sacrifice. The Opposition maintain, with the aid of certain awkward and undisputed statements, that the American bankers were not willing to make a further loan to Britain, unless there was some reduction of what is popularly known as the "dole." It has been well known for some time that the dominant American financial interests have viewed, with the greatest apprehension, the demand that has been made in the United States, for the adoption of the policy of "work or maintenance." They have regarded the extent to which this policy has been developed in Britain, as one of the main reasons for her financial instability. On the other hand, some of the shrewdest observers in the United States are prophesying the adoption of a "dole" in that country before Christmas. Whatever Mr. Hoover may be forced to do, there is no getting away from the fact that Wall Street has strongly disliked the idea of a financial subsidy to the unemployed, and has been hoping against hope that Britain would be forced, by hard facts, to revise or modify her policy of maintenance.

The Opposition urge therefore that the "cut" in the "dole" was dictated by outside bankers.

The Government's answer is that the bankers never dictated any political conditions with regard to a future loan, but insisted that there must be an economic stock-taking, and that the country, to which they were asked to lend their money, should make a strenuous attempt to live within its income. The difference between the two points of view is of the smallest. It is merely an emphasis on an attitude, which in modern business is perfectly legitimate, and the real point of difference is the Opposition's belief that national economy could be secured and the crisis averted without recourse being had to what they maintain is the victimisation of the poorest, and most hopeless, of the population.

How does all this affect the Round Table Conference? Nominally the policy of the new Government is the same. Actually it is not difficult to detect certain differences. Although Mr. Wedgwood Benn was something of a failure during his last few months of office—he was hopelessly weak and incapable of making up his mind—Sir Samuel Hoare does not possess the same fundamental sympathy with India as his predecessor. Sir Samuel is overwhelmingly polite, full of platitudinous urbanities, scrupulously correct, but carefully official. I do not think he has got any great enthusiasm about India, any real feeling or understanding of Indian problems. He believes in Federation in a vague, and not very determined, fashion, but it is Federation with the emphasis on the minus quantities, and not upon the positive factors, which induced so many Indians to support the scheme. He attaches far too much importance to the minority question, and he is inclined to believe in the Patiala rump. He will not actively oppose any real measure of agreement, but he will sniff in a supercilious manner at differences and antagonisms. I am afraid the reactionary Muslims will find him rather sympathetic, and the Conservative Indian Princes will receive from him too sympathetic a hearing, or at least, a better hearing than they deserve.

On the other hand, the Chairman of the Federal Structure Committee, the Lord Chancellor, is determined to get on with real business. The grant of self-government to India is to him a moral duty, and he will not allow anybody to wreck the main scheme. I find the India Office rather indifferent to India's legitimate hopes, and distinctly cautious and inclined to concentrate upon difficulties. It is significant that the Government of India has again sent Mr. Haig as its chief representative, and as adviser to the Home Government. The way in which Mr. Haig was smuggled out of India on this job is a credit to the Government of India's ingenuity, but hardly complimentary to their honesty. The general attitude of the British public is somewhat different from the attitude which was manifested last January. There is no doubt but that the failure to settle the Hindu-Muslim question has had a bad effect. The various crimes of violence that have taken place have also alienated many sympathisers. Mr. Gandhi's unfortunate and lengthy haggling over the terms of the truce with Lord Irwin and his last-minute display of wavering, have not redounded to his credit in the eye of the British public. There can be no question but that the continued hostile propaganda of British newspaper correspondents in India has had its desired effect. There has also been a flood of popular books, all severely criticising India's political aims. At the same time there is a general feeling that the Indian problem must be settled somehow or other, and that, if it is settled, the economic situation will be bound to improve.

In these circumstances, it is as well that Mr. Gandhi's first impressions upon the British public have been, on the whole, satisfactory. The first feeling about the Congress leader was one of curiosity. This changed into a mild interest, and now, when most people have read his two speeches in the Federal Structure Committee, and his other talks in the House of Commons, they have been struck by his earnestness and his kindly moderation. Especially in the Sankey Committee has he

shown himself capable of appreciating other points of view. One comment from a political opponent deserves repetition: "I venture to prophesy," said this delegate, "that before the end of the Conference the Conservatives will be erecting a monument to Mr. Gandhi." This may alarm Congressmen in India, but it is really only a tribute to the essentially sensible and practical fashion in which Mr. Gandhi is tackling his new work. He is already enjoying the friendliest of relationships with Lord Sankey. The two sit side-by-side, cracking jokes to one another, and exchanging remarks. Mr. Gandhi follows the whole proceedings with the utmost care. The more reactionary a speaker is, the more the Mahatma smiles. He takes copious notes, and it is quite obvious that he is immensely interested in the proceedings. He was voicing, the other day when he spoke, the opinion of most of the Committee, when he protested, in the gentlest fashion, against the dragging out of the proceedings. He felt the same irritation as many other of the delegates feel when they are forced to listen to the most arrant, unreal nonsense voiced by some of the members who represent nobody, except the reactionary elements in the Government of India.

Unfortunately, it is very difficult to stop some of the speakers from giving vent to their ancient ideas about India's future constitution. The speech, for example, which was delivered by that well-known Nagpur millionaire was productive of complete boredom, except when it touched, most successfully, on the ludicrous. This gentleman has not been alone in his failure to approach reality. There have been others, so many in fact, that everybody is now hoping that Lord Sankey will be encouraged to be a little more severe in future, and to curtail unnecessary discussion. Mr. Gandhi also deserves thanks for the way in which he quite frankly told the British public what he thought about the qualifications of some of his fellow-delegates. Many of us had been saying the same thing in India for some time; most of us know how the delegation was originally chosen, and there have been few who have really been able, honestly, to praise all the choices of Lord Irwin or Lord Willingdon.

On the whole, there is a feeling of optimism as to the final result of the Conference. Everything depends upon the extent of the agreement that can be secured on the side of the Indian delegation. There are rumours that the reactionary Muslims are working for a position in which they will be able, relying on Conservative support, to smash the Conference. They will hold back their agreement to responsibility until every one of their most extreme demands is granted. Certain Muslims, I am told, are in possession of these instructions, and, while there are other representatives of the Muslim community, who are as keen as any patriotic Indian on a happy and satisfactory result, there is a grave danger that either they will not be listened to, or that their voices will be drowned by the echoes of the sentiments of a prominent member of the Government of India. There are also Conservatives who are hoping that the Indian Princes will be so divided as to render federation impossible. This hope is met on the other side by the unshakeable determination of such statement as Sir Akbar Hydari, to remain true to their pledges. There are also those who have been expecting that Mr. Gandhi would scare the Princes out, and render it impossible for the British parliamentary delegation to adhere to their promise to view favourably the full picture of federation. So far the skill of Lord Sankey, the tact and knowledge of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and the general common sense of the Committee have not permitted any of these destructive elements to see the light of day, and above all, Mr. Gandhi is proving to the full satisfaction of his many friends that he is thoroughly capable of understanding the Conference method and of fulfilling his responsibility. I should not be at all surprised if his attitude in London is not already earning criticisms in India. I can understand may of his followers being most disturbed about his

ideas on adult franchise. I can understand them being most worried about his tenderness for the Princes. I would ask them to wait in patience. Mr. Gandhi is aiming for the substance and not the shadow, and he is sensible enough to know that, whatever system he secures, it must be capable of being worked. Mr. Gandhi's critics should not forget that the golden opinions he is winning for himself by his moderation, courtesy, and statesmanship, are hourly advancing India's cause. Perhaps, too, these critics may remember that there are many of us who have always believed that Mr. Gandhi would show us his best at the Conference Table—a Gandhi helping to build a constructive scheme for the future government of India.

II

(Dated 25th September)

The position of Mr. Gandhi himself has undergone a certain change. His early utterances at the Round Table Conference alarmed his friends and advisers much more than they disturbed his main body of listeners. As a matter of fact, after his second speech last week, his friends took agitated counsel together, they wondered what on earth Mr. Gandhi would say next and although they were forced to admit that he kept on proclaiming himself as loyal to the Congress Mandate, yet they were gravely disturbed as to the way in which he was interpretating his brief. They felt that it was impossible to allow Mr. Gandhi to go on meditating aloud, and committing himself to all sorts of naive and childish explanations of his somewhat vague constitutional views. Accordingly, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar has been appointed his Political Secretary and his chief Political Adviser. No more admirable choice could be made, but it is unfortunate that Mr. Iyengar is not giving himself full scope as a constitutional expert of considerable standing. As a matter of absolute fact, Mr. Gandhi's reputation during the last week has suffered a considerable rebuff. Nobody doubts his sincerity; his personality is accepted by the British public and everybody here knows that he is honest and full of good intentions, and means well—both for his own country and for India. It is difficult to put the feeling that prevails into exact words, but there is no getting away from the fact that not only shrewd political observers, but also the general public, are somewhat disappointed with the Mahatma. He seems to be somewhat out of his depth. It is not that he does not attempt to follow the proceedings of the Conference with the utmost interest, and with a keen sense of humour, but he does not show himself as being a practical statesman or a practical politician. There does not seem to be anything constructive about his mental make-up. It is all very well for him in India to work the simplicity business. India accepts him as a holy man, but Britain, I am afraid, expects a little more than pure holiness. It is not much use for Mr. Gandhi to intervene in debates and to explain that his ideas on a subject are elementary. When you are in a conference, which is trying to work out a constitution, you must be prepared to make a definite constructive constitution.

A good example of this disappointment was furnished this last week when Mr. Gandhi disassociated himself with the statement which Sir Samuel Hoare had made about the relationship of the rupee to the pound. It is no use in a conference like the Round Table Conference merely saying that you disagree. It is an insult to the intelligence of your listeners merely to make a statement without giving the reasons. The point is an important one. It is well known that Mr. Gandhi's advisers and friends almost quarrelled among themselves as to how they should receive the Secretary of State's statement. I believe that the influence of Mr. G. D. Birla finally prevailed, with the result that Mr. Gandhi merely registered an unhelpful negative without advancing any reasons. Again, the other night he had a long talk with Mr. Wedgwood Benn. Mr. Benn tried hard to get him to agree to some

formula recognising the peculiar position of the European business community. Mr. Gandhi did not help in the slightest. Mr. Benn warned him that unless this matter was settled fairly and squarely he (Mr. Benn) would have to oppose any incomplete settlement that might be advanced by the Congress leader. Mr. Gandhi's reply was that he would trust in God, and however moving and worthy of respect this attitude may be, I am sure it must be generally admitted that it is not a point of view likely to advance the successful issue of a Conference. The truth is, and I say it with all due respect, and with a considerable amount of sincere disappointment, that Mr. Gandhi is a trifle out of his depth. The methods of a Congress dictator are no use at a Round Table Conference.

As far as the actual proceedings of the Round Table Conference are concerned the debates of the last week have been disappointing in the extreme. There has been a spirit in the Conference of antagonism and bitterness, which has seriously alarmed its well-wishers. People have gone out of their way to be nasty, and the discussions about the composition of the legislature showed that there was practically no agreement on the essential feature of federation. It must be recorded that the Muslims are behaving very badly. They are working on instructions to wreck the Conference and some of them openly boast that they have the sympathy and the assistance of some of the most prominent men in the Government of India. They profess themselves as adamant with regard to the most extreme form of their claims. I am told that there are in existence letters between prominent Conservatives and the Muslims here which urge that community to fight against responsibility at the centre, in return for a wholesale backing of Mr. Jinnah's fourteen points. The temper of this community does not lead one to adopt an optimistic attitude. On every point that is raised, they bring in a communal aspect, and as one London paper has said, "it would appear that their position is that they are Muslims first and Indians after." Nor can it be said that the Princes have been particularly helpful. They are divided among themselves and although some of the expositions that have been given of the Dholpur scheme have verged on the ridiculous, there is no doubt that the general impression that has been given has been deplorable. The Princes too must be excused for resiling into a rather more Conservative attitude, in view of the criticisms to which they have been subjected by such members of the Committee as Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. Joshi. Dr. Ambedkar has missed no opportunity of rubbing the Princes up the wrong way; he seems incapable of opening his mouth without being rude to everybody and his impertinence to Lord Sankey has been one of the most striking features of the last fortnight. If he had something really sensible to say it would not matter so much, but he seems to be possessed of no real knowledge at all about the nature of a federal Government. He talks an amazing amount of nonsense about constitutions which are not federal, and he cannot get out of his mind the idea that the Senate must be a kind of House of Lords. It must be particularly trying to Lord Sankey to have to put up with this trial to the flesh, for Lord Sankey, I believe, was primarily responsible for Dr. Ambedkar's presence upon the Committee.

Less annoying but infinitely more humorous are the contributions of Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy. This worthy representative of the Government of India, the Council of State and the more reactionary elements rarely opens his mouth without being greeted with roars of laughter. Compared to him Lord Peel is an advanced radical, and Sir Samuel Hoare a wooly-headed Liberal. I have read every one of his speeches and I have rarely had the privilege of perusing so much arrant old-fashioned idiocy. He seems to be living in the late nineties of the last century and the only body which, in his opinion, has done anything for India is the Council of State. His brief

is obviously inspired, but does not do credit to the financial interests he represents. If the Government of India could not nominate a more sensible and tactful representative of their reactionary interests, they ought to have had the sense to allow their advocacy to go by default. Sir Maneckjee is the comic relief of the Committee, but, unfortunately, he has not learnt the art of laughing at himself.

As stated above, the success of the Conference appears to be in the gravest danger, as all kinds of differences are being manifested—the Princes making absurd claims, the Muslims determined to oppose everything, and Dr. Ambedkar annoying everybody. It looked as if there could be no Federation, because on the very simplest of federal questions, there was no unity. The situation was retrieved, however, in great part by a brilliant and masterly speech by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who tore the Dholpur scheme to pieces in a skilful and amusing fashion. I am told that His Highness of Dholpur was very angry about the way he had been treated, but the treatment he received was rather too merciful. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru went on to make an appeal to the Princes and to the Muslims, which had considerable effect. He offered the Princes 40 per cent. of the Upper House and asked them if they were going to break the Conference on a miserable 10 per cent.? His appeal changed the situation, and the Committee passed on to the discussion on the distribution of financial resources in the new constitution in a much happier frame of mind. Lord Sankey does his best and a marvellous best it is. He always keeps his temper, he is always polite, courteous and tolerant, and he again and again shows that he is much more interested in the future of India than many of the so-called delegates and representatives of the Indian people. If the Federal Structure Committee does succeed, there is no question but that its success will be largely due to the inspiration and enthusiasm of its chairman.

The attitude of the Government is somewhat curious. Sir Samuel Hoare is well-meaning and well-intentioned. He generally feels that something must be done in India, he also recognises that his party does not share his own views. He can be relied upon, however, to do his best to convince the rank and file of the Conservatives that responsibility must be granted at the centre, but whether he will do this, if the Muslims refuse to agree, remains to be seen. Mr. MacDonald is watching the Conference with the greatest anxiety. He wants the question of India to be settled and to be settled quickly for he realises that the absence of a happy and contented India is the main hurdle in the way of Great Britain's economic recovery. The rest of the Government are much too occupied with domestic affairs to be able to give more than a passing thought to the Indian problem. It is almost impossible to blame them for their preoccupation, for the situation here has been, and is, still critical. If the various Indian interests on the Round Table Conference can only settle their respective differences and present a united front, I have no doubt but that federation will go through with ease, and that a considerable measure of responsibility will be granted to India. But, viewing the facts as they have emerged so far, it is impossible to be too optimistic, or even to have the same degree of optimism as one had last year. I am afraid there is going to be serious trouble with many of our Muslim friends, and the greatest efforts will be made by interested parties to use them for the postponement of the federal scheme. In this connection it is interesting and instructive to notice that practically the whole of the British Press refuses to recognise the existence of the nationalist Muslim. Countless attempts have been made to explain to the British public that most of the Muslims on the Sankey Committee represent nobody but themselves, and the Muslim member of the Government of India. The whole weight of the India Office is thrown against the cause of the nationalist Muslim, with the result that the various Muslim spokesmen on the Sankey

Committee have the field to themselves. For the first time since I have been here, the "Daily Herald" carried a story to-day which told the truth about the Government of India's nominees and is instructive reading, but it wants to be backed up by a good deal more information.

I must also protest against the way in which the publicity officers of the India Office are handing out fragments of the speeches delivered in the Sankey Committee. The same old ignorance and the same old prejudice prevades their selection and their presentation. The most foolish remark is given prominence, and a sensible, reasonable speech is ignored. The fact is that you cannot get away from the impression that it is the hidden hand of the Indian Civil Service, which is working most effectively through the India Office. I will give two examples. Last week, Their Highnesses of Bikaner and Bhopal agreed to send their representatives to the Lower House by election, and although it was the most striking offer made during this particular debate, not a word of it was mentioned for publication. Last week also, Mr. Mudaliyar made a most important speech summing up the debate, which was a complete reply to much of the nonsense that had gone before; but apparently it was over the heads of the publicity officers present, for not a single word was given of it to the gentlemen of the Press. How far this sort of thing is ignorance or how far it is designed I cannot say. My own impression is that it is a judicious combination of both. I am afraid that the publicity officers attached to the Conference do not understand half of what is going on, and that, with regard to the other half, they interpret it according to the policy of the India Office, which, I need hardly say, is not too friendly to the cause of India.

The "Hindustan Review" is representative of the higher intellectual life of India and enables us to learn the thoughts that are agitating her cultivated circles. Its articles are of especial value from a political and philosophical point of view and it occupies among Indian periodicals a position analogous to that of the "Nineteenth Century" or the "Fortnightly Review."—"United Empire" (Monthly Organ of the Royal Empire Society, London).

The "Hindustan Review" deserves attention from British readers as showing the trend of thought—philosophical, literary and political—among the educated classes of India.—"Truth" London.

The "Hindustan Review" is of especial value as lifting the brain cap of India and letting us see the thoughts that are moving in her educated mind.—The late Mr. W. T. Stead in the "Review of Reviews," London.

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Mahatma Gandhi in Europe

By Nagendranath Gupta

Once upon a time, several decades ago, good old "Punch," the most orthodox and conservative of British organs of public opinion, permitted itself to record a protest against the excessive adulation of Royalty and the insatiable curiosity about them. The Royal Family is an excellent institution and fills an important part in the social life of England, but there is scarcely any need for a minute record of the movements and doings of the members of that family. "Punch" published a cartoon in which a certain royal personage was represented as putting his hat on and again taking it off. Underneath was the legend, "The Prince puts on his hat!" "The Prince takes his hat off!" Yet never prince, or king, or national hero, or film star excited anything like the interest created by Mahatma Gandhi's present visit to Europe.

There has never been anything like it at any time anywhere in the world. Gifted and great men, great writers, singers, actors, famous soldiers have been accorded ovations and demonstrative receptions, their fame going before them like a beat of drums and a fanfare of trumpets. But there never was such a deep stirring of hearts, so universal and such unflagging curiosity, and such a succession of surprises. The scenes in Bombay when Mahatma Gandhi boarded the steamer to proceed to London to attend the Round Table Conference baffled description, but this enthusiasm and the crowds were to be expected, for Bombay is his own city, which gave so splendid an account of herself during the Civil Disobedience struggle.

From the moment Mahatma Gandhi stepped on board the steamer the eyes of all Europe were turned upon him. He had to be escorted to a remote corner of the ship to be saved from being inconveniently crowded and mobbed by his eager admirers. As soon as the steamer passed out of Bombay harbour the wireless began to hum and to transmit a

faithful account of the Mahatma's sayings and doings on board. He travelled by the lowest class and refused all invitations and requests to move into a first class cabin. The crew gaped open-mouthed at the strange half-clad figure, who was quite obviously the most important personage on the ship. Cameras were busy clicking and snapshotting "the anchorite of the desert," the strange prophet who had appeared in the East. Autograph hunters were busy collecting his signature. The officers of the ship were most attentive and courteous. The captain invited him to the bridge and Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged the courtesy by remarking that so long as he was on board he was the captain's prisoner. The Mahatma's experience has been that all ways lead to the prison and not to Rome. In South Africa he was oftener in prison than out of it and the Government in India has been equally solicitous in keeping him in safe custody within the four walls of a prison. When a prophet is not crucified or his head is not chopped off it is best to lock him up so that his prophecies may not disturb the minds of a peaceful people. What happened to John the Baptist and Daniel?

It was a most musical voyage. Overhead spluttered and hummed the wireless, on the bare deck squatted the bare-bodied Mahatma, the spinning wheel whirring and singing in his skilful hand, yielding yard after yard of fine yarn. He does not belong to the Order of the Lily, the members of which toil not, neither do they spin, yet are arrayed more gorgeously than Solomon in all his glory. Mahatma Gandhi is among the toilers and spinners who have only a scanty loin cloth of coarse homespun to cover them. Down below in the engine room were the smooth running turbines, and under the keel the powerful screws churning the water and driving the ship on its course, the heart of the ship throbbing with life-like pulsations. Most musical of all was the laughter of the children on board playing with the Mahatma, who never failed to join the chorus, while smiling, happy parents watched them.

At Aden while the ship cast anchor for a brief halt Mahatma Gandhi landed, drove around the port and had breakfast with some of the residents. He was presented with a purse. Few as are his own wants he is not easily satisfied when he lays others under contribution for the national fund. He bluntly told the people at Aden that he was disappointed as he expected a larger sum from them since they were prosperous merchants. After crossing the Suez Canal the next station of call was Port Said. Mahatma Gandhi had made special preparations to meet the Egyptians. It was his day of silence, but he had advanced the period by some hours so as to be free to converse with his visitors. It was found, however, that very few persons were permitted to come on board to meet the Indian leader and saint, and they were strictly forbidden to take any photographs. Since the plight of Egypt is in some respects similar to that of India the nervousness of the Egyptian authorities is not difficult to understand. They must have felt uneasy at the prospect of the great protagonist of national independence in India indoctrinating Egyptain leaders with his peculiar theory of non-violence, its implications and its application to practical politics. Still it remains an open surmise whether the Egyptian Government took this precaution on its own initiative, or the inspiration came from Lord Lloyd's successor to the High Commissionership of Egypt.

The first contact with Europe was at Marseilles. As soon as the "Rajputana" weighed anchor, Mahatma Gandhi was besieged by journalists and interviewers, but there was also Mr. C. F. Andrews, wreathed in smiles, waiting to welcome him. Mr. Andrews is nearly as well known as Mahatma Gandhi himself. How well the Mahatma's habits of life are known throughout the world was proved by

the presentation by a French admirer of a pedigree goat at Marseilles. The customs officers had the easiest time of their lives in passing the luggage of the Mahatma. The most important part of his impedimenta consisted of three spinning wheels. For the rest, there were some slivers of cotton wool, a few pieces of loin cloth and some coarse blankets. The officers found nothing liable to duty and so passed the scantily clad passenger from India and his scanty baggage without further examination. The railway journey to the north of Europe was something like a triumphal march. At Paris he was enthusiastically cheered by a crowd of Indians and Parisians waiting on the platform and the guard agreed to detain the train for a few minutes while Mahatma Gandhi briefly addressed the newspaper men anxious to interview him.

In India Mahatma Gandhi makes it a practice of boarding and alighting from railway trains at small roadside stations in order to avoid the crowds waiting to acclaim him at big stations. The railway management always fall in with this arrangement and fast trains which do not usually halt at small, unimportant stations are pulled up to permit Gandhiji and party to get in or get out quietly without being hustled and mobbed by cheering crowds. The same course was adopted on the journey to London. Instead of proceeding all the way to the British metropolis by train Mahatma Gandhi got out at Folkestone, where he was met by Mr. Vincent, formerly Police Commissioner of Bombay. Now, that was what is called a curious coincidence. Early in May 1930, Mahatma Gandhi, a prisoner of state against whom no offence had been specified in the warrant of arrest, was taken out of a train at a small suburban station near Bombay. Here he was met by a police officer, who put him in a motor car closely covered with screens of crimson cloth and whisked him off to the Central Prison at Yarravda near Poona. Two privileged foreign newspaper correspondents, who were permitted to photograph and speak to him, wrote that the car was gaily covered like the conveyance of a bridal pair. Did they remember the parables in which Jesus Christ spoke of the bridegroom? Mahatma Gandhi was photographed in Mr. Vincent's car also, Mr. Vincent leaning well back so as to let the Mahatma alone come into the picture. It was a Hillman Wizard car and so ready-witted newspapers raised the slogan of the Wizard of India in a Hillman Wizard. The ex-prisoner and the ex-police officer's drive to London was different from the spin to Yarravda.

In the unpretentious house in East London where Mahatma Gandhi is staying he was given a cordial welcome by a number of friends who had assembled for that purpose and he spoke at the meeting. Ever afterwards there were people waiting near the house to greet the Mahatma whenever he went out or took his morning stroll. The magnetism of his personality drew all sorts and conditions of people to him. His most notable triumph was in Lancashire when he visited the mill area. According to almost all newspapers in England, Mahatma Gandhi is responsible for a great deal of the unemployment among the millhands in Lancashire. The strongest plank in the platform of the Civil Disobedience movement was the rigorous boycott of all English cotton goods. All trade in them was stopped, merchants in India being unable to dispose of the stocks lying in their godowns. There would have been no occasion for surprise if there were a great deal of bitterness against Mahatma Gandhi among the millhands in Lancashire. His appearance among them might have been greeted with execrations and hostile demonstrations. But the workmen saw that if they are poor the working people of India are poorer and the Indian saint came among them dressed in the scanty clothing of the Indian peasant. The loin cloth, the bare legs and feet and the rough sandals were the garb of a sansculotte, or a hermit of the desert. Instead of reviling

him the men rejoiced when they saw him. They shook his hand and raised the English cry of "Good old Gandhi!" The mill girls surrounded him with enthusiasm, laughed joyfully and cheered him to the echo. After these wonderful demonstrations we are not surprised that Mahatma Gandhi has been warmly welcomed and applauded wherever he has gone in England.

There were of course a few discordant notes. Mr. Winston Churchill, who distinguished himself by denouncing Mahatma Gandhi as "a half naked fakir" had the good sense to forbear from a fresh outburst when the Mahatma was actually in England, a guest of the nation. His son, Mr. Randolph Churchhill, named after his grandfather, visited Mahatma Gandhi. He said he shared his father's political views, but would try to arrange a meeting between the Mahatma and his father. The *Times* with its characteristic pompous inconsequence solemnly declared that Mr. Gandhi could not be regarded as a plenipotentiary. If a plenipotentiary means an ambassador of some defunct empire as extinct as the dodo or the Great Auk, Mahatma Gandhi is certainly not one, but he was undoubtedly armed with full powers of representation by the Congress, which has been recognised as "a great organisation" by a Viceroy of India. Of all the delegates to the Round Table Conference he alone was not nominated by the Government, but was unanimously elected by the Working Committee of the Congress. He alone had a mandate in the form of a resolution passed by that Committee. All the other delegates were nominees of the Government, pure and simple, and held no other credentials. Another newspaper invited Mahatma Gandhi to write a special article and then thanked him by assailing him in an editorial article written in execrable taste. The palm, however, was carried off by Lord Burnham, who, in a speech delivered in some remote corner of England declared that the ovations given to Mr. Gandhi were the crowning ignominy of the English people. Of all varieties of magnates the newspaper magnate is the most poisonous, and Lord Burnham further happens to be a member of the Simon Commission. England has honoured herself by honouring Mahatma Gandhi, and a humble millhand has proved himself nobler than a newspaper peer of the realm.

Immediately on arrival in London, Mahatma Gandhi got busy. There was the usual endless stream of visitors. His first attendance at the Round Table Conference was on his day of silence and he sat by the side of Lord Sankey without uttering a word. The next day he was broadcasting a message to America. A talented young American lady, a writer and a painter, whom I have the happiness to call my friend, wrote to me:— "Recently I heard Gandhi on the radio. The clarity and simplicity of his remarks thrilled us!" Mahatma Gandhi is no orator, but he speaks as the Masters have always spoken, slowly and simply, and yet his hearers are thrilled for his words are with power. Of another phase of the power of the terrible meek the British public had an experience at Birmingham where Mahatma Gandhi's sledge-hammer blows proved exceedingly disconcerting to the Government.

It is not the working classes alone that have taken a friendly and admiring interest in Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Charles Chaplin, the famous film star and the author of some popular plays, wanted to meet the Mahatma and a meeting was at once arranged at the house of a mutual friend. Both were cheered by an enthusiastic crowd and both were photographed sitting side by on a sofa. An Anglo-Indian scribe in Bombay had a sudden brain wave and pulled off a humorous stunt by writing that it was a meeting of two famous comedians. Who can doubt that the Mahatma is a play actor and a comedian to boot? When he was kicked off the footpath by a sentry posted at the gate of the residence of President Kruger it was a comedy. When a brutal Boer knocked him down on a post-chaise without any provocation it was a

comedy. When he was savagely assaulted by a number of Pathans and left for dead it was still a comedy, while the Mahatma's experiences of the horrors of South African prisons were undeniably comical. It was another comedy when he was sentenced to six years' imprisonment in India, and again when he was arrested and imprisoned without trial or any charge being preferred against him. This humorous scribe helps to point the moral that if all the fools in the world were to wear bells in their caps the world would be turned into a veritable jangling pandemonium.

Mahatma Gandhi spent week ends in visiting dignitaries of the church, university towns and public schools. A most interesting meeting was that with Colonel Maddock, formerly of the Indian Medical Service, who performed a successful operation for appendicitis on Mahatma Gandhi while he was in prison on a charge of sedition. Mr. Mahadeva Desai, Mahatma Gandhi's Private Secretary, who writes with excellent judgment and admirable balance, and whose descriptions of the Mahatma's tour in Europe will make a valuable book, gives an illuminating account of the Mahatma's visit to the Dean of Canterbury. It was another Dean of Canterbury, the Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard, who, referring to the struggle that was going on in India in 1930, uttered the following famous sentence from the pulpit:— "I yield to no one in my love of my Homeland, but God is not primarily interested in the domination of the British race." This visit was to Dean Johnson and it was arranged by Mr. Andrews. In the course of an impressive service in the ancient Canterbury Cathedral, at which Mahatma Gandhi and his party were present, the Dean referred to the 22nd Psalm, which had been read, and said, "Mr. Gandhi must have often been in the situation graphically described there and must have always felt strong in the strength of God." Some of the verses of the Psalm are quoted and one may be reproduced here:— "But as for me I am a worm and no man, a very scorn of men, and the outcaste of the people." The Dean went on to say:—"Many have asked me whether I was going to convert Mr. Gandhi to Christianity, 'To convert him!' I have said to them indignantly. His is one of the most Christ-like lives I have yet come across." Yet to the Christian news-writer in Bombay, Gandhiji is only a comedian.

What can be more Christ-like than Mahatma Gandhi's love of babies and children? Jesus said, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me and forbid them not: for of such is the Kingdom of God. . . And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them.' Even in South Africa Mahatma Gandhi was a lover of children and petted and played with them. In the Sabarmati Asram no amount of work prevented him for playing with the children for some time every day. From the Yarravda Prison, which he designated Yarravda Palace, he wrote delightful little letters to the children at the Asram and the prison authorities did not hold them back. On board the "Rajputana" on his way to England it was noted that 'from the first day of the voyage he played with the children, caressed the babies and joked with the parents.' He was photographed on the ship laughing happily with a smiling English baby in his arms. Even in Europe children were irresistibly attracted to him. They were not at all scared by the scantiness of his attire and his brown complexion. A photograph shows a gaily dressed tiny tot, a daughter of Mr. Phillips, the Pearly King of Hoxton, presenting some oranges to Mahatma Gandhi at Kingsley Hall. There is the exquisite incident of a little girl staring at the unimposing figure of Mahatma Gandhi and asking her father in an audible whisper, "Is he really a great man?" and the Mahatma laughing heartily at her naivete. There is also the humorous complaint of some fathers to Mahatma Gandhi that their children insisted on being awakened early so that they might greet the Mahatma on his morning stroll. Can there be a more illuminating exposition of the creed of non-violence than the brilliant idea of the child who woke her father up by hitting him and then admonished him, saying, "Now, don't

you hit back, for Gandhi told us the other day never to hit back." What could the poor father do except turn his other cheek? As Mahatma Gandhi loves children so they love him wherever he goes, for they have an unerring instinct for a friend and they are free from the complex of colour and race.

Was man or woman ever so remorselessly pursued by the camera fiend? Fair leaders of society, dazzling film stars, royal personages and scions of royalty fill the illustrated papers and decorate shop windows. But why this penchant for reproducing the likeness of the Saint of Sabarmati, a man who is neither distinguished looking nor wears the clothes of civilisation, but goes about everywhere as a half naked fakir? Portraits, cartoons and caricatures have made his features familiar in every country in the world. Probably there is no illustrated paper in any country in the world which has not published his likeness. In India whenever he moved out of his monastic retreat at Sabarmati the inevitable photographers would be waiting for him. The march to Dandi to break the salt laws produced innumerable photographs and motion pictures were taken all along the route. The film was passed by the Board of Censors but just before it was to be shown on the screen the Government prohibited the production. He was photographed by an enterprising newspaper correspondent while being taken down from a railway train to be conveyed to prison. Still more enterprising was the sketch that appeared after Mr. George Slocombe, representing an English newspaper, had interviewed Mahatma Gandhi in prison. Of course no photograph was allowed to be taken but Mr. Slocombe made suggestions from which a local artist in Bombay made a very fair sketch. But the full battery of photographic artillery was unmasked as soon as the Mahatma set foot on the deck of the steamer bound for the Round Table Conference. He submitted good-humouredly to the ordeal. He spent the greater part of the day on the deck, squatting on the boards spinning, writing or resting a little, but mostly behaving like a schoolboy on a holiday. He was photographed while having a shot at the sun after tuition from the skipper in the use of the sextant. A close-up was taken while he was spinning in sunlight on the deck. He was photographed while actually asleep on a deck chair. He was having his forty winks, or a brief noon-day siesta. The photographer caught him while Mira Bai, formerly Miss Slade and the daughter of an admiral, was putting a blanket round him. The camera was in position when during a life-boat drill he was putting on the jacket, with a ship's officer standing by. The following dialogue is worth being recorded:—Mahatma Gandhi asked, "How long would I remain afloat with this jacket?" The officer replied, "At your weight of 6st. 9lb. and your scant attire you should float for a week." The most beautiful photograph, to which reference has been made already, is that of a laughing Mahatma with a smiling child in his arms. The whole series appeared in London illustrated papers under the comprehensive caption, 'Sidelights on a Mahatma.' The front pages of illustrated papers were filled with his likeness, full page illustrations were displayed showing his movements. He was photographed at the house in the East End on his arrival, he was photographed at the Round Table Conference. The camera caught him on his morning stroll being greeted by young children just awakened from sleep. Kodaks were merrily clicking at the deaneries and the public schools and university towns that he happened to be visiting. The photographer was mounting guard when the mill-hands cheered him and the mill girls surrounded him and raised cheer after cheer. He was photographed among the goats; he was photographed everywhere. If X-Ray photographs could be taken from outside he would have been photographed in his bed room.

While the work of the photographer is apparently easy Miss Clare Leighton, who has been making an oil painting of the Mahatma, finds him a difficult model. 'She confesses it

has been the most difficult she has ever undertaken, for naturally the Mahatma never poses.' 'People talk of the repose of the Indian,' she said, 'but Indians make up for the repose of their bodies by the extreme animation of their head and hands. I hoped that I would have an easier time on his silence day, but he kept his head buried down while he wrote his letters, then we got endless streams of people interviewing him.' Miss Leighton is not discouraged because it is a work of love.

This is by no means a full or exhaustive account of Mahatma Gandhi's visit to Europe. It is being written while the Round Table Conference is still in session. Pressing and cordial invitations have been received by the Mahatma from several countries in Europe and from America. It is not yet known whether he will accept any of them, or return straight to India from England. Wherever he may go the same remarkable scenes will be re-enacted. He has stirred the heart of the West as no other man ever did before. To use the commonplace phrase that he has been lionised conveys no adequate idea of the love and enthusiasm he has aroused. It is not even enough to say that he has been welcomed as a great man, or the greatest among living men. There is a deeper feeling behind the astonishing demonstrations that have greeted Mahatma Gandhi everywhere. There is a conscious or subconscious realisation that he is not as other men, that he is a man the like of whom is rarely seen on earth. He stands before the world as a man chastened but not embittered by suffering, a man who is undergoing a constant process of self-purification, whose love for humanity exceeds the love of men. Frail of figure and physique he is strong with the strength of the soul and there is no power on earth that can move him from his purpose. He stands for the freedom of his own nation and all other nations, for utter and absolute freedom from violence. To devout Christians his life is Christ-like, to orthodox Hindus he appears like an incarnation of divinity. To all men he is a heroic figure, his very simplicity investing him with an incomparable grandeur.

Postscript.—The above account was written for publication out of India. At the moment of going to the press in this country we know that the Round Table Conference is at an end and Mahatma Gandhi has left England for India by way of the continent of Europe. His two great speeches at the Conference, the tribute paid to him by Lord Sankey, are known to the reading public. Mr. Lloyd George, by an unexpected contingency, has been able to pay a remarkable tribute to Mahatma Gandhi on the soil of India. What is the message that the saintly leader of the Congress is bringing to India? Of that no one has any notion, for the future of India lies on the lap of the gods.

War on Religion

By Sir Hari Singh Gour, Kt., M.A., D.Litt.,
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The dawn of history bends its head in devout obeisance to the spirit of religion. The riddle of the universe, the rythmic appearance of the sun and the stars in the empyrean blue, the appearance and the disappearance of life, its pleasures and pain, its pathetic transience, the seeming governance of the Universe with its plan and order, accompanied by the only too palpable exhibition of its cruelty and wantonness, have engendered confusion in the human breast from which there has sprung forth the concept of a divine power, benevolent or malevolent God or the Devil—who haunted the movements of man and guided or beguiled him in his career through life. Hope and fear are the two mainsprings of human action. The desire to live and the fear of death are the two main pivots of all religions with their necessary appanage of reward and punishment. A desire to appease and propitiate an unseen power which seems to propel the sun and create a storm aroused in man the first instinct of religion. In spite of its numerous permutations and combinations it still continues its main fulcrum. As a bodily ailment creates the doctor and the quack with their pills and nostrums, so this mental ailment brought in its train the prophet and the priest, the revealer of divine secrets and the healer of spiritual wounds. So started the course of a revealed religion which as time grew assumed the veneration due to age regardless of its innate hollowness or transparent make-believe. Once in this long and inglorious history of man there arose one who was by nature and training an uncompromising iconoclast of all cant, sham and hypocrisy and who ruthlessly tore open the veil of superstition and mystery from the whitened sepulchre of so-called revelation. Gautam Buddh had made this the mission of his life, but litttle did he know that he who had taught man the purest of reason and the noblest of truths would even before his ashes grew cold be raised to the transcendental heights of the Absolute, and his memory wrapped in a halo of superstitious adoration. Gautam Buddh was a master-thinker, a mastermind, but he had little acquaintance with the psychology of the vulgar mind—which cared for no reason, obeyed no logic but nursed a desire to live and worshipped the man who made him false promise of a future life. To argue with him that man created out of base matter can be nothing but base in substance and essence is to argue a problem of Euclid with an ox or a donkey. To him his earthly earnings, hopes and aspirations, love and hate matter, and above all immortality. The preservation of one's life is a biological instinct; immortality is only its natural offshoot. How is he then to secure this interminable life? Man is a gregarious animal. He cannot love alone. Hence his love of family and friends—of these some have departed before him; others have incurred his odium. He wishes to meet his departed friends, chastise his enemies. How is he to do it? In life he was successful, but still his aspirations and ambitions remained ungratified. When is he going to gratify them? All these and many more *idolas* of life haunt his dreams and create in him an insatiable longing for a further life. Disease may strike him down but will death be the end of it all—his hopes, his desires, his aspirations and ambitions? He had striven for success but success never came—will the grave close upon his un-

requited efforts—will he never get a chance to pay off old scores? Will the unredressed balance between the rich and the poor, capital and labour, and a thousand and one other wrongs the flesh is heir to be settled with death? It is true that the mortal coil perishes and the dust returns unto dust, but if there is to be a future life with a survival of consciousness then there must be a *tertium quid* in man which defies the flame of cremation, the decay of death. It led to the invention of soul with which man was endowed as his special attribute of special creation. Soul was divine: it was a Spirit and as such immortal. In its disports it enlivened human bodies but the body perishing the soul remained and found an anchorage in other forms. This was the first postulate of religion which Gautam Buddh ruthlessly destroyed 2,500 years before science seconded his efforts. There remained the question of a Supreme Being who following the analogy of earthly kings rules the Universe; and who following the procedure of earthly kings accredited his ambassadors to this planet to represent him and act for him in his relation with man. These God's vicegerents upon earth claimed to speak in his name and readily commanded obedience from the ignorant proletariat. Rivals soon appeared upon the scene and in the multitude of pretenders the poor laity had some difficulty in offering his allegiance. But while the pretenders were guilty of unspeakable meanness towards one another they were all agreed in deriving their authority from a common source; and though their methods were different their objective was identical—to nurture and prey upon the credulity of their victims. In course of time their doctrines became hallowed by age and sanctified by the observance of the pious devotees. The son considered it his filial duty to observe the rituals of his father, and so in the course of a few generations a crop of willing slaves to the dogma arose when emotion cemented the bond of religion and dispelled reason as a hallucination of the devil. The spiritual kingdom now grew side by side with the temporal one and in their race for power the two often came to closer grips and sanguinary conflicts. Thus man—poor man—shorn of his freedom and his transient happiness was gripped in the vice of the Church and the State. But it is an old adage that when thieves fall out honest men come by their own. In the struggle of the two for supremacy the Church loosened its grip upon the laity, the cult of ignorance was relaxed giving place to the inrush of science which threw all the dogmas of the Church upon the dissecting table and began to apply to them the new-found texts of the acid and the scapel. Its first grand discovery was that of human evolution which gave the *quietus* to the doctrine of special creation. That discovery unravelled the hollowness of the clerical pretensions. It routed their citadel of make-believe. The Church now began to slip from its pristine foothold. It began to gravitate from its exalted pinnacle: other discoveries followed which disproved the assumption that the earth was the centre and main pivot of the Universe. The Church prosecuted Galileo who confirmed the Copernicus theory of the planetary system. The earth descended from its high estate, and man became classed with the cockroach and the spider. The dogmas of the Church were rudely shaken and a race of new crusaders had arisen who wielded their sword with greater effect in smiting the clerical Saracen. The unity of God with man was proved to be his unity, if unity it can be called—with all cosmic creation. There was nothing special—nothing ethereal in his composition. Fashioned out of clay he remained a clay figure enlivened by the spark of life which quickened the grass in the field as it enlivened the shapeless mass of protoplasm. There remained a quest for the Absolute. On that subject the final word had been said by the Great Founder of Buddhism. On that subject the last word of modern science has verified his asservations. If God be personal his personality limits his omnipresence. If he be just he can confer no favours. If he can confer no favours service to him is of

no avail, for man is then the master of his own Destiny. There is then no occupation for the trible of priests and prophets, saviours and shadows of the Absolute. Science has pricked the bubble of blind faith and traditional dogmas. In the duel between Science and the Dogma, Science has triumphed. But its triumph must not be overrated. It has dispelled the mist of superstition, removed the mirage of idle faith. It has cleared the Augean stables of accepted doctrines and acknowledged credos, but it has done nothing more. Nor indeed, with our limited mental horizon it can.

The movement that religious instruction should not be imparted to the raw and callow youths is intended to correct such mis-education. The movement demands that the most impressionable year of an infant's life should be devoted to the study of non-controversial subjects and that polemical subjects, whether theological or secular, should be reserved for study in his maturer years. Theologians know what this would lead up to. They openly declared that it would instal atheism where Christianity now reigns supreme. The protagonists of the secular education movement retort by saying that if Christianity cannot hold its own except when imbibed with the nursery-milk so much the worse for Christianity.

A war upon religion is thus waged from different quarters. All its frontiers are exposed to intensive fusilade which it cannot long withstand. That all the so-called religions have had their day seems clear. The old lion which roared through the forest has now retired to his cave to lick his wounds, but there too he is not safe. He is now given a chance to come out in the open and fight or throw up his paws and surrender. He will do neither one nor the other; but what he is doing is that he is being starved to death. It is not expected that the world will ever be peopled by all philosophers or cent per cent thinkers. The war upon religion will drive it from the academies into the wilds and the brushwood of the countryside. Even in the towns old women of both sexes will still linger to bow their heads to the tenets of their forbears. But the State which has so long nurtured and profiled by its alliance with religion has already effected a divorce. Even in a country so priest-ridden as Spain the last vestige of ecclesiastical supremacy has disappeared. In India Brahmanism masquerading as Hinduism is already in its last gasp. In China and Japan the old undefiled Buddhism upon the lines of which Confucius taught is gaining the ground. In America the traveller might read upon landing a hoarding "Wanted a Religion."

The religions that profess to peer into the future of man and the Universe have thus had a rude awakening with the advent of scientific research. It sufficed to sound their deathknell; but some religions have blended their inculcations with the precepts of common morality. "Thou shall not steal" is a precept the behest of which even some lower animals rigidily follow. But they do so because of the pressure of moral atavism rather than of the decalogue. Some religions do not even go to that length, for they remain content by preparing the stray souls for the hereafter treating with disdain this life with all its attendant duties. Hinduism is one such religion. There is on the other hand a cult which now passes for a creed which approaches the morrow through the medium of to-day and enjoins upon man the obligation of self-sacrifice and service. Its flights into the metaphysical regions are limited to linking the present with the future, so lowering the standard of its precepts so as to appeal to the market place. Such is Buddhism which in a sense is morality first and morality next compared to which all else is secondary. But these two are extreme examples of religion. Apart from them there are religions which enjoin a high decree of morality as a purifying process for a happier hereafter. Human Psychology has long reduced these precepts as the necessary framework of a social order. Religion has thus been shorn of one of its most attractive ally; and

experience has proved that religion and morality are in many cases ill company, while neither can control mass movements in which the play of selfishness rises above the objurgations of both, as witness the Great War in which every principle of religion and morality was trampled under foot. Its spectacular effect upon the world movement has given the *quietus* to religion and its attendant morality of which Russia is one outstanding example. Before the War the Empire of Holy Russia was dominated by the Tzar whom his subjects addressed as the " Little Father " in contradistinction to the "Great Father" who ruled in Heaven. It was the land of icons and priests as witness the influence of the priest Rasputin who haunted the Winter Palace. But the War made a holocaust of the earthly father and icons were collected and hurled into the White Sea. The War had completely changed the temper of the people and with it their religion. The transformation brought on with such dramatic suddenness would be inexplicable were it not for the fact that it was but a ripple of the world with which the War had gathered and the full effect of which cannot be yet judged by the many wreckages it had left behind. More was to follow and is to follow, since all other countries have felt the same shock though in lesser degrees, since while one parades its new-found liberty the others blush to retain their *quondam* faith openly since they still retain the momentum given to them by the ages of tribulation and their own early education when the mind is raw and readily absorbs and retains whatever is put into it without judgment. The War has not only destroyed Empires coming down from the age of Methuselah, but it has shaken the very bedrock of society scattering into thin air such copy-book slogans as the divine right of kings—the ruling middle-class—the blue-blooded peers—the submerged tenth—the weaker sex—the sanctity of religion—the sanction of faith—and others which placed privilege and birth before ability and labour.

Such then is the trend of the world's religious thought. The foundation of all religions has been violently shaken. In a country so large as Russia the very word religion has become an anathema. Atheism and scepticism is no longer openly persecuted, but secretly reckoned as the coming power. Science is dreaded as the remorseless enemy of religion, but science is advancing and religion is retreating before its mighty avalanche. The labour movement in all countries is openly anti-clerical and anti-religious, and it is gaining momentum with every turn of the wheel. How long it will take for all old faiths to be swept off the board it is difficult to say, but no religions actually will take the risk of any religion at any price. So much is clear. But what remains? Will the world fifty years hence be wholly without religion? on this one may safely venture upon a prophecy. Man is inherently superstitious. He is sceptical of his own conclusions. Even Socrates who had spent a long life in his search for truth could not resist the offer of a Cock to the god Aescupalius before he died.

The fact is that if by some sudden cataclysm of nature the world were to be re-created and peopled with supermen the latter would still find themselves face to face with insoluble problems baffling the probe of science. Again, such a world might be well rid of fools, but it cannot be rid of charlatons who will as now continue to prey upon the credulity of the unwary, the result being that the old will reappear in a new garb more appealing to the people. So it may be said of religions in the end—"Religion is dead. Long live Religion!"

"The European Crisis"

By Prof. B. N. Sharma, S. D. College, Cawnpore

Europe is to-day in the throes of a terrible financial crisis. The world stands aghast at the rapidity with which misfortune succeeds misfortune. The collapse of German finance that was threatening to spell ruin to several States of Central Europe was generally regarded to have been averted by the Hoover Plan and people fondly believed that a year's moratorium would not only go a long way towards the financial rehabilitation of Germany but would enable statesmen and experts to join their heads together to devise means to put an end to the instability of the economic system of Europe. And, for a time, the situation was full of promise. There were signs of jubilation all round. The effect on the stock exchanges of the world was instantaneous and even prices of commodities showed an upward trend, but the optimists had been too confident. German misfortunes had their repercussions in other countries. The withdrawal by Continental banks of over £200,000,000 worth of gold from the Bank of England in a few days' time brought England face to the face with a very great crisis. According to a prominent member of the present British Government, "disaster was a matter not of days but of hours, and so grave was it that it demanded the efforts of not one party but of three to cope with it."

After a few days of hectic party negotiations the Labour Government was succeeded by the present National Government. It was then revealed to an astounded world how desperate the position was when the French and American Governments had consented to grant a loan of £80,000,000 to England only if the Government balanced her budget and gave a reasonable guarantee to live henceforth within her means. This was not all. On the night of September 20, England found herself thrown off the gold standard. The Nation that had come out successful from the trials and tribulations of the War and its aftermath was found too weak to weather the "economic blizzard" that was blowing over Europe. A few days afterwards the newspapers announced that Sweden too, the one country that had almost completely escaped the misfortunes of the post-War period, had been compelled to go off the gold standard.

In short, the situation is quite uncertain and one does not know what turn the wheel of fortune may take at any time. It is because of this uncertainty, so antagonistic to the smooth working of International finance, that several American financiers have recommended to President Hoover to complete the noble work he has begun by proposing to extend the moratorium of all reparations and inter-governmental debts by at least four years for without such a declaration they cannot expect the revival of confidence which is a necessary condition of all business prosperity. French Ministers have just returned from their visit to Berlin and before starting for Washington have invited Lord Reading, the new British Foreign Secretary, to discuss with them the international situation.

Such hurried visits of politicians may enable Governments to alleviate distrust for a short time, but they cannot provide a permanent cure. The economic confusion of the world cannot be remedied until the politicians recognize that all further attempts to keep the economic life of Germany in the swaddling clothes of post-War limitations are bound to have terrible reactions upon their own countries.

II

Restoration of German economic life to normalcy, so essential to the recovery of world prosperity, cannot be brought about unless the whole policy underlying the reparations payments made by her under the Young Plan is revised, and the truth driven home that it is as impossible for Germany to pay to the Allies these fabulous sums every year as it was for them to extort from her £24,000,000,000, the sum originally demanded from her. If this sum had to be reduced to £6,000,000,000 under the Paris Schedules and to £2,500,000,000 under the Dawes Plan, there is no reason why the £2,050,000,000 of the Young Plan should be held irreducible.

Germany has been, no doubt, very prompt in meeting her reparations obligations and a question may arise that, if she is as poor as she is represented to be how has she managed to pay these huge sums so far. During the last three years Germany has paid in reparations, both under the Dawes and Young Plans, a sum of £290,000,000, and she has borrowed £700,000,000 approximately, chiefly from U. S. A. As the bulk of the reparations payments eventually pass to U. S. A., she has been virtually receiving only a part of the sum that she has been advancing to Germany.

There would have been no trouble in the immediate future had not, all of a sudden, the stream of foreign loans begun to run dry, and thus made it impossible for Germany to make these reparations payments as well as to balance her huge adverse trade balance. The United States of America, Germany's principal creditor, could not see her great financial interests in the country jeopardised by the impending collapse, and so, not as an act of philanthropy but as a good business deal, President Hoover made his famous proposal to suspend the payment of reparations and all inter-governmental debts for a year, from July 1, 1931 to June 30, 1932. To all Europe this came as a great relief. All the European Powers concerned cabled their consent. France alone tried to make political capital out of German difficulties by consenting to help her only if she, in her turn, consented to a ten years' moratorium of the Treaty of Versailles. Though eventually France also had to abandon her untenable position when she realized that by insisting upon political guarantees as the price of help she was not only plying a lonely furrow but was making a fool of herself. So, at the Seven-Power Conference of London, in June last, the Hoover moratorium was accepted by all the nations concerned and a year's breathing space provided.

Of course, no body imagines that a year's holiday would bring into existence a new heaven and a new earth in German finance and enable her to resume her reparations payments under the old scale. German misfortunes are not transitory in character. Ever since the collapse of the mark in 1923, the financial position of the country has been causing great anxiety. The Allied acceptance of the Dawes Plan was itself a tacit acknowledgement of a fall in the German capacity to pay. The Young Plan reduced the reparations burden by 20 per cent. and even Germany accepted the new arrangement not because it was fair but because it brought the cessation of the Allied occupation of the Rhine, removal of the control of the Reparations Commission, and a promise by the creditor Powers to find markets for the sale of German manufactures.

Germany fulfilled to the letter her part of the transaction. The spend-thrift Muller Ministry gave way to the Government of Dr. Bruning who repeatedly invoked the now famous Article 48 of the Constitution to set the German house in order. As the Chancellor himself stated, during his last visit to London, the German Government has done all it could to tide over the difficulty. She has raised taxes and effected economies in expenditure four times during the last fourteen months. All classes of population are bearing the pinch. While salaries are falling, taxes are rising. Even suffering is exploited and

an out-door patient to a State or Municipal hospital has to pay a special tax of sixpence before he obtains his ticket. All drinks except milk have come under the new 10 per cent. tax. "There are parts of Germany," as Dr. Bruning said in the German Diet the other day, "where the people have not tasted meat for the last two years." In the face of an unprecedented depression that has overtaken the German industry since the refusal of the creditor Powers to receive their reparations dues in kind, the German Government has now undertaken to wipe out the item of the Workers Insurance Against Unemployment Fund from the budget by making it a charge upon Industry. In spite of all these sacrifices, the German financial superstructure has not been able to stand the strain caused by the unprecedented world slump, the burden of the interest charges on her foreign loans, and her commitments under the Young Plan.

The dark forces of German despair had been gathering force as far back as October 1930. Dr. Schacht, during his visit to Washington in October 1930, had mentioned the likelihood of Germany declaring a moratorium on her conditional reparations payments. In December last, the Berlin Chamber of Industry and Commerce had talked about the modification of the reparations burden, the economic impracticability of which had been amply demonstrated. About the same time last year Dr. Bruning had talked of the "reparations problem hanging like a cloud over the German nation." The continued fall in commodity prices alone justifies a scaling down of the Hague annuities by at least 30 per cent.

III

The growing difficulties of Germany combined with the unwillingness of the creditor Powers to reopen the question of reparations made the foreign investor extremely nervous about his investments. The failure of the Credit Anstalt of Austria and the Darmstadter and National Bank of Germany (popularly known as the Danat Bank) shocked confidence in German ability to meet her foreign commitments to such an extent that the run on the Reichsbank assumed alarming proportions. In a week over £200,000,000, representing more than two years' reparations payments, were withdrawn. Special steps had to be taken to prevent the heavy drain that resulted.

It is becoming quite plain that in spite of all the efforts of Dr. Bruning to make the two ends meet, the German budget cannot afford to pay, year in year out, besides the usual interest on her foreign loans, a sum of £80,000,000 in the immediate future and varying amounts up to 1988 in the form of reparations. Little wonder if Germany of to-day has been likened by Mr. Stimson, the American Secretary of State, to a leaking vessel. Just as it is useless to pour more water into the vessel unless the leak is stopped, so it is useless to lend Germany large sums of money in long or short term loans until steps are taken to stop this economic leakage. "A loan," Mr. Stimson says, "may be made to meet pressing needs but the only permanent solution is a revision of the financial impositions of the Peace Treaty. Periodic financial collapses in Central Europe can be prevented only when Europe realizes that Germany cannot pay the amount specified by the Young Plan." An American economist compares Germany to a merchant whose business has been burnt but who is held liable for the payment of debts without any protection from the Bankruptcy Court. He wonders why Germany has not followed the Russian example by repudiating all foreign obligations. Governor Ritchie of Maryland, a likely successor of Mr. Hoover to the presidency of U. S. A., thinks it preposterous to expect Germany to resume on their present basis her payments on the expiry of the year's moratorium. But the writing off of the reparations or even a very considerable reduction of the annuities by a redrafting of the Young Plan would raise a whole crop of

difficulties. A brief review of a few of them will be helpful to a proper understanding of the question.

IV

In the first place, we have to overcome the intransigience of France and her allies, the secession States of Central and Eastern Europe. M. Briand, the French Foreign Minister, regards the Young Plan to be sacrosanct and would not agree to its revision on any terms. M. Maginot, the French War Minister, is vehemently opposed to any reopening of the question for that would savour of capitulation to Germany. And there has been no marked change in the French attitude even since the publication of the Hoover Plan in June last. Though, at the London Conference, the French, afraid of the consequences of flouting world opinion, waived their demand for a second Versailles and the control of the German customs policy by an International Commission, they have not ceased to manoeuvre from behind.

In the week preceding the Conference they withdrew from the Bank of England their gold deposits worth more than £27,000,000, just to warn the English statesmen of the danger of taking up an independent line of action at an International gathering. How this French move led to the withdrawal by the Continental banks of over £200,000,000 from the Bank of England and the ultimate separation of gold from the sterling has already been narrated. The recent award of the Permanent Court of International Justice on the legality of the Austro-German Customs Union against Germany by 8 to 7 is a conclusive proof of the fact that a great Power's attitude on an important question is bound to colour the judgment of even the Judges who sit on the benches of the Hague Court. It was the certainty of an unfavourable award that made Germany and Austria to abandon the Union a few days before the Court was to give its verdict.

This attitude of France of exacting its pound of flesh can be defended neither on grounds of reason nor on the grounds of personal interest. The German reparations payments are designed to defray the cost of the reclamation of regions devastated by Germany during the War and the payment of pensions granted by the Allies to its citizens for losses that they suffered during that period. France has already got as much from Germany as was necessary to reconstruct her devastated regions. Besides, she occupied the Ruhr for several years, and even now is in possession of the Saar Region. During the operation of the Dawes Plan alone out of the total sum of £364,750,000 paid by Germany in reparations, France secured no less than £196,000,000. Belgium has been already compensated out of all proportion to her losses. England and U. S. A. are not only prepared but anxious to close this unpleasant chapter of post-War international relations since they amply realize that nothing short of it will save the situation. The need of the hour demands that France should come to the rescue of distressed Germany and treat the ex-enemy as an equal. Next to U. S. A., France is to-day the richest nation in the world, while her liquid resources are very much more than even those of U. S. A. As she can easily afford to be generous, it would be extremely unbecoming if she were to continue harbouring old grudges and playing petty politics.

V

If the reparation problem is tackled, the question of War debts cannot be ignored, as European Powers cannot let Germany off if their own burden of indebtedness is not to be taken off or at least greatly reduced. Here also there is the question of the attitude of the countries most concerned.

England, even as far back as 1922, was prepared to make considerable sacrifices in the common cause. Lord Balfour, on behalf of the British Government, offered to agree to a general cancellation of War debts if other

Powers concurred although that would have involved her in a loss of £1,900,000,000. In any case she offered not to demand from her allies more than what she would have pay to America. French attitude does not matter very much in this case because she did not lend large sums to her allies during the War. The problem really concerns U. S. A., for she virtually financed the War. Directly or indirectly she receives the money that the European Powers pay for loans contracted by them.

Hitherto the American Government has refused to go beyond the very generous concessions she made to the Allies some years ago by writing off, on a average, 25 per cent. of the sums due to her, but very recently a change seems to be coming over the American attitude. A large number of politicians are beginning to realize the utter futility of lending increasingly larger sums to Germany in long or short term loans so that she may have the consolation of receiving her debts from her allies who simply pass on to U. S. A. a major part of what they get from Germany in reparations. Some months ago, Mr. Louis T. McFadden, Chairman of the Committee of Banking and Currency of the American House of Representatives, in a statement published in the "Investment News of New York" advocated a more generous attitude on the part of U. S. A. on the War debts question. He advocated a five years' moratorium during which the question should be examined in all its bearings. In spite of unprecedented depression in several parts of U. S. A., particularly in States of the Middle West, and the fears of an impending deficit, several influential American financiers are prepared to appeal to American tax-payers to make a sacrifice by agreeing to a partial cancellation of War debts if European Powers agree (1) to abandon the principle of full cover of their obligations by reparations and (2) to make a sincere effort to reduce their existing expenditure on armaments for the maintenance and augmentation of which are being devoted even those savings that the Allies made as a result of substantial reductions that the U. S. A. made some years ago in the War debts owing to her. This leads us to a consideration of the question of disarmament.

VI

"Disarmament," said Mr. Lloyd George in his Albert Hall speech in July last, "is one of those questions about which every body agreed in principle but differed in practice." In spite of innumerable international conferences that have been held since the summer of 1921, for the limitation and reduction of armaments on land, sea and air, general disarmament is still a long way off. In fact, armaments, to-day, are the heaviest burden that European countries have to bear. In Great Britain, for example, 14 per cent. of the national expenditure is devoted to armaments. In France the proportion is 22 per cent. and in Italy 25.4 per cent. Already this heavy expenditure on armaments is accentuating the existing trade depression and diverting to other channels sums that could have been spent to drive off the wolf of want from the doors of large bodies of men, and if the February Conference fails, the race of armaments would become more keen for Germany alone can no longer be kept disarmed when all her neighbours are maintaining their armaments on a war basis, in spite of the definite understanding that M. Clemenceau and other Allied Ministers gave to Germany that her disarmament was only a preliminary to a general limitation and reduction of armaments.

Hitherto Franco-Italian differences have been responsible for the inability of disarmament conferences from producing any tangible results, but it now appears that Italy is changing its attitude, for Signor Mussolini, the other day, offered to reduce his army to 50,000 rifles with a proportionate quota of ships if other Mediterranean Powers made similar sacrifices. As England, Japan, and U. S. A. have never taken an irreconcilable position, it is only France that remains a

stumbling-block in the progressive reduction of armaments. In spite of all her neighbours being signatories to the League Covenant, the Locarno Treaties, the Kellogg Pact, and the Optional Clause, France maintains her armaments on the sole ground of the inadequacy of the security that these international safeguards provide. To-day, her armaments are, relatively to the rest of Europe, stronger than those of any Continental Power before or since the War, although her Eastern frontier now marches for the most part along the Alps, the Rhine, and the ever neutral Switzerland. And so determined is she to leave nothing to chance, that, in a few years time, that part of her frontier that touches Germany, will become "the most formidable region of fortifications the world has ever seen."

Indisputably, France, to-day, enjoys a degree of security seldom paralleled and yet as a prerequisite to her assent to consider any suggestion of disarmament, she insists upon the formation of an International Armed Force, abandonment by Germany of her programme of building three more pocket-battleships, and the disbandment of such voluntary organizations as the Stahlhelm. Impracticable conditions all. The truth is that France wants security not so much for herself as for her eastern Allies, Poland and the States of the Little Entente, and thus wants to make the political arrangements of the Treaty of Versailles inviolable. Now, it was not the intention of the framers of the Treaty to perpetuate the existing state of things, for Article IX of the same Instrument provides for the revision of defective settlements by peaceable means. To maintain her supremacy on the Continent, France wants to pin Germany to disarmament for ever. If France can retain her existing armaments on the ground of her territories having been invaded thrice during the last century, Germany can with equal justice plead that on each of these occasions she was invaded by France at the commencement of the War, and it was only after hard fighting that she repelled the enemy. Germany can further stregthen her case by referring to the forcible French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 in spite of the repeated protests of the League. If armaments are necessary for security, Germany, to be secured, must be stronger than all her neighbours combined. Disarmament is clearly a necessity if the nations of Europe want to tide over the present financial crisis, if they do not want to garner the harvest of hate that competitive armaments are breeding, if they want the League of Nations to survive as a force for world pacification.

VII

But something more than disarmament, and cancellation of debts and reparations is necessary to start Europe on its career of prosperity. The lowering of the tariff walls with which most of the countries of the world have surrounded themselves is an urgent necessity. Germany and Austria, to-day, find themselves, to quote Mr. J. L. Garvin, "in a state of economic siege." But the situation was not always so dark. As reparations have to be paid to the Allies in kind, German industry was rationalized to an extent undreamt of by other western countries. As mass production requires capital, and Germany had dissipated practically all her wealth during the inflation period, money had to be borrowed from America on a very large scale. For a few years German factories worked night and day and consequently unemployment was unknown. But soon the situation began to change. Home demand fell because of the completion of the process of the renewal of old stock, Stalin's five years' programme for Russia, the hostile attitude of the Communist Government towards a large number of German concessionary firms working in Russia, Mahatma Gandhi's programme of Swadeshi, Nationalist China's activities to make that country independent of European manufactures, blasted German hopes of recovering their pre-War markets in these countries. To make confusion worse con-

founded, the creditor Powers refused to receive reparations payments in kind. German industry had been organised to satisfy a very much greater demand. When the demand decreased, machinery became idle and unemployment figures soared up. 33.6 per cent. of the members of the German Trade Unions were in March last reported to be unemployed and 18.9 on short time.

If that is the condition of Germany, the condition of Austria is worse. The republic of Austria is, in fact, a crowning proof of the folly of the framers of the Treaty of Versailles. Vienna, its capital, besides containing one-third of the total population of the State, is a great industrial centre set in the heart of "a derisively small agricultural region." In pre-War days, it supplied the needs of a huge Empire. After the War, it found its markets closed to it by the high tariff walls erected by the Secession States.

The now abandoned Austro-German Customs Union was designed to ease this situation. In fact, the projected Union was a preliminary to a larger Customs Union between the industrial States of Germany, Austria, and Czecho-slovakia on the one hand, and agricultural States of Roumania, Yugoslavia, and Hungary on the other. France regarded the project to be not only a covert attempt to facilitate the eventual political union of the two German States, but also an infringement of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and the Austrian Loan Protocol of 1922 whereby Austria had undertaken "not to violate her economic independence by granting to any State a special regime or exclusive advantages calculated to threaten this independence." The German and the Austrian Governments denied that it infringed any of the agreements to which they were a party. The phrase "economic independence" occurring in the 1922 Protocol could not be taken to mean forced economic isolation. Besides, the Customs Union could very well serve as a starting point for M. Briand's projected United States of Europe.

Whatever the legal position, France regarded it to be fraught with dangerous consequences to the future of the Treaty of Versailles, because the moment the larger Customs Union of which this Union was an earnest took practical shape, Germany would have turned the tables upon her for the ring of States that nowadays look upon France as their champion against Germany, would be drawn closer to their erstwhile enemy. The project was so furiously attacked by France, that though Mr. Henderson, the British Foreign Secretary in the Labour Government, got it referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice, the two Governments thought it discreet to abandon it for the time being, even before the Permanent Court had given its decision.

VIII

Cancellation of reparations and War debts, effective disarmament, lowering of tariff walls, and revision of the unjust clauses of the Treaty of Versailles are then the only expedients by which the economic recovery of Europe can be brought about.

The present chaotic conditions in Germany and Austria are a menace to international peace and are, besides, sure to lead to the breakdown of the economic foundations of modern life. While the Hitlerites are busy preparing for the inevitable crash that they are expecting every time, shrewd observers are of opinion that unless the situation definitely improves during the coming two months, Bolshevism would sweep across the Vistula and no one knows where the flood would stop.

Bleeding Germany is a condemnation of European civilisation, and if that civilisation is to justify itself, it must, in the words of Dr. Joan Fry, "reverse the policy that has reduced Germany, and with it Europe, to her present plight." It is not too late for statesmen of Western Europe to realize that it is suicidal to nourish past grievances and harbour foul suspicions at a time when the entire super-structure of modern civilisation is tottering to a fall.

President Hoover and some famous American men of affairs are busy planning the holding, this winter, of an international conference of politicians and financiers to discover a satisfactory cure for all the ills from which the world is at the present time suffering. It is hoped that the statesmen that will participate, in such a conference, will rise to the height of the occasion and will earn the blessings of the generations to come by working for the good of the world and not for that of their own countries only.

Constructive Work Under Swaraj Government

By Mr. S. G. Warty, M.A.
(Secretary to the Institute of Political Science, Bombay)

I wonder if the subject I desire to deal with in this article will appeal to many of my readers. Not that it will not appeal to them in time to come; but there are, I can well believe, a large number of persons, who sincerely think that the time has not yet arrived to consider questions of the character I propose to discuss. In their opinion Swaraj is yet far off, and that at the present hour it would be a misdirection of our energy to think of anything else than the attainment of Swaraj. After Swaraj is secured, there will be time enough, these gentlemen say, to think of constructive work. But to think of it before Swaraj comes is like counting one's chicks before they are hatched.

I am not absolutely blind to the force of this contention; still, I should think, there is considerable wisdom in thinking in advance and in keeping ourselves ready with our programmes of constructive work, so that as soon as Swaraj is attained, we may be able to put them into force without loss of time. Those who think thus in advance are doing no less service to the country than those who are actually engaged in what is called the struggle for Swaraj. Their performances may not be spectacular but they are by no means less useful or important.

ADULT EDUCATION

It appears to me that our first business, after the attainment of Swaraj, ought to be to educate the generality of the people of the country in the principles and practice of democratic government. There is what is called a training for democracy and we should devote ourselves under the Swaraj Government to the task of creating that mentality among the people which will foster a democratic spirit and enable them to discharge their new responsibilities with knowledge, with ability and with courage. We should take the utmost care to see that the Swaraj constitution does not fail for want of our ability to work it in the proper manner and in the proper spirit.

We must therefore take the adults in hand, and impart to them the knowledge of the mechanism of democratic administration, teach them their own rights and duties, and make them also understand the rights and duties of the State. I class this work under the general term "Adult Education" and let me make it clear that literacy is by no means essential therein though it may be helpful. Every individual, whether literate or illiterate, is endowed with a sufficient amount of intelligence and common sense, and is expected to be able fairly to grasp and imbibe new political ideas if only his mind is properly handled.

CENTRAL INSTITUTION NECESSARY

To carry out this idea of adult education in an effective manner and on an adequate scale, a Central Institution is necessary in each Province, which should devise syllabuses suited to the various types of people, arrange regular lectures and classes in all villages to impart education in citizenship to all kinds of people according to their capacity and even to put to use modern methods such as cinema demonstrations to illustrate ideas vividly and to create ineffaceable effects. It may also be useful to combine with this instruction, some knowledge of the affairs of the world outside India, showing their connection and com-

parison with Indian conditions. The principal aim should be to make of the average Indian a fairly critical and well-informed citizen who would take intelligent interest in the public affairs of the country and help to maintain and foster thereby the true democratic spirit essential to the health and growth of the Swaraj constitution.

To a certain class of people it may appear that I am only stating the obvious. But people who live in cities have no idea of the amount of ignorance prevailing among our village folk in this respect. It is not right to draw conclusions from the recent sentimental upheaval against a foreign government. It was more correctly a protest against past and accumulated sufferings. But to think out problems in a constructive manner requires a continuous training of the mind, and that training and that knowledge it must be our urgent business to impart. I do not consider the schooling of children as important and urgent as this adult education in the present hour. And I hold that this adult education should not be a merely State concern, or an exclusively people's affair, but it should be the combined undertaking of both, the responsibilities and obligations of each other being properly adjusted and harmonised.

ORGANISING THE VILLAGE

Another urgent constructive activity under Swaraj would be the organisation of the village. Here comes what is popularly known as rural reconstruction. Unfortunately this word rural reconstruction is a much misunderstood word. In many quarters not exempting the official world, it is regarded only as another name for agricultural propaganda. Now rural reconstruction means the organisation and construction of the village life. It concerns with human beings and not with isolated, unconnected departmental activities. The village thus must be a replica of the whole country. The punchayets must of course be there, to administer the affairs of the village, where the average villager will begin to experience the nature of self-government and the educated citizen will be able to test in practice the ideas and principles of democracy. But the village should also have its educative, agricultural, industrial, cultural and social activities with women's and youth movements, etc., etc., all tending in one well-co-ordinated effort, to develop the individual, the citizen, the living human being.

This village reconstruction work has got an economic aspect also, and is bound to strengthen the economic life of the country by organising agricultural production, by helping to cure the evil of indebtedness and fostering a prosperous industrial life in the village itself.

Thus then, adult education and village organisation are the first two of the most urgent items of constructive activity that we shall have to undertake under the Swaraj Government. The first, *i.e.*, adult education, is meant to create and to develop the democratic mentality essential to the successful working of the democratic institutions, and the second, i.e., village organisation, is meant to test that mentality and strengthen it in practice.

REFORM OF PUBLIC LIFE

The third item of constructive activity in my opinion, is the reform of public life, so far as it influences the democratic spirit of government and gives rise to constitutional conventions and usages. These conventions and usages should not be mere imitations of other constitutions, but should grow with us according to our genius as it is called, that is to say, according to our nature, habits and thoughts. We should also take care from the very start to avoid all those pitfalls which have rendered democratic government a sham, in many countries which have adopted democratic constitutions. Even in England, which is the home of self-government, there is to-day a great departure from the true essence of the self-governing principle, and many constitutional usages have crept in through the particular form that the organization of public life has taken there, which have rendered parlia-

mentary control merely nominal. A lucid description of this will be found in a recent publication on the Government of England by Prof. Ramsay Muir. The point I desire to convey is that from the very beginning of the working of the constitution, care should be taken to avoid or check undesirable developments in custom, in practice and in usage.

It may be asked what constructive activity can be of use to us to achieve this object. My answer is that our constitution will grow and put forth shoots and leaves, according to the nature of the motives and aspirations of our public men. If our public men are honest and truly patriotic, if they are imbued with a true spirit of service and not governed by ambition and love of power, the country will reap the benefits of the healthy growth of the constitution. If, on the other hand, they are selfish and ambitious and fight among one another for power and honour, wasting vast amounts of energy in unscrupulous intrigues and in running and pulling down one another, then this state of things is bound to be reflected in the working and growth of the constitution. Let it be frankly admitted that India, at the present moment, is weary of the latter kind of public life, and the majority of our politicians of to-day would be nothing but a nuisance under a Swaraj Government. We are to-day disgusted with these politicians whose incessant noise deadens our ears and fills the newspaper columns day by day with the most worthless stuff imaginable. Under the Swaraj Government, we want quiet men, able men, conscientious men, and our electorate must be trained to disinguish the genuine from the counterfeit. This will be the great problem before us for which we shall have to make provision.

IS INDIA A NATION ?

The next urgent question to which we shall have to direct our constructive activity, is the evolution of an Indian nation. It will be readily admitted that for a Sawarj constitution to live and grow, it is essential that Indians of all classes and creeds should rapidly grow into a nation, and it will also be admitted that no conscious work has yet been done to an adequate extent in this direction. Of course if a Britisher tells me that India is not a nation and that for this reason she does not deserve self-government, my prompt retort would be, that the fundamentals of national unity have long existed in India and in support of my contention I would throw in his face Prof. Radhakumud Muckerji's learned brochure on the subject. And, secondly, I would point out that the working of self-government is itself a powerful means of evolving a nation.

But when I would say this to him in defence, in my heart of hearts I would not fail to recognise our own shortcomings. I would readily admit that at the present hour, along with national tendencies there are also fissiparous tendencies. Surely it is time for us to adopt all effective measures to try to make India a truly compact nation, by education, by constant co-operation among the various communities, by removing all social disabilities and by various other methods. Hindus and Moslems must learn to forget their differences of creed in the discharge of all national affairs and among the Hindus themselves the bitter rivalry between caste and caste, between community and community must disappear. I do not of course expect them to disappear completely for some generations to come, but surely it can be so contrived that they will cease to exercise any influence on public activities. As to the Hindu-Moslem bitterness, let us hope that it will slowly die when Moslems and Hindus will stand shoulder to shoulder in working out the destiny of their common motherland under the Swaraj Government. Under a self-governing India, communal associations and leagues are entirely out of place, and if they cannot be dissolved immediately, let them at least confine themselves to their own little things and not presume to influence public life and national affairs.

DEVELOPING WORLD MENTALITY

So far I have dealt with constructive work in regard to the internal problems of the

country. But let us also realise that we are no longer an isolated people. India with practically one-fifth of the population of the world, is bound to play an important part in the politics of the world. But I do not desire her to develop like other countries, as an exclusive nation, striving to secure the largest portion of the spoils of the world in competition with other countries, but I would like her to develop as a loving member of the human family, working out the salvation of the world and serving humanity's ends. Therefore, under a Swaraj Government, steps should be taken from the very start to create a world mentality among our people and to teach them to think always in terms of the whole of humanity.

Because of her human strength, her great heritage, her culture and philosophy, I can visualise for India the most useful position in the affairs of the world—a position in which she will not only guard the peace of the world, but bring about effective harmony and co-operation among the various portions of the human family. The business of her sons would be to bring about intellectual co-operation between East and West, North and South, to make the various peoples of the world understand and appreciate one another's culture, so that each people may learn to give its best to other peoples and accept what is their best, and that all may take pleasure and pride in the common heritage of mankind. Every citizen of India must therefore be taught from the very start to be a citizen of the world and to discharge his duties and obligations as a useful member of the human family, contributing his best to its upkeep and health.

These, then, I consider to be the most urgent items of constructive activity under Swaraj Government, namely, adult education, organization of village life, reform of public life, evolution of an Indian nation, and the creation of a world mentality.

Mahatma Gandhi as a Speaker and Writer

By Mr. Raghukul Tilak, M.A.

We may or may not regard Mahatma Gandhi as the greatest man living, but there is no denying the fact that his word, spoken or written, affects the thoughts and conduct of a greater number of people than that of any other man. Hence an estimate of him as a speaker and writer, imperfect and tentative as it must be in the circumstances, may help us to a better understanding of his personality. In a deeper sense to understand him as a speaker and writer would be to understand the whole philosophy of his life. But the present writer restricts himself to a humbler task and will consider briefly only the form and manner of his style in speech and writing.

Fortunately we have the Mahatma's own estimate of nearly every aspect of his personality, and still more fortunately whatever he has to say of himself suffers neither from an excess of modesty nor from even the slightest touch of self-praise. He can pronounce a judgment on himself with the same detachment as a judge on a prisoner in the dock. And so what he thinks of himself as a speaker and writer is of the greatest value for our purpose. In fact one need do little more than bring together his own observations on the subject.

The first time Mahatma (then only Mr.) Gandhi tried to speak before an audience was at a meeting of the Vegetarian Society in England of which he was a member. But owing to his extreme shyness the attempt was a failure. "I had not the courage to speak," he tells us in the Story of his Experiments with Truth, "and I therefore decided to set down my thoughts in writing. I went to the meeting with the document in my pocket. So far as I recollect I did not find myself equal even to reading it, and the President had it read by some one else". On another occasion he started making a speech but got confused and had to sit down after speaking a few sentences. Nor was this shyness of his confined to public speaking. "Even when I paid a social call the presence of half a dozen or more people would strike me dumb." Things did not improve even after his return to India. When he appeared with his first brief before a court of law he tells us his head was reeling and he felt as though the whole court was doing likewise. What he considers to be his first public speech was delivered at Pretoria soon after his first arrival in South Africa and in his own words made a considerable impression on the meeting.

Thus we see it was only after repeated attempts and under the stress of necessity that he became a speaker. Even to-day one would hardly call him a born orator in the usual sense of the word or feel that he enjoys speaking in public. It remains his conviction that "all this talking can hardly be said to be of any benefit to the world. It is so much waste of time." In spite of his disclaimers, however, nobody who has heard him speaking and holding audiences of tens of thousands spell-bound by the charm and simplicity of his utterances will hesitate to call him a great and powerful speaker.

Apart from the indefinable magnetism of his personality and his utter sincerety what is the secret of his greatness as a speaker? It is not the depth of his learning. His literary equipment is admittedly poor. It is not his command over the language. He generally

speaks in Hindi and still makes mistakes of idiom and grammar. Nor again is it the possession of a resonant oratorical voice rising and falling in rhythmical cadences. For even from the Congress rostrum he uses the same easy conversational tone as when talking to his co-workers in the privacy of his Ashram.

If there is any one quality which above all others distinguishes his speeches and writings and which may be said to include all others, it is *simplicity*. We all know that this is perhaps the most difficult quality to be acquired by any artist. Yet it comes so easily and naturally to the Mahatma that you do not suspect even the least conscious effort at its acquirement. The explanation is furnished by himself. "My hesitancy in speech," he tells us, "which was once an annoyance is now a pleasure. Its greatest benefit has been that it has taught me the economy of words. I have naturally formed the habit of restraining my thoughts. And I can now give myself a certificate that a thoughtless word hardly ever escapes my tongue or pen." And again, "the Congress leaders had found that I had a capacity for condensed expression, which I had acquired by long practice." He says what he means and means what he says. In whatever language he may be speaking or writing he always uses words which are easily understood, his expression is clear and unambiguous and his sentences short and crisp. Like Voltaire he evidently believes that "a sentence that needs explaining is not worth explanation: its one duty is to present a fact." Like Abraham Lincoln his aim is to impress the idea on the mind of the hearer, not to charm the ear with smooth, flowing words. He also shares this characteristic with Lenin of whom one of his biographers tells us that he "spoke always in his hearers' own language, without high-flown metaphor, at most making use of a peasant fairy-tale or simile." Mahatma Gandhi would as a rule consider even a fairy-tale and a simile to be a superfluity.

The simplicity of his style, however, does not altogether rule out the use of figurative language or historical allusions. When he does make use of these he always does so with exquisite taste. Take for instance the following beautiful passage from an article entitled, "Officers and Officials" published in *Young India:*

"Between the big business house in Simla and the groaning millions on the plains, there is solid dead rock, and even the piercing cry of the feeble millions is broken into nothingness, as it heaves up to the mountain-top from the plains. Prince Siddhartha was kept in such isolation that he did not know what misery, want and death were. He was an honest lad. But for an accident, he would have been lost to the world. Well, he was living not much above his people. He had the same coloured pigment as his father's subjects. Whilst Siddhartha was living hardly thirty feet above the people, the Viceroy lives seven thousand five hundred feet above them. It would be no fault in him, if he did not willingly cut himself from the people, that he could not understand the people's hopes and fears. So long as he lives both physically and mentally in Simla, so long will he be kept in ignorance, even as Siddhartha was. But there is an accident in store for him, as there was for the renowned young prince, whom the world worships as Buddha, the Enlightened. Non-co-operation is the accident. And if Lord Reading has open eyes and open ears, it will not be long before he sees and hears the truth."

It is one of those passages which because of their natural flow and graceful diction arrest and hold the attention. There is no trace of any conscious effort at ornamentation or a desire to produce effect. By the way it also illustrates the charitable view which the Mahatma habitually takes of his political opponents. Perhaps it is he alone who could think of comparing the head of the "Satanic" system to Buddha, the Enlightened.

Or, again, take the following few sentences illustrative of his characteristic way of using figurative language:

"No country has ever risen without being purified through the fire of suffering. Mother suffers so that her child may live. The condition of wheat-growing is that the seed grain should perish. Life comes out of death. Will India rise out of her slavery without fulfilling this eternal law of purification through suffering?"

Even though the Mahatma does not formally express himself in verse who can doubt that he has all the idealism, the imagination and the passion for the beautiful of a great poet?

I feel tempted to give one more quotation picked out at random from a speech which he delivered in Orissa in 1921:

"Never mind if you beg from door to door. Rather die begging than live in bondage. We must be able to hold the country. Who holds the country now? It is not the English, it is we the Indian people who have accepted bondage. I refuse to shed a single tear if the English retire at this moment. I ask them to help us as our servants, equals, friends. I shall not allow them to lord it over us with our consent. They may use aeroplanes, army, navy but not our consent. Realise your own dignity even though India was infested with robbers. You must do your duty. What can be nobler than to die as free men of India? It is a satanic system. I have dedicated my life to destroy it."

The passage is characteristic. It shows how the Mahatma can combine simplicity with vigour. The simple, short, well-balanced sentences go straight to the heart like unerring shafts.

There are certain mental traits which affect the Mahatma's style both in speech and writing and make it so characteristic of him. The first is his self-restraint. Personal abuse always leaves him cold and unmoved and even a criticism of his methods and ideals draws a reply from him only for correcting a falsehood or for more effectively driving home the truth. He never fails to show respect and consideration for the person from whom the criticism proceeds. The result is that even his strongest writing never leaves a sting behind. He has the great skill of being able to combine absolute frankness with kindness and sympathy.

In the second place he seems to be altogether free from the common weakness of trying to discredit everything that comes from one's critics. In fact he often takes his worst critics by surprise by at once admitting the truth of what they intended to be a serious charge against him. Only he would give a different meaning to it. It is indeed one of his characteristic methods to begin by admitting as much of the criticism directed against him as may be based on what he regards as truth and even to compliment his critic on it before he would proceed to demolish his other arguments. Ordinarily, this sort of thing may very well be set down to diplomacy or affectation but in the case of the Mahatma, coming as it does from the innate generosity of his nature, it lends a rare sweetness to his style of debate and argumentation.

Lastly, he has, as I have already pointed out, what is regarded as the basis of all true eloquence, that is, complete sincerity. And not only is he sincere, what is much more difficult, he has been able to make it impossible for anybody to doubt his sincerity. Hence the power of all that he speaks and writes to convince the minds and touch the hearts of the multitude. Hence also that indefinable charm of his style which makes his observations even about things so dull as charkha and spinning read like a piece of beautiful verse. Nietzsche used to say, "Of all that is written I love only what a person hath written with his blood." And says the Mahatma, "Indian opinion in those days like Young India and Nava Jivan to-day was a mirror of part of my life. Week after week I poured out my soul in its columns."

Some people think that Mahatma Gandhi can speak more effectively in English than in Hindi and that since he has taken exclusively to speaking in the latter his eloquence has lost some of its charm and effect. While there is no doubt that he has better command over the idiom and pronunciation of English than over those of Hindustani, the qualities which determine his style are mostly independent of language. They have much more to do with his mode of thinking and mental habits. If he has lost something in effectiveness he has gained equally if not more in being able to establish a closer and more intimate contact with his hearers. For there is no doubt that Hindi is less foreign than English even in non-Hindi provinces. There is another thing to be remembered. Even when speaking in English the Mahatma's less "eloquent" now than he used to be, say, ten years ago. I remember his speech at the Amritsar Congress and I also heard him speaking in English at the last Congress at Karachi and I have no doubt he is now less and less concerned with style and language and more and more with the ideas behind than he used to be.

The conclusion that impresses itself on my mind as a result of a careful study of Mahatma Gandhi's speeches and writings is this: Leaving his personal influence aside it is easily possible to find a more polished and eloquent speaker than he, but as a writer of pure, simple beautiful prose (even English prose) it will be difficult to find his equal even outside this country.

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Goethe: The Poet

By Mrs. F. M. S. Rosenthal

Faust is on a par with the *Divina Commidia* as regards universality. The story of the man who sold his soul to the Devil attracted Goethe in his early youth, and the poem seethed in his heart, soul and brain from adolescence to old age. The *Ur-Faust* (Original Version) dates from the year 1774-75, and he set his seal on the Second Part only a few months before his death in 1832. "It would be too queer if I lived to finish it!" said Goethe to Eckermann in January 1830. Yet the miracle occurred, thanks to the author's resolve to defeat lassitude, old age, sorrow, loneliness, and to give to the world, completed, the greatest poem of Germany.

Faust is the crowning figure of the great triumvir of which *Werther* and *Wilhelm Meister* are the other members. The story of the First Part of Goethe's *Faust* comprising the incidents of the hero's pact with Mephistopheles, Gretchen's seduction, and her imprisonment for infanticide, is of majestic simplicity and soul-gripping intensity. There is many an autobiographical fragment in the make-up of Faust as Goethe conceived his character and, indeed, the great poem is symbolic of the author's life as a whole, the motive force of which was progress:—

"Are you in earnest? seize this very minute
What you can do, or dream you can, begin it,
Boldness has genius, power and magic in it.
Only engage, and then the mind grows heated—
Begin it, and the work will be completed!"*

Two prologues preface Part I, the Prelude on the Stage written between 1798 and 1801, and the Prologue in Heaven. In the former we establish contacts with Goethe the stage expert, of whom the mouthpiece is the Manager who utters the speech cited above, whilst the latter is an immensely skilful facsimile of a scene in an old puppet play. In the first the Manager and Poet regulate the movements of the actors, in the second God the Father and Mephistopheles pull the strings. The Fallen Angel bargains with the Lord, for permission to tempt Faust and obtains it, for the Lord knows that ultimately good will conquer. He says to Mephistopheles:—

"Be it permitted: from his source divert
And draw this Spirit captive down with thee;
Till baffled and in shame thou dost admit,
'A good man, clouded though his senses be
By error, is no willing slave to it.'"*

and explains further why it is that the Devil is a *persona grata* in Heaven:—

"Still visit here. With anything but loathing
I look on folk like you. My work demands
Such servants. Of the Spirits of Denial
The pleasantest, that figures in Man's Trial,
Is old Iniquity in his Fool's clothing;
The Vice is never heavy upon hands:
Without the Knave the Mystery were nothing.
For Man's activity soon tires,
(A lazy being at the best)
And sting and spur requires."*

The character of Gretchen herself is a close-up of Goethe's first love, also Gretchen by name, whom the author described in *Fiction and Truth* with all the tenderness of an old man looking back on his past. This Gretchen, like the heroine of *Faust*, was a working girl whose beauty unadorned by fine clothes enthralled the young poet. Indeed, but for this early affair, it is doubtful whether Goethe could have sketched Faust's beloved with such gentleness and strength withal.

The scene in Auerbach's Cellar in Leipzig, in which Mephistopheles draws wine from the tables, was inspired during Goethe's Leipzig student days. Daily visits to the famous Bierhalle, from which, according to a local

*"Faustus" Prelude at the Theatre. Translation by John Anster. Unit Library. London 1902.

*"Faustus" Prelude at the Theatre. Translation by John Anster. Unit Library. London 1902.

legend, Faust is supposed to have ridden forth on a beer barrel, still exhibited there, focussed the attention of the budding genius on the exploits of Dr. Faustus, who died in mysterious circumstances in 1540, and about whose pact with the Devil there was much scribbling in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Faust, tired of learning, which fails to bring satisfaction, realises the futility of separation from humanity. He is most sceptical that a moment will ever occur to which he will wish to cry "Halt!" and unhesitatingly accepts the proposal of Mephistopheles saying:—

"If ever time should flow so calmly on,
Soothing my spirits into such oblivion,
That in the pleasant trance I would arrest,
And hail the happy moment in its course,
Bidding it linger with me—'Oh! how fair
Art thou, delicious moment!'—'Happy days,
Why will ye flee?'—'Fair visions! yet a little
Abide with me, and bless me—fly not yet,'
Or words like these—then throw me into fetters—
Then willingly do I consent to perish."

Mephistopheles, for his part, is equally certain that he will win his wager, but he is mistaken. Faust can never obtain spiritual satisfaction while the Lord of Darkness is his companion, for it is things of the spirit alone that will appease Faust, a seeker after truth, possessed by that discontent which has in it a spark of the divine. Good and Evil war against each other and Good plays the winning card as revealed at the close of Part II.

A long period elapses between the end of Part I and the opening of Part II, when Faust is depicted as awakening to a new life, in which all trace of his former dependence on sensuality and passion has disappeared*. During the interval he has drunk the cup of remorse to the dregs. Gretchen's sufferings have broken his soul as well as hers, and in the Second Part we see how gradually the fissures are joined and the wounds healed by the remedy—at once astringent and balmful—of repentance. Faust will never again succumb to lust, his repentance, however, will be no mere snivelling regret over the havoc and destruction wrought in the past, but a constructive energy, exerted for the good of humanity present and future, based on the blessedness of oblivion of the ills that have been wrought. To get on with the business of living in the fullest and purest sense was far more important, in Goethe's opinion, than to allow regret to stultify the mind and cripple the body. This First Scene is wonderfully beautiful, and its peace-giving atmosphere is in marked contrast to the succeeding one at the Emperor's Court. The author told Eckermann that he sought to represent in the character of the *Kaiser* a prince possessing every quality that would lose him his kingdom†.

The monarch does not worry about the well-being of his country and his subjects, but thinks only of himself and how he can find new amusements from day to day. His country is devoid of right and justice, the judge himself is culpable and sides with the criminal, and the most audacious misdeeds go unpunished. The army, lacking both pay and discipline, loots to obtain remuneration. The State coffers are empty, and there is no prospect of their ever being refilled. In the *Kaiser's* own household things are no better. Kitchen and cellar lack the needful and the Comptroller, at his wits' end to find some means of making both ends meet, is in the hands of Jewish usurers to whom everything has been pawned. Such an element is congenial soil for Mephisto who soon contrives to replace the former jester and to become the general factotum of the impotent ruler.

The masque arranged by Mephistopheles is of mammoth proportions and, like the scene in which Helen "the fairest of women" appears, could be effectively staged in a first-class theatre fitted with all modern mechanical gadgets. The introduction of the classical element is superb. To reach Helen, Faust has to descend into the bowels of the earth, and with a key given him by the Evil One, touch a tripod guarded by the "Mothers." Mephisto wonders whether he will be successful and even half hopes for failure. Faust reaches the

* *Paralipomena.* Insel-Verlag. *Faust.* Leipzig 1921.

† *Goethe's Gespräche mit Eckermann* 1st October, 1827 Insel-Verlag. Leipzig 1921.

goal, however, and first Paris then Helen emerge in the baronial hall of the castle hung with tapestry, heavy with the perfume of the past. Helen's loveliness appears too classic to thrill the commonplace audience, and the court ladies, who have raved over the good looks of Paris, are quick to find fault with Helen's points. Her head is too small, her feet are too large, her manners too free and easy according to them, but Faust is enthralled. He would fain touch Helen, make her his own but, as he seeks to approach her, the vision vanishes in smoke, and Mephistopheles tosses the unconscious hero over his shoulder. The craving for the ideal classic beauty has, however, been kindled in Faust's bosom, and is never to be stilled until Helen is his. Through the medium of the Homunculus, Faust is transported backwards through the ages, and meets the Helen of Homeric times. The Homunculus, a diminutive human, created through the chemical skill of Wagner, Faust's old pupil, beggars cut-and-dried definition, but he is symbolical of human aspiration, and is really born when he sees Galatea and breaks the glass phial in which he has hitherto been confined. The classical *Walpurgisnacht* is an enthrallingly picturesque scene, and contrasts effectively with the Frolics on the *Brocken* on *Walpurgisnacht* (the Night of Mayday) in Part I. While the Homunculus meets Galatea, Faust searches for Helen, and in the third Act is rewarded for his perseverance. This Act was published separately in 1827, under the title of "Helena: A Classico-Romantic Phantasmagoria." The title is an apt one, for from the union of Faust and Helen springs a new spirit of poetry, Euphorion, representing Lord Byron, whose meteoric career and romantic death at Missolonghi in 1824 had been like a youth-renewing draught to Goethe, for his daemonic force vibrated in sympathy with Byron's impassioned life and work. Euphorion fails to be content with the charms of the chorus. To him:

> "Krieg' ist das Losungswort
> Sieg! und so klingtes fort."

"War and Victory" are his watchwords and he soars aloft to fall, at his parents' feet, dead. His body, however, disappears, and the aureole rises heavenwards like a comet, leaving only clothes and lyre behind. For the last time Helen embraces Faust, and then vanishes.

The texture of the Fourth Act is less filmy than that of its predecessor, and the empire of the inefficient Kaiser is the setting. Things have gone from bad to worse during the absence of Faust and Mephistopheles, and the assistance which the latter offers, and which is accepted by the hard-pressed monarch, does little more than make confusion worse confounded. By the aid of magic, the Evil One obtains success, the while he tightens his grip on Faust by furnishing him with three assistants "Smite-All," "Keep-All," "Seize-All." The reclaiming of land from the sea, in itself, a beneficial enterprise, occupies Faust's thoughts, but is the means by which he inflicts much suffering on a perfectly innocent old couple, Philemon and Baucis. While Philemon is lost in admiration of what has been achieved, Baucis, more quick-witted than her spouse, mistrusts the means by which the reclamation of land has been effected, and though it is attractive enough, she refuses the offer made by Mephistopheles to establish her and her spouse in a new abode. The sight of Philemon's old homestead irks Faust, and the concentrated essence of peevishness forces him to accept Mephisto's proffered assistance. The Devil undertakes to remove the eyesore from Faust's domain, and in the process the poor old couple and their house are destroyed by fire—symbolic of the sacrifice of the interests of the smaller to the greater powers in warfare. Faust, realising the wrong that has been done to the individual, will have no further truck with Mephisto nor profit by his ill-gotten gains. This is the final turning point in the hero's career. After a final reckoning with the bugbear Care, who is constantly endeavouring to stultify his ambition to do good, Faust is blinded. Yet this calamity emblemises the

single-minded intensity necessary for achievement, the concentration that focusses on the goal irrespective of side issues. Faust begins to create solely for the good of humanity, he has re-established the common touch and is again linked with his fellows. For the first time in his variegated career, he visualises the possibility of a moment that he would fain bid stay, for he has learnt the joy of selfless labour. The Lemurs dig Faust's grave and lay him in it as soon as he is dead, yet death is not the end—far from it. Mephistopheles wrangles with the angels for his soul and is defeated. The Angel Choir bear on high the immortal part of Faust. The Mater Gloriosa bids Gretchen, who appears in the guise of a penitent, point the way to higher regions and the curtain falls to the strains of the Mystic Chorus:

"The things that pass
Are only symbols.
The impossible here is achieved,
The indescribable here is accomplished,
The Eternal Feminine
Uplifts us."

Originally, Goethe had conceived the idea of restoring the Devil to his place in Heaven, but although this plan was abandoned he made the Evil One definitely sense the all-redeeming-power of love. Mephisto is unable to curse the angels who rob him of Faust and though he hates them, he is lost in admiration of their innocent beauty and would fain kiss them.

Goethe's passion for Ulrike von Levetzow, when he was over seventy, assisted him in his working out of the Second Part of "Faust," in which he embodied the ideas of love as a ground-bass for life which she had inspired.

V

In 1806 Christiane Vulpius, as she still was, saved Goethe's life when, after the defeat of the Prussians at the Battle of Jena, Weimar was occupied by the French and two drunken *tirailleurs* invaded the privacy of Goethe's apartments and attacked him. The following day, the French authorities granted Goethe a safe conduct, treated him with the respect which his position and genius demanded and accepted his hospitality. Christiane's bravery was not ousted from Goethe's memory by these "honourable amends," far from it. Her courage fanned to a flame the love which had died down to an ember on that vast, yet over-crowded hearth which was Goethe's heart. He resolved to take the irrevocable step which, hitherto, he had avoided, and on the 19th of October, 1806, five days after the Battle, the Minister Von Goethe—he had been ennobled in 1781—married Christiane in the Court Chapel, the witnesses being their seventeen-year old son August and his tutor. Christiane said herself that it was her own fault that this wedding had not taken place many years earlier. She was too much of a Bohemian to worry much about social conventions, but after she became Frau von Goethe her husband took good care that she should be treated with the deference due to his wife.

Another momentous incident in this period was Goethe's meeting with Napoleon in 1808. The Emperor of the French visited Erfurt for the Congress and, at the audience which he accorded Goethe made the oft cited remark "Vous etes un homme!" (you are a man). Later, when in Weimar, Napoleon endeavoured to persuade the poet to journey to Paris, but tempting as it was, Goethe never accepted the invitation, for it was too great an undertaking for him to pull up sufficient domestic and other stakes to seek pastures new. He had arrived at the stage when people pilgrimaged to Weimar for his sake, there was no need for him to wander to spread his fame.

Goethe's marriage stirred the sleeping Eros in his breast so effectively that once more he became a victim of love. Mind, body, emotion were revivified, and the genius was ready once again to fall in love. Minna Herzlieb, eighteen, ethereally beautiful with dark eyes, set in a small pale face, was to prove the dream-lady, whose name has been immortalised because of the spell she cast over the re-awakened poet who, after years of sterility, was inspired to write *Pandora*, one of his finest

fragments, and to compose fresh sonnets as passionate as his Roman Elegies. He felt as though he were Petrach's reincarnation, and in *Epoche* commemorates advent of 1807, which he says is stamped on his breast in letters of flame, just as Good Friday was imprinted on Petrach's soul. He realised his destiny—to be subjugated to Eros at every age of manhood, and to be stirred to the very depths of his being by the jealous god:—

"Nemesis"
"When through the nations stalks contagion wild,
We from them cautiously should steal away
E'en I have oft with ling'ring and delay
Shunn'd many an influence not to be defil'd.
And e'en though Amor oft my hours beguil'd
At length with him preferr'd I not to play,
And so, too, with the wretched sons of clay,
When four and three-lined verses they compil'd.
But punishment pursues the scoffer straight,
As if by serpent-torch of furies led
From hill to vale, from land to sea to fly.
I hear the genie's laughter at my fate;
Yet do I find all power of thinking fled,
In sonnet-rage and love's fierce ecstasy."

1807-8.

The Minna experience was productive of one of the most interesting problems novels in German Literature, *Elective Affinities*, a work that caused much discussions, as to whether the author had violated the proprieties, although it is singularly free from vice or garbage-grubbing in any shape or form. As a character study it is one of the finest things Goethe ever wrote. Charlotte and Edward who had been in love with each other in their early youth, and had been forced to contract marriages of convenience find themselves, when nearing middle-age, free to effect the union which they had longed for twenty years or so earlier. Charlotte, a delightfully well-balanced personality, is unsuited to her second husband, who retains to the end of his life a great deal of the spoilt youngster about him. At the opening of the story they are living peacefully in their new home, but their calm has foundations of sand and is soon swept away by the remorseless hand of Fate, which plays them the unkind trick of introducing into their household their "elective affinities," the Captain, Edward's old friend, who falls in love with Charlotte, and Ottilie, for whom Edward is the one and only man. Passion's whirlwind nearly sweeps the quartette off their feet, but Charlotte and the Captain resolve to part before it is too late. Edward decides to travel and, regaining some of his shattered manhood, resolves to obtain a divorce and marry Ottilie, when matters are complicated yet further by the fact that Charlotte is about to bear him a child. He goes to the Front and the baby born during his absence has an uncanny resemblance both to Ottilie and the Captain, the inference being that, although both parents had been faithful to each other in fact, in thought and imagination they had drifted far apart. Whatever wrong the characters committed, they certainly paid a hundredfold for it, and tragedy dogged their every footstep. Ottilie who is devoted to the infant is the unwitting cause of its death—the boat in which she and the baby are crossing a small lake meets with an accident, and the child falls overboard and is drowned. From that moment Ottilie resolves to renounce Edward, although by so doing she not only renders her lover miserable but shatters Charlotte's prospects of happiness with the Captain. Charlotte, blessed with sympathy almost superhuman, endeavours to console the unfortunate girl, but in vain. Ottilie is adamant and surreptiously starves herself to death. Edward does not long survive her, and Charlotte lays them both in the same grave.

To the world of Freud and D. H. Lawrence, the sufferings of Ottilie may appear superfluous. With blunter conscience and greater common sense she might have achieved happiness for all concerned. True had she been a bright young thing of our televisional twentieth century, a modern independent young woman, she would probably have acted very differently, but she was the child of her age and of her surroundings, and it is in the portrayal of those surroundings that the poet excelled. With his immensity of vision he appears to have been looking into the future when writing *Die Wahlverwandschaften*, and may have

glimpsed a time when such tragic waste of fine-grained human material would no longer be necessary.

In 1816 Christiane died, and the poet's grief over her loss gives the lie to the rumours circulated from time to time that Goethe was heartily sick of his wife before the end. What the busybodies termed "a happy release" was to the genius, with his sympathy-demanding heart, a blow which caused a bruise that remained unhealed until his death.

"You attempt to struggle through the dark clouds, in vain,
O Sun! The whole gain of my life is to mourn her loss!"

he exclaimed on the day she passed away. Lonely as he was, however, he eschewed the consolation of Marianne von Willemer's more than friendship, for he had no wish to separate her and her husband. He had fallen in love with this beautiful woman of gypsy origin and obscure parentage, two years previously, and had written to her the impassioned love poems of the West—"Ostlicher Divan," wherein she became the Zuleika into whose eyes he gazed as he sang:—

"In your eyes to gaze adoring,
Watch your lips, your bosom, move,
Hear your voice in music soaring,
Once was all I asked of love.....
Now, while Allah still delays
Our rebirth to fairer morrow,
Sun, moon, world, are all my days
Seen through tears of yearning sorrow."

Marianne herself was a talented singer, and her passion for Goethe awakened in her breast the gift of true poetry, as revealed by the verses in which she replied to him. The history of Goethe's love affairs repeated itself from first to last. It was his destiny to flee from the beloved, so as to avoid suffering for third and fourth persons. He wrenched himself away from the spell of this wild dark floweal of woman believing she would be the last ideal to cross his path. The poet was mistaken, however, in evaluating the metal of his temperament which blazzed up again at white heat when, in 1821 and the two following years, he met at Marienbad Ulrike von Levetzow. She was an attractive nineteen-year old girl, whose Alsatian upbringing may have recalled Frederike, the adored maiden of his Strassburg student days, whom he had nearly married in his early twenties, for there had been no insuperable obstacle in their matrimonial path beyond Gothe's daemon which shied at the prospect of sinking into the slough of bourgeoisie.

Once again a miracle occurred. Goethe felt himself young once more as he gazed at Ulrike and passion gave birth to poetry. He would fain have made Ulrike his wife and indeed the Grand Duke, his faithful old friend and patron, acted as mediator and approached Ulrike's mother. Frau von Levetzow hesitated and the opposition of Goethe's son August, and of August's wife, frustrated the projected union. The final tide of youth was on the ebb and Goethe, who had so often been rejuvenated by love and beauty, was gradually washed on to the shores of old age.

The *Marienbader Elegie* written in his travelling carriage, after his farewell to Ulrike in 1823 is the most arresting of his old-age poems. The gulf of years was bridged, and in it we recognise the voice of the adolescent Goethe lamenting over Katchen at Leipzig, and of the ardent genius, in all the glory of his newly-attained manhood, wooing lovely Lili Schonemann at Frankfurt, in 1775. In the *Marienbader Elegie*, the poet sensed the loneliness that was to chill his last years.

The years after his parting from Ulrike were amongst the saddest of his life. The marriage of his son August was an unhappy one. August was weak, unruly, a drunkard and his wife, frivolous and flighty. What with the disputes between the two of them and the consequent domestic disorder, the veteran poet was forced to attend to practical matters himself, and to run the joint household for them. Then Fate erected lugubrious signposts on Time's highway, as though to warn the poet of his approaching end. In 1827 Charlotte von Stein died. After Christiane's death she had been restored to something of her old niche in Goethe's affections, and the news of her end

was a sad blow. It was followed by the demise of the Grand Duke in the following year, and of his wife in 1830. Goethe's one aim and object now was to complete his *Faust*, and the old old poet in his triumphant race against Time, was the model of the ancient Faust who also achieved the seemingly impossible, when he triumphed over Mephistopheles. The news of August's death at Rome in the autumn of 1830 nearly cost the poet his life, but he rallied and the last eighteen months of his allotted span were sweetened by the care bestowed on him by August's widow, Ottilie who, at last, realised the privilege which service to her father-in-law meant. She read to him, entertained his numerous guests and acted as a daughter should, and it was her hand that he clasped as he passed away on March 22nd, 1832. Six weeks previously he had returned to Marianne von Willemer the letters which she had written him so many years before, bidding her keep them unopened until a time not then specified.

At normal times Weimar is given to Goethe-worship, and her shops are so filled with his portraits that it is hard to realise that the Wonderman has not walked her streets for a century. Now Weimar has resolved to pay further tribute to the genius who converted her from a pettifogging provincial town into the Athens of Germany, and her Memorial Hall in honour of the International Centenary Celebrations is costing over a million marks.

The Banking Enquiry Committee Report

A Critical Review.

By C. V. Hanumantha Rao, M.A., F.R.E.S.

The report of the Central Banking Enquiry Committee is a highly useful document containing a very able survey of the banking conditions and the requirements of the banking situation in India and at the same time it is a very comprehensive one containing a large number of recommendations relating to the methods of improving those conditions and of meeting those requirements. It may be presumed that there will be few who would be willing to find serious fault with the major recommendations of the committee; and in especial the recommendations regarding the introduction of facilities for financing the agricultural needs of the country and putting rural credit on a sound basis, which is the most urgent need of the hour, deserve wide commendation and immediate implementing.

II

The two most outstanding requirements of the Indian situation are, firstly, as has already been pointed out, the supply of cheap and adequate credit to the agriculturists for the purpose of enabling them to free themselves from the octopus grip of indebtedness and, secondly, the provision of adequate finances for the promotion and advancement of the industrial development of the country. There is also, as has been widely recognized, a pressing need for a reorientation of the currency and exchange policy in the direction of making it conform to the national standards and for conserving for the Indians themselves the profits now accruing to the foreigners from financing India's foreign trade. On these points the committee's recommendations run along lines advocated for a long time by Indian economists and financiers. It is no doubt true that the foreign experts have demurred to the suggestion that Industrial Corporations for the purpose of giving long-term credit to industrial undertakings should be established by the Provincial Governments, but the majority of the committee, having been alive to the giant needs and requirements of the industrial expansion of India, have preferred to follow the dictates of their own conscience and experience supplemented by the unanimous recommendations of the Industrial Commission and have recommended that the Government should take a hand, a prominent hand, in promoting industries by rendering financial assistance. In a similar way, the foreign experts have found it necessary to criticize and oppose the proposal for the establishment of an Indian Exchange Bank financed and regulated by the State. Here also the majority of the committee have done well in differing from the advice of the foreign experts and in suggesting the establishment of an Exchange Bank, if after experience it was found that the Joint Stock Banks find themselves unable to open foreign connections useful to their clients and if the Imperial Bank, which is to take up exchange business after the establishment of the Reserve Bank, is found incapable of adequately participating in the financing of India's foreign trade. If one considers the scant courtesy shown by the foreign Exchange Banks to Indian customers, the large profits which they take away from the country and the way in which they keep their transactions and their financial position a sealed book to the public, the necessity for keeping them under proper

check and control and for regulating their working will become apparent. Side by side with taking steps to achieve this end, an effort should also be made to enable the indigenous banking institutions to take a larger and more proper share in the financing of India's foreign trade, which they are at present unable to do.

III

In this respect, the majority of the committee have also failed to grasp sufficiently the evils of a laissez-faire policy in regard to foreign Banking Corporations for they consider that the present facilities are adequate enough for the purpose of financing India's foreign trade. They, however, recognize that the agency now available for the purpose is mainly foreign in character and they recommend that if the Imperial Bank, which, as has already been said should be enabled to participate effectively in the work, is unable to do so, then an Indian Exchange Bank, with capital supplied by the joint stock banks, should be established. The majority also rule out of consideration the proposal that foreign Exchange Banks should be registered in India with rupee capital, but recommend instead that local advisory committees should be established at each office of the foreign bank to make management more sympathetic to Indians.

But that these are all pious hopes and generous expectations which are bound to end in disappointment in the light of previous experience that we have of these banks is clear enough; and we have it on the authority of six members of the committee, including Sir P. Thakurdas, Messrs. Khaitan, Ramadoss Pantulu and Jamal Mohammad, that the foreign banks are in a very strong and entrenched position capable of out-competing any indigenous institutions working or that may work in that line, that the Joint Stock Banks with their limited resources and their intimate connection with the internal trade of the country are and would be unable to effectively participate in the finance of export trade also and that State support to any institution that may be started to do foreign exchange business is absolutely essential if it is to be successful in its work and they have supported their arguments by summoning to their aid the expert opinion of Prof. J. M. Keynes. They, therefore, recommend the immediate establishment of an Exchange Bank with a capital of three crores of rupees, all to be taken up by the State. This bank according to them should do all the business now transacted by the Exchange Bank, its management should be in the hands of a Central Board with Local Boards, all the remittance business of the Government should be transacted through the bank and finally in all matters where it operates in the open market, it should act as an agent of the Reserve Bank, which is to be established at the earliest possible moment. Simultaneously with the establishment of this bank, steps should also be taken to regulate the operation of the foreign Exchange Banks so as to bring them within the ambit of the provisions of Indian Banking Law. Mr. N. R. Sirkar, who has appended a note on the Regulation of Foreign Banks, has also declared himself in favour of reserving the whole field of internal banking to Indian Joint Stock Banks and prohibit the foreign Institutions from encroaching into the legitimate sphere of the latter; but it has to be stated that to separate these two spheres of banking and confine them into water-tight compartments is unwise and ill-advised and ought not to be encouraged. For one of the evils of the present system which permits of such separation is that it splits up the Indian money market into two distinct branches resulting in chaos in the money market, since these two branches, the "European" one and the "Native", the first of which is identified with foreign Exchange Banks and the second with the Joint Stock Banks and other indigenous banking institutions, have remained in mutual ignorance of one another's doings; and it ought to be a matter for serious consideration if, in the interests of the economic regeneration of

India, it is not essential that they should be unified and brought into a state of mutual and harmonious co-operation with each other. For this purpose, the starting of an Indian Exchange Bank and the linking it up with the local money-lenders and Joint Stock Banks is a desideratum and the only possible remedy.

IV

At the time of instituting the enquiry into the banking conditions in India, it was stated by the Finance Member to the Government of India that the enquiry would be of value in throwing light on the banking requirements of the country and in designing the central banking organization to meet those requirements. This statement is reflected in the proposal of the committee that the only method of linking up the various indigenous banking institutions and of meeting the wide banking requirements of the country is by the establishment of a Central Reserve Bank. They have accordingly recommended the immediate establishment of such an institution with capital provided by the State and under Indian control but free from the interference of the Executive or the Legislature. Though there may be difference of opinion as to whether the Reserve Bank should be a State or a shareholders' bank, the overwhelming majority will be found to favour the former mode of constituting it; and the foreign banking experts also have expressed the opinion that a Reserve Bank can function on sound lines whether it be a State or a shareholders' bank provided the Government's interference in its day-to-day administration is guarded against. The functions of the Reserve Bank should be all-embracing in character so far as the banking system of the country is concerned, for while, on the one hand, it has to act as a banker's bank co-ordinating the various banking institutions, both private and joint stock, both indigenous and foreign, and bringing them under a centralized control, it has on the other to look after the Government remittances, to take charge of the Government balances and act as the agent of the Government in the management and direction of currency policy. The Reserve Bank should also make arrangements for safeguarding the interests of the agricultural industry by offering special facilities for the rediscounting of agricultural bills and by making advances on the security of agricultural produce.

V

While on the question of the Reserve Bank, it is necessary to refer to another institution which plays a very important but unofficial part in the banking organization of India and the proper mobilisation of which is essential for the economic progress of the country, viz., the institution of indigenous bankers. The indigenous banker has hitherto occupied an extra-legal position in India, with, however, no responsibilities attaching to the practice of his profession and with no legal status other than that which he has carved out for himself by the part he plays. Mr. Ramadoss Pantulu, one of the members of the committee, has stressed the necessity of clothing the indigenous banker with a legal status, of making him an honourable member of the banking profession, of bringing him within the provisions of the banking law of the country by compelling them if necessary to register themselves in the books of the Reserve Bank and work in accordance with the regulations laid down by it. The specific recommendations of the committee regarding indigenous bankers are highly commendable and deserve to be acted upon at the earliest moment feasible, for they state that "all such indigenous bankers as are engaged in banking proper or are prepared to shed their business other than banking should be eligible to be placed upon the approved list of the Reserve Bank in the same manner as Joint Stock Banks" and that "such indigenous bankers should also agree to have books of accounts kept in the usual manner and to have them audited annually by recognized auditors." Finally, one last point which has to be noted in this discussion on indigenous bankers is that it will not do, as the committee apparently think it would, to allow the in-

digenous bankers to come into the banking system on their own initiative and of their own accord. They must if necessary be constrained to do so by pressure of legislation.

VI

As has already been stated, the two outstanding problems connected with banking development are those which relate to the financing of Indian agriculture and Indian industries, in regard to both of which the need is for providing facilities for long-term credit while it is true that the Joint Stock Banks in the case of industries and the Co-operative Societies in the case of agriculture are the most suitable agencies for the providing of credit facilities, it is also equally true that these two categories of institutions cannot by the very nature of their work and opportunities give credit on a long term. The necessity, therefore, arises for the establishment of institutions like Land Mortgage Banks for the purpose of financing agricultural requirements and of Industrial Banks for financing industrial enterprises. Mr. Manu, subedar, one of the members of the committee, has, on the other hand, recommended the immediate establishment of an All-India Industrial Bank with branches in the provinces. But it must be remembered that the experience we had of the Tata Industrial Bank was not altogether a happy or encouraging one, nor have purely Industrial Banks, designed solely for supplying long-term credit, had a successful career in European countries. For instance, the Central Bank of German Industry, which was founded in 1928 by different German State and private Banks for affording credit facilities to industries against mortgage, is now in liquidation. In spite, however, of these adverse pieces of evidence about the working of Industrial Bank, the post-War trend even in countries which are wedded to the orthodox doctrines of banking management like England is slowly but surely veering round to the view that unless Joint Stock Banks take a prominent hand in the promotion and successful working of industrial undertakings, the country's economic prosperity would be impeded on account of the competition of other countries, where the practice is prevalent. As such though to a certain extent the foreign Banking Experts attached to the Banking Committee may be said to be justified in their opposition to the establishment of State-aided Industrial Banking Corporations, the Provincial Industrial Corporations recommended for establishment by the majority of the committee deserve careful consideration as they stand on a different footing altogether. And if after experience of their working it is discovered that they function satisfactorily, they could then be linked into an All-India Industrial Corporation. The local Joint Stock Banks and other financing institutions might be made to enrol themselves as shareholders of the Corporations, though, according to the recommendations of the committee, the Provincial Governments are to bear the main burden of running these institutions.

VII

The German method of fiancing industries, which is the best organized and the most efficient now in existence, gives us many points as to how to proceed in the matter. In that country, the bigger banks do not supply long term credit from their capital resources or from their short-term deposits, as that may lead to a locking up of their financial assets and interfere with the discharge of their obligations in respect of their ordinary day to day banking business, but they issue debentures and take in long-term deposits, the former being saleable in the open market as securities and the latter payable in two or three years; and it is the capital thus secured that is utilized to finance the industrial expansion and economic development of the country. It is invariably the practice for banks financing industrial concerns to have a hand either direct or indirect in their organization and management by appointing one of their directors as a member of the supervisory boards of the concerns or by voting considerable voting rights as the result of a large holding of shares. This "interlocking of directorates" is a valuable

bond binding together the Banks and the Industries and gives the former a controlling hand in the management of the latter and enabling them to follow lines of policy and business organization most conducive to themselves and profitable to the banks and the public. This practice, which has been working with such signal success in Germany and which has resulted in the remarkable resuscitation of German industries in the post-War era, can well be followed in India too. And to ensure the successful working of that practice the first requisite is that the Provincial Governments, which should finance the Industrial Corporations referred to above, should have direct representation on the Board of Directors of the Corporations and, secondly, the Corporations' control over the industries it finances should be ensured by their being represented in their turn on the directorates of the Industries. The Central Committee's detailed recommendations in this connection are comprehensive and run along lines outlined above, besides pointing out the direction which legislation should take to give effect to them.

VIII

The Central Committee's recommendations regarding provision of facilities for financing agriculture are particularly wide and all-embracing and accord mostly with the suggestions adumbrated ever so many times by Indian economists and statesmen for relieving the agriculturists of their burden of indebtedness and providing them with funds to defray expenditure on permanent improvements of land. The unconscionably high rates of interest charged by the local money-lenders and the village sowcars, which, according to the Agricultural Commission and the Labour Commission, are some times as high as 150 per cent. tend to ruin the peasant and reduce him to pauperism within a short term, while the Co-operative Societies in the rural areas work with such limited resources that they can hardly be expected to compete, much less to eliminate, the money-lenders. The ordinary Co-operative Credit Society will, therefore, have to be allowed to confine itself to the business of dispensing short term and intermediate credit; and to provide long-term credit, Land Mortgage Banks will have to be established. These banks will have to lend money on mortgage for specified purposes and the loans should be repayable over a long period of 25 years or so, the repayment being graduated according to the ability of the borrower. Side by side with the establishment of Land Mortgage Banks, the immense need there is for regulating the rate of interest charged by the local money-lenders and for liberalizing the terms on which the loans are contracted. The Usurious Loans Act should be re-enacted in every Province and every money-lender charging in excess of a prescribed rate, say, 9 per cent. per annum, should be severely penalized. Besides this, the committee, along with the Agricultural Commission, recommends the pursuance of "a progressive and constructive agricultural policy to foster profitable agriculture under modern conditions." The spread of education, the inculcation of habits of thrift and saving in the agriculturists, and generally the creation of an atmosphere of hopefulness under which they can carry on their occupations are means calculated to attain this end and the Government must study constantly and continuously the method of promoting their welfare and prosperity. The recommendation of the committee that Provincial Boards of Economic Enquiry should be established for the purpose of co-operating with and assisting the Government Agricultural, Co-operative and other allied Departments in this study is of great value in this connection. This last mentioned suggestion is based, it may be stated, on a similar suggestion made by Sir Arthur Salter, Head of the Economic Section of the League of Nations Secretariat, who was lately in India to study the Indian economic situation and to report on the same to the Government of India and who recommended the inauguration of Economic Advisory Councils, both Central and Provincial, to

study economic questions from the scientific standpoint and advise the Governments on the steps to be taken to meet each emergency as it arose.

IX

There are many other problems, such as the starting of an All-India Bankers' Association, the extension of the facilities for banking education in Universities and the provision of adequate methods for the marketing of agricultural crops, about which also the committee have made useful suggestions; but it is not necessary to touch upon all of them in detail. The success of the recommendations made depends to a great extent upon the willingness and the readiness of the Governments, both Provincial and Central, to implement them in practice, but it may be confidently hoped that the constitutional changes that are to be introduced will provide an impetus to the taking of necessary action by the agencies concerned. For the responsible system of government that is to be established hereafter cannot allow the present backward economic position of the country to remain as it is without taking immediate steps to tackle it and ameliorate it. There may be many things that the future Governments in India will have to do; but none can be more urgent or more advantageous from the point of view of the people as a whole as the remedying of their unsatisfactory economic condition. The chief means whereby this consummation can be achieved is by mobilizing the financial resources of the country and such mobilization can be brought about only by extension of the banking facilities. Sir Basil Blackett, ex-Finance Member of the Government of India, brought out the intimate connection between banking advancement and economic improvement, when, in a remarkable address which he delivered before the Delhi University shortly before he left India, he said as follows:—"Our main difficulty to-day is not to find useful avenues for the employment of capital but the limitations that exist on the supply of internal capital. It is no good framing large schemes for lending money or spending money unless the money is there to be spent. The money, I believe, is in one sense there, but it is not available, as things are, in adequate volume because the habit of banking and the habit of investment are not sufficiently widespread in India. If the initiative of private persons in India, stimulated, encouraged and assisted wherever possible by Government action, can make even a proportion of the capital, now unproductively used, available for productive enterprise, we can look forward with confidence to a very rapid improvement in the general economic condition of India. Once the capital is directed in right channels, it will of itself seek profitable employment in the promotion of agricultural and industrial prosperity, with far-reaching results on the general standard of living, on the prospects of useful employment to trained men and on the economic and political progress of India as a whole." It is now the business of the State to provide facilities for making available the necessary capital for India's industrial development by an extension of banking facilities, and facilities for investment.

Reviving of the Old Village Life in India

By
Dr. Sukumar Ranjan Das, M.A., Ph.D.

The village life in India in olden times was happy and prosperous. The village communities stood all the vicissitudes of foreign conquests. Each village was self-contained. The people used to manage their affairs in a spirit of mutualservice and goodwill. The village temple or the mosque was the meeting ground of all kinds of people where they discussed their local politics. The construction of roads, clearance of tanks, management of the village school, punishment of evil-doers, care of the cattle—most of these problems were decided by the consensus of public opinion. Under the care of pious village elders the people could enjoy the comforts of rural life. But times are now changed. All attempts for village reconstruction should be aimed at the reviving of those happy conditions.

First, we must fight and conquer the annual epidemics that at present decimate the rural population and render a return of our better-to-do people to their ancestral villages difficult. It can no longer be said that this is beyond the efforts of man. Malaria has been almost completely removed from the Campagna near Rome and more recently from the Panama region in South America. Cholera has been practically expelled as an epidemic within the last ten years from Java which is situated in the tropics. Small-pox can be removed from any country by means of universal and compulsory vaccination and periodical revaccination during the first few years of the experiment. Even plague can be effectively fought by means of inoculation. Typhoid and other dreadful diseases are being increasingly brought under control by the adoption of antitoxin and prophylacticmeasures along with the improvement of ordinary sanitation and of the general health conditions of the people. We must organise these anti-cholera, anti-malaria, and other measures for the protection of the rural areas against these epidemics. It is obvious that all these can be most effectively done by means of societies registered under the Co-operative Societies Act.

The problem of rural reconstruction in India is not only a problem of sanitation, medical relief, education and social uplift, but also above all, it is an economic problem. It will be not possible to lead people back to their villages, unless along with improving the health conditions of villages and providing them with the essential instruments of intellectual and cultural life at least to a minimum extent, new economic agencies can be created by means of which the general run of the middle-class populations will be able to earn a decent competence without being compelled to leave their homes in search of employment in the town. The only line along which it is possible to successfully revive the economic possibilities of the rural areas is the line of economic co-operation. Scientific agriculture, which means providing the agriculturists with improved and modern methods of tilling the soil and raising crops, is impossible unless the co-operative method is adopted. In the old days, there was some manner of co-operation among the rural populations in the pursuit of agricultural occupations. That was in fact a much larger kind of co-operation than what is known to the modern co-operator.

Where conditions of acute distress prevail no economic uplift is possible unless the State lends a helping hand. Even as the people must work for the improvement of their economic condition, so also the Government, as

the custodian of the highest powers and interests of the people, must freely offer its co-operation to organisations working for the improvement of the rural life of the people.

But in the absence of sufficient help from the Government it is only proper to look upon the co-operative movement, rather than any other movement, as a true solvent factor. Co-operation is the only practical instrument for the organisation of the people for common ends of the large masses of the population engaged in the agricultural industry, teaching them their rights and privileges, educating them in the use of the methods of democratic control and enabling them to aspire to higher ideals of life and to imbibe them with notions of public service. A good deal of the talk of rural reconstruction is merely building castle in the air, unless a definite programme of work, framed for a specific economic end with requisite personnel and machinery to work with, is held before the rural public. Co-operation provides this and can revolutionize economic life of the village people.

With the help of co-operation and mutual service the people can convert their homes into happy gardens if they only cultivate the will for the purpose. By combining their energy and resources they can remove filth, dust,and all unhealthy features, can have good roads, tanks for pure drinking water, can manage schools and temples and can do every thing for reconstructing their village life. Modern science has brought a new angle of vision in many parts of the world. Life is being re-interpreted in the new light. There were in India a large number of customs and institutions meant to provide recreation as well as to stimulate ideas of health and beauty. The spirit of those old institutions is now forgotten. The *Makara Sankranti*, the *Pans Parvan*, the *Dewali*, the *Bhratridvitiya* and other such institutions deserve to be re-interpreted in a manner that the people may find joy and happiness, and at the same time these may produce a sense of purity, love and co-operation.

The work of rural reconstruction is not insignificant. The greatness of a nation is measured by the solidarity of the people constituting it, and by the amount of mutual service that the citizens render towards one another. If the village life is reorganised on the basis of co-operation, the most difficult problems of the present day and of the present village life will be easily solved.

Thus ideal villages will spring up in every part of the country which will bear a cheerful appearance about it. In childhood that ideal village should inspire noble ideas, and in old age it should afford comfort and consolation, and in youth it should provide opportunities for the display of our activities. The surroundings should be clean and sanitary, and in the village people should get all the requirements of their life, good food, clean clothing, pure drinking water, innocent amusements, sufficient recreation; and the religious and social atmosphere of the village should be elevating. Then in the temple of Mother India will be seen her sons and daughters bringing their offerings of love and service, by which they will invoke the blessings of the mother to make them worthy of the new freedom of which they have been dreaming so long.

The Indian Exchange Crisis

By
Professors P. A. Wadia and V. K. R. V. Rao

The world has been passing for the last two years through a financial crisis of an unprecedented character. This crisis has been the subject of speculation of every kind. Some see in it the result of over-production; others the result of maldistribution; still others the result of currency and exchange manipulations. However that may be there is no doubt of the fact that to a considerable extent the disorganisation of the productive and distributing machinery throughout the world is due to the breakdown of the gold standard following upon the centralisation of gold in France and America. That a gold standard has been an effective instrument for securing relative stability of prices is a truth vouched for by the history of the last 100 years. And the present dislocation of trade and finance is not to be attributed to the failure of the gold standard so much as to the failure on the part of the gold-holding nations of the world to co-operate in its working. The monetary objective of the world is still a gold standard. And therefore our objective, so far as India is concerned, is equally the attainment of a gold standard—which means a national policy of conservation and mobilisation of our gold resources. When discussing the present crisis in exchange we cannot afford to ignore the importance of this fundamental truth.

A crisis had long been brewing in the Indian exchange market; and critics were warning the Government of their inability to maintain the statutory ratio. Matters were suddenly brought to a head by the suspension by the British Government of the clause which required the sale of gold by the Bank of England at the statutory price. Sterling was thus divorced from gold. But the Indian rupee was linked with gold through sterling. The exchange problem could not now be ignored by the Indian Government. There were only three possible alternatives open to them. They were :—

(i) To link the rupee with gold.

(ii) To link the rupee with sterling.

(iii) To allow the rupee to find its own level.

The adoption of the first alternative on a 1s. 6d. gold basis was impossible for the Government of India in view of their very slender gold resources. It is of course open to the Government to link the rupee with gold at a rate which is easily maintainable; in view of existing uncertain conditions, however, it would be wiser to wait before finally fixing the gold parity of the rupee. From this point of view, Government cannot be criticised for divorcing the rupee from gold, however much one might be inclined to blame the policy which led to the depletion of their gold resources.

The second alternative is actually the one adopted by Government. In support of this action it is pointed out by the Secretary of State that the rupee has always been linked with sterling, that Indian trade has mainly to do with sterling, and it was, therefore, the intention of His Majesty's Government to maintain the rupee at 1s. 6d. sterling. In opposition to the adoption of the third alternative, it is pointed out that it would mean instability in the foreign exchange with resulting disastrous consequences on the entire economic organisation of the country. As against this view

it is contended by others that the adoption of the third alternative, even if it results in instability of exchange, would not produce a greater instability than would be caused by the adoption of the second alternative; and that, of the two, the third is preferable.

Two questions are to be considered when discussing this problem. Do both alternative (ii) and (iii) produce instability, and if so, which is the worse of the two? Which involves greater wastage of gold resources?

While it is obvious to everyone that not linking the rupee with either gold or sterling produces instability in exchange, it is not so patent that, under existing conditions, linking the rupee with sterling would also result in instability. And yet it is true. Stability for the rupee in terms of sterling means instability in terms of gold; this means in turn instability in terms of all those currencies which are linked with gold. And as a matter of fact, the dollar rupee rate and the yen rupee rate have already moved fast against us. This instability is worse than the one which would result from leaving the rupee alone. Because in the latter case, the rupee's relation with gold, which is the international monetary medium, will largely depend upon internal monetary conditions over which we can have control and its effect will be similar for all countries trading with us; whereas in the former case, the rupee's relation with gold will depend upon changes in the dollar value of sterling over which we can have no control; and it will have differential effects on the countries trading with us to the advantage of Great Britain. Thus, from the point of view of producing instability, linking the rupee with sterling is certainly as bad and probably much worse than not linking it with sterling.

It must be further remembered that linking the rupee with sterling means the depletion of even our existing slender gold resources. Our sterling resources to-day amount only to £16 millions held in the London Branch of the Gold Standard Reserve; and after these are exhausted, further sales of Reverse Councils will have to be met by actual shipments of gold abroad, which might incidentally suit the convenience of the Bank of England. Besides indefinitely postponing the attainment of a gold standard, this would also mean an actual loss to us, for from the rest of the world Great Britain can only get less than 8.4 grains of gold for every 1s. 6d. Further it is doubtful whether it would be possible for Government to maintain even 1s. 6d. sterling after existing reserves are exhausted. On the other hand, if the rupee is left alone, at least our gold reserves will be preserved intact as no Reverse Councils need be sold. We would go further and suggest that Reverse Councils ought not to be sold for meeting our sterling obligations in London. These obligations might be met either by accommodation with the British Government or by purchase of sterling in the open market. Under the circumstances, the best course would appear to be to give up the obligation to sell sterling as well as gold and to allow the rupee to find its own gold level, waiting for a favourable opportunity to fix its gold parity on a statutory basis at a rate which can be safely and permanently maintained. We again add the warning that persistence in the policy of maintaining the 1s. 6d. ratio in sterling will mean the complete exhaustion of our gold resources, and, therefore, the impossibility of ever attaining the objective of a gold standard.

Earthquake and Its Origin

By Professor C. N. Hangal, M.Sc.

For the last so many years scientists believed the source of seismic activity to be in volcanic activity. There is no doubt that many sharp and local shocks owe their inception to volcanic action, but in the aggregate volcanism is rather a subordinate cause of major earthquakes. Such minor shocks are originated in the explosive type of volcanoes, where violent explosive activity during eruptive stage, and sudden ejection of gasses, dust, and rock fragments is typical. These shocks may be due to the effect of actual detonation on the surrounding rocks, or they may be due to collapse of the crust due to the extravasation of underlying lava.

The most outstanding example of this type of volcano is "Krakatoa" lying in the Sunda Straits between Sumatra and Java. In the great eruption of this volcano in 1883, a cubic mile of comminuted matter was hurled up into the air. The original volcanic island five miles in length, three miles in breadth, 6,600 feet high was replaced by a vast submarine trench eight miles long, and more than one thousand feet in depth. The explosion was heard 300 miles away, and its air wave travelled several times round the earth, while the great seismic sea wave destroyed the neighbouring islands destroying 36,000 people. The sea wave travelled across the Indian ocean at the rate of 371 miles per hour, and was recorded even at Cape Horn and in France. No record of explosion as vast as Krakatoa's exists in human history.

THEORIES OF ORIGIN

Modern scientists are of opinion that the outer crust of our earth is constantly undergoing alteration and modification. Rills, rivulets, and rivers scour their channels and sweep away portions of the banks, ultimately to deposit their load of silt and sand in the ocean or on some lower flood plain. Winds loaded with dust and sand abrade the strongest of rocks and stones and carry the products of disintegration many hundreds of miles before they are dropped. Thus throughout the vistas of geological time mountain ranges are worn away and new ones are thrown up to take their places. Thus when millions of tons of rocks are moved from one portion of the earth's surface and deposited upon another, adjustment of crust must take place to support the new gigantic loads thrust upon it. Every foundation is liable to break when loads resting upon it exceed its sustaining power. And so in some places earth's crust must give way when loads upon it exceed its strength. In short, a rupture in the earth's crust is bound to occur, and automatic adjustment will take place. Such ruptures in the outer crust along which appreciable movement has occurred are called "Faults;" and it is to them that we should attribute the most common cause of earthquakes.

Such faults are constantly in progress for which no better proof can be given than the disclosures of the Archæological excavations where man-made monuments and temples constructed within historical times have sunk down below the earth's surface.

One of the most recent theories to be held regarding the origin of earthquakes is known as "Reid's theory of elastic rebound" and it may be explained in the following way:

Suppose that a rectangular block of india-rubber is moved over a table top until the bottom of the block is checked in its movement by a nail driven up through the table. If the

moving force continues to act, the top of the block may continue to move forward, but its bottom by virtue of the obstruction will cease to move. As a result, the elasticity of the rubber block will tend to snap it back to its original undistorted position when the obstruction is removed, and the block will assume its former shape and gliding motion, with a sudden snap due to the molecular forces within it.

This process is exactly what may occur in two contiguous blocks of earth's crust. If they are slowly moving past each other due to the stresses of readjustment, and the movement is impeded by a force tending to stop it, stresses will immediately be set up in the two blocks. The stresses will continue to grow until the moving force or elastic tendency of the blocks overcomes them, or the rocks shatter. When either of these two phenomena occurs, it will manifest itself by a sudden sharp jar or shock, the intensity of which will depend upon the amount of deformation overcome, and upon the intensity of the moving force. The jar will be transmitted instantly to the surrounding crust and waves will be sent out from the point of orign. These are the so-called "Earthquake waves." In cases of strong submarine earthquakes, water waves are caused by the elastic rebound of submarine rock masses. These waves may be as long as one hundred or two hundred miles from crest to crest, and forty feet high at the point of origin; and they may sweep across the seas with a tremendous speed of from three hundred to five hundred miles per hour. Such waves may be unperceived in open ocean but on reaching the land they may pile up as great waves, and sweep far inland with great loss of life. Such were the waves which played havoc with Lisbon in 1775, Japan in 1854, and Peru in 1868.

No hour of the day, no region on the earth is free from earthquakes. They are very common but most of them are so slight that they are not apparent to our senses, but when they occur suddenly and violently they are felt by us. Displacements along faults may be horizontal, vertical, or both vertical and horizontal, the latter being the most common type of movement.

Earthquakes may dislodge loose masses of earth or rock, cause landslides or avalanches, and thus completely denude forest slopes. High buildings are similarly liable to collapse.

THE SEISMOGRAPH

The study of earthquakes and earthquake phenomena is "Seismology," the instruments that are used for detecting and recording earthquakes are "Seismometers," and the record obtained of an earthquake by the instrument is a "Seismogram." The principle of seismometer is very simple. The instrument consists of a very heavy mass of metal which due to its inertia tends to remain at rest while the ground beneath it vibrates. If a pointer is attached to the inert mass, and a calibrated drum, which will move with the vibration of ground, is rotated in contact with the pointer, the pointer will leave a record on the drum of the intensity of the shock, and of the frequency and amplitude and period of accompanying waves. The ideal seismograph should be able to record the movements in three dimensions, viz., north and south, east and west, and up and down. In practise it is necessary, if accurate results are required, to use two types of the instruments, one for vertical, and the other for horizontal components.

In accordance with what has been said regarding origin of earthquakes, it would seem that in the region where many recurrent slight shocks are prevalent or common, the danger of heavy damaging shocks is less. Conversely, in regions of seismic activity periods of long quiescence may be the forerunners of a violent earthquake.

As has been mentioned no locality is free from earthquakes, certain regions are more liable to severe shocks than others. These large tracts are known as "Seismic belts." One of them borders the Pacific Ocean and follows west coast of North and South America, Alaska, the Aleutian islands, and the islands off the coast of eastern Asia. The other seismic belt borders the Mediterranean sea, the Alps, the Caucasus, the Himalayas and so on to East Indies. The seismic belt follows in general the great zones of weakness in the crust of our earth.

The Case for an Andhra Province

By Mr. V. Ramdas Pantulu

It is now universally accepted that the problem of Indian National Reconstruction presents unique features, and that its solution is best attempted on a plan of Federation of homogeneous sub-National units (Federal Provinces), co-extensive with the different language areas, each marked by contiguous territory, common literature and traditions, common sympathies and temperament. The Andhras have always contended and, with much reason, that language is a tangible and powerful instrument for the development of the political and social life of a people. The authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms expressed themselves in unequivocal terms on the benefits of linguistic Provinces, and Section 52-A of the present Government of India Act is based on that view. But no use was made of it. The Government of India, in a statement of the case prepared by them for the Simon Commission, have virtually conceded the soundness of the scheme on "a priori" grounds, though, on grounds of expediency, they have not committed themselves to carry it out. They state the case of those who press for linguistic Provinces in these terms:

Arguments in favour of Provincial redistribution fall thus into three main groups resting: (a) upon the general consideration that Responsible Government flourishes best in small homogeneous units; (b) upon the satisfaction of popular sentiment, and the preservation of particular systems of culture, language and thought; (c) upon the improvement of the administration by the removal of disabilities to which isolated groups of peoples are exposed if separated from the bulk of the peoples with whom, by race or by language, they should naturally be united.

Now is the time for implementing this idea, as the Federal Structure of the Indian Constitution is in the course of making. No satisfactory Federation can be set up with the existing Provinces, which are more historical accidents than natural or rational administrative units.

Fortunately for the Andhras, the Telugu-speaking tracts of the country in the British-Indian Province of Madras are contiguous and easily lend themselves to consolidation into a compact and fair-sized Province. This will, it is true, leave out large stretches of Telugu country in the Indian States of Hyderabad and Mysore. However desirable it may be to comprise all the Telugu-speaking areas in one Province, it is not possible to do so for obvious reasons, so far as the Andhra portions of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions and the Mysore territory are concerned. The Telugu areas of the Madras Presidency touch the Oriya country on the north, the Karnataka country on the north-west, and the Tamil country on the south. So far as the settlement of the boundary between Andhra and Tamil Districts is concerned, the problem presents little difficulty, except for a small adjustment, as regards the question of the capital of the Andhra Province. In regard to the boundary of the Oriya country, a Commission has already been set up to mark it off from the contiguous Andhra tract. In this connection, I wish to urge on the Government the necessity to modify the constitution of that Commission in such a way as to command the full confidence of the Oriyas as well as the Andhras. The Andhras of the Ganjam District have a perfectly legitimate and genuine grievance in so far as no Andhra, belonging to the Ganjam District in which much of the area involved in the dispute is situated,

has been put on the Commission, while an Oriya Zamindar of the District, who is believed to be a strong advocate of the Oriya claims, is nominated to it. In settling the boundaries of the Oriya Province the position of the Agency Tracts, specially the Jaipore Zamindari, requires anxious and critical consideration. Regarding the Karnataka country in the neighbourhood of Bellary, the Andhras have no designs to appropriate to themselves any slice of territory which should legitimately fall into a Karnataka Province. A Commission will naturally sit to demarcate the boundary between the two, and I am confident that abundant goodwill and mutual trust will be forthcoming on the part of the Andhras and the Karnatakas to get the limits of their respective homes well and truly settled.

The Government of India, during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge, laid down in a despatch dated the 25th August, 1911, that the settlement of the boundaries of the Indian Provinces should (a) provide convenient administrative units, (b) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people, and (c) be clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative efficiency. When the dividing lines between the Andhra Desa, on the one hand, and the Oriya, the Karnataka and the Tamil lands on the other, are marked off, we shall have four homogeneous linguistic units, which will satisfy the above-mentioned conditions, which were correctly and comprehensively stated by the Government of India.

The Andhra unit, even if confined to the Telugu Districts of the Madras Presidency, will then comprise an area of about seventy thousands of square miles and become the home of about 15 millions of people. In size, it will compare favourably with some of the existing Provinces in India and with many more when they are reconstituted on the lines laid down by the Government of India's despatch of 1911. In population, it will exceed the present Provinces of Assam, Burma, Central Provinces and Berar, and will equal the Punjab. Under the redistribution scheme for the whole of India, it will exceed even Bihar and Bombay. If we compare it with the self-governing countries on the Continent of Europe, it will be much bigger than many of them. It will, for instance, be 6½ times the size of Belgium, by no means an unimportant country.

In the matter of resources also, the new Andhra Province will be well placed. Taking the figures of the Madras Budget for 1931-32, the Andhra Districts have a land revenue of Rs. 335 lakhs, as against Rs. 426 lakhs for the rest of the Province (that is, the Tamil Districts and the West Coast Districts of Malabar and South Canara). The next largest source of revenue unfortunately is the Excise Revenue. The Andhra Districts yield about Rs. 238 lakhs as against Rs. 348 lakhs by the rest of the Province.

The Andhradesha possesses vast irrigation schemes in the Kistna and Godavari deltas, Railways and communications by roads and canals are fairly well developed. A fine harbour is nearing completion at Vizagapatam. There are, however, many other schemes for the development of the potential resources of the Andhradesha, which have so far been neglected, the Tungabhadra project being one of them. This is mainly due to the circumstance that the Andhradesha was unable to command that attention from the headquarters of a large and heterogeneous Province, which it would have received if it were in charge of an administration of its own.

After giving my most careful and anxious consideration to the question of the location of the capital of the future Andhra Province, I have come to the conclusion that the Madras District should be shared by the Andhra and Tamil Provinces, and that Madras should continue to be the capital of the Andhra Province for the present, or at all events, until such time as another city is selected with the practically unanimous consent of all the Andhra Districts, if such a change is felt necessary and desirable. There are, in my opinion, weighty considerations, which tell in favour of Madras

as the capital. In the first place, the continuation of the seat of administration in Madras will cause the least dislocation in the existing arrangements and will minimize considerably the initial outlay on a new capital. In the second place, the people of the Ceded Districts and some adjoining country, would, under the present circumstances, prefer Madras to an inland city in the interior of one of the Coast Districts. In the third place, the advantages of locating the capital in a place, which enjoys pre-eminence in the matter of industrial, commercial, banking and other facilities, are too real and valuable to be given up. In the fourth place, there is a large and influential Andhra population in the Madras District, particularly in the northern portion of it, who have an indisputable claim to be included in the Andhra Province. In the fifth place, there are unassailable historical reasons, which justify the inclusion of Madras in the Andhra Province and retaining its pre-eminence as an Andhra capital. The facts are known to all students of South Indian history. The Cooum river affords a natural boundary line between the Andhra and the Tamil Madras.

It is a matter for sincere regret that, although the Andhras were almost the first in the field to agitate for the redistribution of Indian Provinces, as far as possible, on a linguistic basis, the actual approach to the problem of constituting a separate Andhra Province is now as far away as it was when the agitation was started. The Oriyas and Sindhis have been persistent in their endeavour to secure their own Provinces, and have practically succeeded. The Andhras too will succeed, if they show the same zeal and tenacity of purpose, for their case is equally strong, if not stronger, and rests on unassailable grounds.

The Lore of the Finger-Ring: A Study

By Mr. U. C. Chopra

At all times and among all races the magic circlet which typified eternity—no beginning and no end—has been closely associated with the fortunes of mankind. Within the small round is centred all that is weighty, momentous, and solemn, for rings have ever been in use as insignia of power and command, of union and compact, as badges of rank and honour, as pledges of faith. The little circlet is also fraught with romance and love, as promising happiness in the future, or ratifying present joys.

It is interesting to trace the origin of our fundamental customs and beliefs, many of which date back thousands of years before the Christian era. For instance, as symbol of union between man and woman, a ring was in use among the ancient dwellers of the valley of the Nile. We read in Mr. Sharpe's "Egyptian Mythology" that before the introduction of coinage the Egyptian gold was circulated in the form of a ring, and that the Egyptian at his marriage placed one of these rounds of gold on his wife's finger in token of his entrusting her with all his property. The early Christians followed this custom, which has ever since been rigidly adhered to in our own marriage ceremony, when the man places a plain gold ring on the finger of his bride and says, "With all my wordly goods I thee endow."

The earliest existing specimens of rings are those found in the tombs of the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians. They are mostly of gold, some large and massive, with deeply cut hieroglyphics, or figures of Assyrian and Egyptian type engraved on an oblong bezel; others of an elegent serpent form, of which the serpet rings in the jewellers' shops of the present day are facsimiles.

The primary use of the ring was to carry the signet, which before being worn on the finger was suspended by a cord from the neck or wrist. The high priests of the Jews possessed rings of inestimable value, and signet rings are frequently mentioned in the Old Testament as badges of authority. The ring that Pharaoh took from his own hand and put on Joseph's was probably set with the King's signet by which the royal instruments were sealed. Hebrew legends relate of the mystic ring worn by Solomon, which had the power of conveying him into the firmament, where he heard the secrets of the universe.

The Greeks accounted for the custom of wearing rings—as they did for every other ancient usage—by a mythological fable, that in removing the sentence of eternal punishment from Prometheus for his theft of the immortal fire from heaven, Zeus commanded him to wear on his finger a link of the chain that bound him to the rock of torture, as penance for his crime and evidence of its penalty. Then there is the story of the magic ring of Gyges, ancestor of the Lydian kings, which rendered its wearer invisible when it was turned round the finger.

Marriage rings were also in use in early Greece, for the Lacedaemonians sent rings of iron to their betrothed as evidence that an agreement had been properly entered into by the giver and receiver, which rings were subsequently placed on the third finger of the left hand in the ceremony of marriage.

The right hand is indicative of power and independence, therefore the left was chosen for the ring, as signifying the subjection of the woman to the man, and the third was the finger assigned to bear the symbol of union, as

within it was believed to be a nerve that leads directly to the heart. In the maxims of Pythagoras we come across a curious caution, "Never wear too light a ring," which we can interpret into a warning against matrimony, and taking vows that bind for life. A few centuries before the Christian era, the Greeks carried the fashion of wearing rings to great excess. The learned Aristotle must have been somewhat of a dandy, for we read a reproof of Plato to his illustrious disciple for wearing rings in a profusion unbecoming to a philosopher. Other great men were guilty of similar vanity, and drew on themselves in consequence the opprobrium of their contemporaries. The earliest historic gem on record among the Greeks is the famous gold ring of Polycrates, set with a priceless emerald, rendered still more precious by the carved intaglio of a lyre, from the hand of the celebrated gem engraver, Theodorus of Samos.

According to Herodotus, the Tyrant of Samos was the first of mere human birth who conceived the design of gaining the empire of the sea, and so successful were his ambitious schemes that he was exhorted to propitiate the anger of the gods, who were envious of his continued prosperity, by depriving himself of his greatest treasure. He accordingly threw into the sea his cherished ring, which was returned to him a few days afterwards in the body of a fish, which proved that his atonement was rejected by the gods, who pursued their malignant vengeance till his downfall, death, and crucifixion.

The Romans were very apt in adopting the customs of other nations, and during the Republic citizens wore iron rings—frequently as testimony to material courage—while senators had gold ones as distinctive of their order. The rings worn by soldiers were often of bronze inscribed with the number of the "centuria" to which they belonged; and to show how prevalent was the Roman custom of wearing them about two centuries before Christ.

Engraved gems for rings were in great request by the Romans, and the figures and inscriptions on stones were frequently mistaken for the actual mark of nature, and regarded as possessing magic powers. The daring courage of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, and the immunity he enjoyed from danger in warfare, were attributed to the talismanic properties of an agate ring he always wore, which was engraved with the figures Apollo and the nine Muses. In the Augustan age many valuable collections of antique rings were offered as gifts in the temples of Rome.

In classical times—and also in the middle ages—rings were frequently made with a hollow bezel to contain poison, suicide being deemed a perfectly honourable way of getting out of any difficulty, or of ending a life no longer desirable. Demosthenes, one of the greatest and noblest spirits of antiquity, orator and statesman, availed himself of this means of procuring death after the defeat of Athenians by Antipater.

The gem-loving Mithridates, King of Pontus, is another example of one who always carried a ring containing the deadly liquid. On being defeated by his rebellious son, Pharnaces, there remained to him nothing but captivity or death; he chose the latter, and broke his ring between his teeth. But in fear of being poisoned in his youth he had so accustomed his constitution to antidotes that the poison had no effect, and he had recourse to the sword of a Gaulish mercenary.

There was a diabolical invention in rings in mediaeval times—accredited to the wily brain of a Venetian called the "Annello della Morte" ("Ring of Death"), which was actually in use as a method of assassination. In the decoration of the bezel was concealed a hollow point—containing a virulent poison—made to work with a spring in such a manner that the murderer could give the fatal scratch while shaking hands with his enemy.

Poison rings employed to rid one's self of an enemy were quite in vogue in the sixteenth century. Motley mentions, in his "Rise of

the Dutch Republic," that the young Lamoral Egmont intended at his own table to destroy the Prince of Orange by means of poison kept concealed in a ring, and a hollow ring filled with the deadly liquid was afterwards found at his lodgings. The signet ring of Caesar Borgia contained a receptacle for poison which the wearer was in the habit of dropping into the wine of any guest whose demise was advisable.

Rings have also been in request as weapons of defence, and among the peasant youths of various parts of Germany it is still customary to don heavy, massive brass rings, the bezel furnished with sharp projecting points, calculated to inflict terrible laceration during a tussle.

The ring was also in use as a badge of investiture in the early days of the Church, and still retains this character. An episcopal ring was solemnly conferred upon the newly-made bishop together with his crozier, and owing to the custom of burrying rings with their owners, some were exceedingly massive, and were worn on the thumb, and others were adorned with an emerald or sapphire, from the supposed power of these stones to inspire pure and holy thoughts.

Rings were in common use among the British and Saxon ancestors. An interesting relic of the ninth century is a gold ring that belonged to Etelwulf, King of Wessex, father of Alfred the Great. It was found in the parish of Laverstock, in Hampshire, and is a wonderful specimen of the art of enamelling of the Anglo-Saxon period. The ring of Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, not only valuable from its historic associations, but also on account of being typical of the style of ring in vogue in the seventeenth and early eighteenth ceturies. This was probably the style of the setting of Sir Walter Raleigh's diamond ring that served him to write on a window-pane of an anteroom, through which Queen Elizabeth daily passed, his well-known couplet:

"Fain would I rise,
But that I fear to fall,"

to which the Queen added in encouragement to the handsome young courtier:

"If thy heart fail thee,
Do not rise at all."

In the Middle Ages rings were greatly worn as a preventive against disease. Those containing a toadstone or an onyx were considered especially efficacious against poison and epilepsy, witchcraft and enchantments. For several centuries the Kings of England were wont to bless and to hallow certain rings which were "to be worn as of virtue against the cramp and falling sickness." This appears to have been a custom exercised exclusively by the Monarchs of England, and the last sovereign who wore a blessed cramp ring was Queen Mary. The origin was that the ring of Edward the Confessor was kept as a relic in Westminster Abbey and applied for curing the falling sickness, and that his practice led the succeeding Kings of England to bless rings on Good Friday against the cramp and epilepsy.

There are many instances in history, in times of danger and distress, when women have offered up their gold ornaments and jewels to the State. But there is not on record a more striking illustration of patriotic fervour than that displayed by the matrons of Prussia in 1813, who gave up their gold wedding rings to the patriotic fund raised to defray the expenses of the coalition against Napoleon. They received from the Government, in commemoration of their sacrifice, plain rings of iron engraved with the device, "Ich gebe Gold fur Eisen," which were afterwards treasured as valued heirlooms.

MOTTO.—A reviewer of looks is a person with views and opinions of his own about life and literature, science and art, fashion, style and fancy, which he applies ruthlessly or pleasantly, dogmatically or suggestively, ironically or plainly, as his humour prompts or his method dictates, to books written by some body else. The two notes of the critic are sympathy and knowledge. Sympathy and knowledge must go hand in hand through the fields of criticism. As neither sympathy nor knowledge can ever be complete, the perfect critic is an impossibility. It is hard for a reviewer to help being ignorant, but he need never be a hypocrite. Knowledge certainly seems of the very essence of good criticism and yet judging is more than knowing. Taste, delicacy, discrimination—unless the critic has some of these, he is naught. Even knowledge and sympathy must own a master. That master is sanity. Let sanity for ever sit enthroned in the critic's armchair.—*The Rt. Hon'ble Augustine Birrell; M. P. on "The Critical Faculty."*

BOOKS OF THE QUARTER

"India Insistent" For Freedom*

In his, in one sense, remarkable book called *India Insistent*, the author relates the following interesting and amusing story in proof of what he calls "the hereditary capacity" of some of the young Indian Princes. When one of them was asked to write an essay on mountains, this is how the youth achieved distinction. "Mountains are very good things, because where there are mountains, there are forests, and where there are forests there are tigers, and where there are tigers Viceroys come to shoot, and then the roads are put in order and the Chief is made a G. C. S. I., and that is very good for the State." Now if being made a G. C. S. I., "is very good for the State," how very much better is it for the British State in India, for the author of *India Insistent* is not only a G. C. S. I., but a G. C. I. E., withal! Taking advantage of this fact, the publishers of the book have printed, on the outer jacket of the book, a puff extolling Sir Harcourt Butler to the skies. In his preface, Sir Harcourt himself reminds us that he served for thirty-eight long years in this country, eighteen of which were spent as District Officer and head of departments, seven in the Government of India, and nearly thirteen at the head of the Government of the two provinces of Agra and Oudh and Burma. There can be no doubt that of the large volume of Anglo-Indian literature, which is pouring from the press every month, Sir Harcourt Butler's book is out-and-out the best exposition, from the typical bureaucrat's standpoint of the present problems of India.

Whenever Indian reforms are under consideration, retired Anglo-Indians, official and non-official, try to deluge the reading public with books and tracts, the primary object of which is to prevent any reforms being carried out in the administration of the country. So it was when the Morley-Minto reforms were under consideration and equally was this the case when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were on the the anvil. On the present occasion, the convening of the Round Table Conference has evoked a large avalanche of printed matter from the pen of retired Anglo-Indians, and many of the fraternity have written books on India, from their own point of view, during the last two or three years of which the latest to appear is Sir Harcourt Butler's *India Insistent*. It is entitled to a careful consideration at the hands of the reading public in this country. During the years that he spent in this country, Sir Harcourt claimed to be a progressive administrator, with sympathy for what he called "the legitimate aspirations of educated Indians"—whatever that vague phrase might mean. In his present literary effort he does not resile from that position, as he declares that "my own political faith is that India requires a steady progressive policy, but, even more, a firm and efficient administra-

* *India Insistent.*—By Sir Harcourt Butler (Messrs. William Heineman Ltd., 99, Great Russell St., W.C.), 1931.

tion." He then goes on to add : "of late, the administration has unquestionably been subordinated to policy and the results have not been good." This is the thesis of Sir Harcourt Butler's book, and every chapter is an attempt—by no means successful—to make out that the people of India are yet wholly unfitted for responsible government of any type whatsoever.

In the first chapter headed *The Land and the People*, this worth retired administrator perpetrates the silly and stupid joke that "the melancholy cry of the prowling jackal" is "one of the few signs of unity in India." But let that pass, for it is not only beneath contempt, but unworthy of one who has been the King Emperor's representative in two of the British Indian provinces. We are next told that "the ignorance of India is dense to a degree unknown in Europe." Well, if that is so, whose fault is it? Of the people, or of the Government which has raised, for now more than a century, enormous taxes, crores upon crores, piling Ossa on Pilion, but without spending on the spread of education anything commensurate to its importance? We are next told that Indians "are quick to recognise power in individuals. They are swayed only by power and religion." This is evidently to imply that what India needs is only a strong Government. The reply to this was properly given by an Indian friend of Sir Harcourt Butler himself, who rightly told him : "never use that offensive word sympathy, as it is a word of superiority. The only more offensive word in the English language is efficiency." That is, indeed absolutely correct, from the Indian point of view, since "efficiency" and "power" are believed to go together.

II.

These few samples of the many similar gems with which the whole book is strewn, will give the reader an idea of what he has to expect of Sir Harcourt Butler, as a progressive and liberal-minded expositor of Anglo-Indian philosophy in relation to Indian problems. All that we can say of it is that all of the works published on current Indian problems, during the present century, Sir Harcourt Butler's *India Insistent* is *the* most inimical to India's progress, as it is the most sinister and subtle in its poison. Under the guise of presenting a historical survey, the author refers only to those matters which will have the effect of keeping educated Hindus and Muslims apart. For the behoof of the Hindus, he reminds them of "the minarets of the mosque, which tower over holy Kashi (Benares), the site of a destroyed Hindu temple" as the result of the "fanaticism of Alamgir." Equally for the benefit of the educated Muslims, he quotes the words of a late lamented Nawab of Allahabad (uttered in 1910, in the Imperial Legislative Council) that "Hindus were the subject race of this country, for centuries and centuries." Not content with digging up this long-since happily-forgotten statement, Sir Harcourt Butler himself aggravates his offence by adding the words that "that feeling is even stronger to-day than what it was twenty years ago." We have no hesitation in declaring that this last sentence is a terminological inexactitude of the very worst kind, and we doubt if even the rankest Muslim communalist will come forward to support Sir Harcourt's view.

We think we have said enough to indicate the character of Sir Harcourt Butler's book. He calls it in the preface "a short and simple description of India and its problems." We maintain, on the contrary, that it is about the worst piece of anti-Indian propagandist literature that has issued from the British press in the twentieth century. It is not surprising that the book is being made much of in the anti-Indian press, both in Britain and India, but we are sure this great country will survive such effusions and will before long attain its destined goal of full responsible government. Though appearances, in communal matters, may be discouraging just at present, yet in spite of them Indian nationalism is gaining strength and gathering momentum, from day to day. Sir Harcourt Butler has named his

book *India Insistent* by which he implies that, in spite of what little progress the country may have been able to do in Western ideals and forms, his experience, as an administrator, has left upon his mind " a deep impression of the conservatism of India and of the note for caution in political advance on Western lines." That is letting the cat out of the bag. It is the advance upon Western lines which Sir Harcourt Butler, and the gang he represents, is what they do not like, and object to, and would do all they can to retard it. But we have headed this article, as we have done, in the fulness of conviction that India *is* thoroughly insistent in demanding responsible government, and though there is much leeway yet to be made, and there are almost insurmountable difficulties in her way, yet time is on her side, and the great moral forces which ultimately sway the destinies of nations will lead her, in the near future, to the goal of her ambition, namely, full responsible government as a dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, on an absolute footing of equality with the other self-governing component parts of the Dominion States under the sway of the King-Emperor of India.

The " Naked Fakir : " As He is *

Mr. Robert Bernays, the brilliant young ex-President of the Oxford Union, and an unsuccessful Liberal candidate at the last election, came to India last cold weather—in the course of an all-round world tour—and stayed here for nearly six months, as the representative of the well-known Liberal daily of London, the *News Chronicle*. Judging from his book called *Naked Fakir*, he is a first-rate journalist, and although the materials, now brought together in the work under review, are journalese pure and simple, they are nonetheless so of very high order. Of course, the book is so named in imitation of the expression used by Mr. Winston Churchill of Mahatma Gandhi, when he described him and his conversations with the late Viceroy, Lord Irwin, as presenting " the nauseating and humiliating spectacle of the one-time Inner Temple Lawyer, now a seditious fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Viceroy's palace," but Mr. Bernays, although he borrows the title of his book from Mr. Churchill, does not evidently agree with him in his estimate of the Mahatma. On the contrary, he presents him (on the whole) as a loving and a lovable character, having had many interviews with him.

Mr. Bernays's cables from India to the *News Chronicle*, during the nearly six months that he spent in this country, did much to influence British public opinion in favour of India, in spite of the prevalence, at that time, of the civil disobedience movement, at its height. These cables won at once widespread attention in Britain by reason alike of the inside information, on which they were obviously based, and also of the highly dramatic form in which they were expressed. They depicted in vivid language, and in graphic detail, the many interesting events and episodes of the great Indian crisis, through which the country passed last cold weather. The sequence of events covered, therefore, in *Naked Fakir* deals with the characterisation of the civil disobedience movement, the reaction of the London Round Table Conference upon it, the opening of the prison doors to the Congress leaders, their fateful Conference (at Allahabad) to define their future policy, the series of famous Delhi meetings between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin, the drama of the conversations in the Viceroy's

* *The Naked Fakir.*—By Mr. Robert Bernays. (Victor Gollancz Ltd., 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London), 1931.

study which culminated, after many exciting scenes, in the Delhi Pact, followed by Mahatma Gandhi's sudden threat to break away from the Viceroy over the question of the execution of some of the Lahore revolutionaries, his amazing triumph at Karachi and the failure of his policy to solve the communal difficulties; last, but not least, the terrors of the Cawnpore massacre followed soon after by the arrival of Lord Willingdon, as the new Viceroy, and the clearing of the decks for the next session of the Round Table Conference. Thus Mr. Bernays's book unfolds to the view of the reader what actually happened behind the closed doors of the Viceroy's study, and the thrilling story of how Mahatma Gandhi, a fortnight after the pact had been duly ratified, all but broke away and closed the negotiations, which, fortunately, however, ended satisfactorily and in his going to London to represent the Congress party at the Round Table Conference, now sitting there.

In the panorama, which Mr. Bernays unfolds, various types of humanity in India pass before the reader's eyes in the parade. Some of these only may be noticed here. These are the Indian Princes (both of the old type and the new), University students (many of them turbulent and discontented), British-University-educated Indians returned home with new ideals and aspirations, various types of Civil Servants from the crusted old sun-dried bureaucrat to the new-fledged British official (just posted to the headquarters of a district), great councillors of State, members of the Legislatures, civil and military officers, Brahmins and untouchables, politicians of every shade and colour of opinion, nationalists and communalists, devout Hindus, pious Muslims, untrained tribesmen, *et hoc genus omne*. All who read Mr. Bernays's dispatches at the time, as they appeared in the *News Chronicle*, need not be told that the writer at once proved his capacity to gain the confidence of every type of actor in this extraordinary drama of the upheaval of Indian political life, but even so his dispatches could give little idea of what was to come, in the book now before us. In *Naked Fakir*, we now read for the first time a full history of the great Indian crisis, from the end of the first Round Table Conference till the departure of Lord Irwin from India, and the negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Willingdon with happy results.

It is not possible in the course of an article—be it ever so long—to refer, in any detail, to the various matters of profound interest, with which Mr. Bernays's book is replete. It goes without saying that though hundreds of individuals, men and women, are dealt with by the author, their characters and temperament are drawn with the happy touch of a trained journalist. Yet the central figure in the whole panorama is that of Mahatma Gandhi. It is he who is the cynosure of all eyes, and his characterisation by Mr. Bernays, throughout the book, is drawn with striking inspiration, but complete candour. Although the canvas is crowded with character studies of the most various sorts and types, Mr. Bernays proves himself a master of psychology by making all his figures move round and round the personality of Mahatma Gandhi; but though that is so, the author is by no means sparing of criticism where he thinks criticism is due and justified, and he does not spare even the Mahatma himself. The dispatches, which Mr. Bernays sent to the *News Chronicle* were accompanied by many private letters, in which he allowed himself to be far more caustic and outspoken than was obviously possible for him to be in his official communiques to the London journal. It is good, in the interest of the reading public, that Mr. Bernays has been persuaded by some of his admirers to work many of these letters into his book, which is thus written partly in narrative and partly in diary form, and the combination of the two elements gives to the whole a most delightful actuality and vividness. We may refer, in a later issue, to some of the happy and striking characterisations by Mr. Bernays of Mahatma Gandhi and a number of other leading actors, who took a prominent part at the time in the great struggle for freedom.

India Through Anglo-Indian Eyes*

Lieut.-Gen[illegible] these the second [illegible] has lately written a number of popular works on India—has had long and intimate experience of the Indian frontiers and of the warfare there. Joining the Royal Artillery in 1888, he found himself as a lad of three years' service engaged in a desperate adventure on the Chinese frontier of Upper Burma, when he was recommended by Lord Roberts for the Victoria Cross, and received the D. S. O. Since then he has served in the mountain artillery and on the staff on every part of the North-West Frontier from the Gilgit area to the wilder parts of Baluchistan. He has taken part in almost every campaign during his service, on the Indian frontiers, in South Africa, and in the World War. In his later days, he is noted for his share in planning and carrying out the evacuation of the Gallipoli peninsula. After the War he was appointed Commander-in-Chief in Mesopotamia and from there was sent to India as Quarter-Master-General to carry out the post-war reconstruction of the administrative services of the Indian Army. Sir George Macmunn, who is a graduate of the Staff College, and the holder of several gold medals from military societies for contributions to the knowledge of the art and science of war, has lately published several popular books, besides volumes of short stories amongst which we may mention "The Armies of India," "Afghanistan : From Darius to Amanullah," and "The Indian Mutiny in Perspective." His two latest works are those enumerated at the footnote of this review. Of these the second is obviously a compendium of Indian religions and cults for popular reading and it will serve a useful purpose, but it is clearly not an authoritative work and should not be regard as such.

The frontiers of India measure well over four thousand miles and are redolent still of some of the greatest world dramas. The North-West Frontier, though unquestionably the most important portion, is barely a fourth of it. The whole length marches with half the world—with Siam, France, China, Nepal, Tibet, Afghanistan, Persia, and (on the Pamirs, save for a few buffer miles) with Soviet Russia herself. Of this huge area, Sir George has a fairly large personal knowledge, as he has served in war and peace on all the frontiers, and knows well enough that the stirring scenes of war should be but the prelude to enduring peace and prosperity. In writing *The Romance of the Indian Frontiers*, the North-Western Frontier, with its astounding storied past, has naturally and necessarily a pride of place. Alexander of Macedon must have come down these passes with Turk, Tartar and Afghan, who followed in his footsteps to carve their fortunes in unhappy Hindustan. And since these great conquests and migrations bulk so large, wars and rumours of wars tinge the pages of this book. Nevertheless through it all are traces of Graeco-Bactrian culture, of the peaceful philosophy of Prince Gautama the Buddha, of Lamas and pilgrims, of tinkling temple bells and all the things that go to charm the imagination when Indian hills and frontiers are hinted at. The book is thus a notable addition to Anglo-Indian literature.

* *The Romance of India Frontiers* (Jonathan Cape, 32, Bedford Square, London) and *The Religious and Hidden Cults of India* (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., London). By Sir George Macmunn, 1931.

Bird's-Eye-View Critical Notices

(1) LIVES AND TEACHINGS OF EMINENT INDIANS.

1. **Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story and Mahatma Gandhi At Work.** Edited by C. F. Andrews. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London), 1930-31.
2. **Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas.** By C. F. Andrews. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London), 1930.
3. **Life and Times of Lokmanya Tilak.** Vol. I. By N. C. Kelkar. (S. Ganesan: Triplicane, Madras), 1928.
4. **Gopal Krishna Gokhale.** By T. K. Shahani. (R. K. Mody, 35 Nagdevi Street, Bombay), 1929.

Mahatma Gandhi: His Own Story and *Mahatma Gandhi at Work* are abridgment by Mr. C. F. Andrews of the long autobiography which was written by Mahatma Gandhi during his imprisonment in 1922-24. The editor has done his task well, for the book is singularly little marred by the discontinuity which is so difficult to avoid in an abridgment. The result is that the reader gets both an orderly narrative and a clear picture of a personality: a personality difficult for the Western mind to comprehend, a revoluntionary force yet by temperament conservative, the apostle of non-violence leading a nation to rebellion, he presents the most mysterious personality of modern times. Mr. Andrews has therefore, in making this abridgment, specially sought to make the book easily intelligible in the West without sacrificing any of its peculiarly eastern setting. Towards this object he has given brief explanatory footnotes, a short list of common Indian words and in the preface and conclusion, a brief but clear idea of the Gandhian philosophy.

Mr. C. F. Andrews gives a clear and intelligent picture of Mahatma Gandhi in *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas* which will be welcome to the Western public which certainly has not been able to grasp this extraordinary Indian personality so intricate is his psychology and so great his power. Few Europeans know Mahatma Gandhi so well and so intimately as Mr. C. F. Andrews, who has striven hard during the many years of his stay in India to get a sympathetic understanding of India's spiritual genius by intimate contact with her people. The author has attempted to trace the various religious influences which helped in the making of the Mahatma and to point out the fact that the dominant idea in Gandhi's fight for India's freedom is not political but economic. Mahatma Gandhi's uncompromising stand on the question of "untouchability", his offer of the spinning-wheel as the panacea for India's ill, his scathing criticism of man's use of woman for the mere satisfaction of his lust, his firm stand on the liquor question, his programme of non-co-operation, his search for a solution for the Hindu-Muslim disunity; these and other activities of his have all been carefully considered. In spite of the fact that the author differs from Gandhiji on some matters such as the burning of foreign cloth, the defence of functional caste, the protection of the cow, the support of image worship yet he has dealt with them in such a way as not to prejudice the reader one way or the other. It was evidently impossible to represent with completeness a character so many-sided as Mahatma Gandhi's in the space of 375 pages, but apart from its intrinsic worth as a most illuminating contribution to Gandhi literature, Mr. Andrews' study has particular value as an individual portrait of one who has been his friend for over a number of years.

Mr. Divekar has done a service to English-knowing admirers of the late Lokmanya in having made accessible to them Mr. Kelkar's Marathi version of *Life and Times of Lokmanya Tilak*, Vol. I. The book brings out interesting personal details of the early phase of Tilak's life which is not generally known. Did Tilak miss his vocation in life? To this question which has caused endless perplexity to his admirers, friends and foes alike, an

answer is sought in this book. In the period with which this volume closes, Tilak had become the idol of the people in Maharashtra. Two courses were open to him: a retired and comfortable life was his for the asking; and with the laurels which scholarship in mathematics and Sanskrit, promised him in abundance, had he voted for them, his glory would have been still undiminished; but he preferred to wear the crown of thorns which national leadership, to whose call he responded, kept ready for him. To those who would know something of Tilak the man and the enthralling story of how, in face of the apparently acute conflict of duties and loyalties and at the sacrifice of cherished causes and friendship, Tilak placed patriotic service above everything else, and on what philosophy he based his decision, this volume will prove to be one of absorbing interest. The book is beautifully printed and bound. It will take its rightful place in the Gandhi Literature Series to which it belongs.

Gopal Krishna Gokhale is a prize essay which was written in 1915—the year of the death of Gokhale—and is perhaps the first full English biography of that great servant of of India. Such a biography was needed and we are glad that it was published. The yearly life and achievements of Gokhale in the legislatures, in the Congress and in public are described clearly and concisely in about 400 pages. The author tells how Gokhale worked, how he studied and with what meticulous care he prepared his subjects and speeches. Altogether it is an instructive and valuable book.

5. **Prophets of New India.** By Romain Rolland. (Cassell and Company, Ltd., La Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill, London), 1930.

6. **Vivekananda: The Nation Builder.** By Swami Avyaktananda. (Brahmachary Shuddha Chaitanya, Ramakrishna Ashram, Bankipore, Patna), 1929.

7. **Life and Work of Sri Aurobindo.** By Jyotish Chandra Bose. (Atmashakti Library, 15, College Square, Calcutta), 1929.

8. **Memories of Hazrat Inayat Khan.** By a Disciple. (Rider and Co., Paternoster Row, London).

Prophets of New India is a comprehensive exposition by Romain Rolland of Rama Krishna and Vivekananda, two of the greatest of modern Indian religious teachers. Monsieur Rolland sets out to show that their religion and philosophy are not merely for India but are of far wider scope, that they have a message of hope and life to western civilization, that in their newness, and vigour, and universality they may help in the solution of some of the most vital problems of the occident. And Rolland has brought a real love for India as well as a profound knowledge of her religion to his book. Romain Rolland has dedicated his whole life to the reconciliation of mankind; and his book under review is a worthy and sincere attempt to understand India through the teachings of her illustrious sons. The book is a translation from the original French yet an attentive reader will catch much of the spirit of the original, though to quote Shelley's words, "it is inevitable that the volatile strength and delicacy of the ideas escape in the crucible of translation."

Often in his utterances the monk's robe would seem to slip off the shoulders of Swami Vivekananda to reveal underneath it the shining armour of a soldier-patriot. But there was always a spiritual basis to his nationalism. In *Vivekananda: The Nation-builder* it is that aspect of his personality that the author—Swami Avyaktananda has brought out. The papers that constitute the book under notice were first serially published in the *Morning Star*, and have been issued in the present form with some additions, alterations and notes. The book makes most interesting reading.

Life-work of Sri Aurobindo, by Jyotish Chandra Ghose, is a study of that remarkable and versatile scholar-patriot, post-saint Auro-

bindo Ghose. There are few men who have made so deep an impression on the history of Modern India as the great exile at Pondicherry, the subject of the book under review. He will ever be remmbered, in the beautiful words of the late C. R. Das, as "the poet of patriotism, as the prophet of nationalism, and the lover of humanity". It requires considerable skill to write the life of such a many-sided and magnetic personality as that of Sri Aurobindo, but the author has acquitted himself well and we are indebted to him for this rapid but remarkable survey of the stirring days of the Swadeshi and a brief but lucid exposition of Aurobindo's synthetic philosophy and Sadhana. It is a well-written and well-got-up book, and should find an honoured place among the lives of the great sons of India.

Hazrat Inayat Khan created a circle of admirers and disciples in London and elsewhere in Europe through the medium of music. He was a talented Indian musician and the strange notes of the unknown art gripped and haunted the imagination of many western religio-aesthetes. *Memoirs of Hazrat Inayat Khan* is a fervid work of one of these devotee-disciples.

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(2) WORKS ON ANCIENT INDIAN INSTITUTIONS.

Theory of Government in Ancient India. By Dr. Beni Prasad. (The Indian Press, Allahabad), 1927.

Theory of Government in Ancient India, by Dr. Beni Prasad, should, in the words of Professor Keith in the foreword—"serve to dispel the prevalent impression that India in ancient times was pre-eminently a land of transcendental philosophers and had no place for men of practical thought, skilled in statecraft and capable of wise and efficient government". The discovery of Kautilya's *Arthasastra* and in recent years the reconstruction of ancient Indian political history by several Indologists leaves no doubt, even apart from Dr. Beni Prasad's learned treatise, that ancient India did make "Notable Contribution to the theory of Politics" and that India did produce "men of practical thought skilled in statecraft." India has had a mental attitude different from the West in looking at social and economic evolution, her goal has been different. And hence different have been the methods and institutions of her social, political and economic organism. Dr. Beni Prasad's book should be of unique interest to those engaged in framing a constitution for her, as it might help them to understand what would suit her temperament and constitution. Published in 1927 it is of topical interest to-day and is likely to remain such for sometime yet.

Hindu Administrative Institutions. By V. R. R. Dikshitar. (University of Madras), 1929.

The Hindu Administrative Institutions, written by Mr. Dikshitar, endeavours "to trace the evolutionand inter-relation of the State and society in ancient India as a preliminary to the study of the administrative and political institutions which distinctly figure in ancient Indian Literature." The author has given himself no easy task. Mr. Dikshitar puts together information throwing light on the political ideas and principles underlying the administrative institutions of the Hindus. One is struck by the prevalence of comparatively modern conceptions of political theories, *e.g.*, there appears to have prevailed the same belief as to the existence of a state of nature anterior to the contract. The machinery of the State is dealt with in detail and is little different from that of to-day. The chapter on financial administration is almost modern in its outlook. The ancient Hindu financiers admitted the principles of equity and least sacrifice in taxation. The conception of taxable capacity which engaged the attention of our economists during the last decade has been described thus: The financier is asked "to behave like a gardener who will gather flowers in season without prejudice to the growth of the plants." The accounts of the organization of the department of justice, the army and local administration are no less illuminating to the student of politics. In view of present developments it is interesting to

note that salt was manufacured by the State and was also imported. The Government was entitled to a fixed share of the former, while one-sixth of the latter went to the king. Private individuals and firms were allowed to manufacture only with the sanction of the Government. Persons without license and those adulterating salt were liable to the highest amercement as punishment. The author deserves to be congratulated on his able and learned work. The book is well documented and provided with an excellent bibliography and an index.

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(3) SOME RECENT WORKS OF HISTORY.

1 **A Short History of France.** By H. D. Sedgwick (George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 39-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London), 1930.

2. **A Short History of the French People.** By Charles Guignebert. 2 Vols. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London), 1930.

3. **The Third Republic.** Raymond Recouly. (William Heinemann Ltd., 99, Great Russell Street, London), 1928.

4. **Leaders of the French Revolution.** By J. M. Thompson. (Basil Blackwell, 49, Broad Street, Oxford), 1929.

France: a short history of its politics, literature, and art from the earliest times to the present day is written by Mr. Sedgwick who is an author of established reputation and wide knowledge, having written histories of Italy and Spain, biographies of La Fayette, Cortes and Dante and numerous other works. This book is intended both for travellers and for readers who stay at home. It is a brief biography of France up to the end of the Great War, focusing attention especially on the men to whom we owe the most definite expression of typical French traits and qualities in art, in ierature, and in the conduct and appreciation of life. This is no dry-as-dust history text-book; it is enlivened throughout by numerous ancedotes and quotations from contemporary writers.

The author of *A Short History of the French People* does not attempt to relate the history of France but, in the light of that history, to explain France of the period he deals with. He says: "France, from one point of view, is merely the geographical and historical framework within which certain men have spent their lives; from another point of view she may be regarded as the metaphysical expression of a nation. The life, spirit and culture of France are the culture, spirit and life of the French nation. Our investigation will therefore centre upon this concrete idea of a French People." The author's clear, informal style, and the rich cultural background of his study, make this book notable as an interpretation of France and the French. The translation from the French by F. G. Richmond is remarkably well done.

The Third Republic is the Seventh Volume of *The National History of France* to be published. In it Raymond Recouly takes up the story of France at the Battle of Sedan and the fall of the Second Empire, and pursues it to the outbreak of the Great War. He has particular gifts for graphic description of the men and moments of importance during the period of the reconstruction of France. The book is a bridge of knowledge between that resplendent France of the Napoleons and France as we knew her in the grip of the Great War and afterwards.

In his *Leaders of the French Revolution* the author has attempted the task of telling the story of the French Revolution by depicting the character and life of twelve characteristic personalities who figured in that catastrophic period. He has produced an extraordinarily interesting book, where a vast amount of knowledge is collected. Mr. Thompson has the gift of phrase but he is inclined too much to indulge in quotation, and to flavour his written word with the heavy don-ish humour of the lecture room. Of a passage in Louvet's Memoirs he says: "Many of them (the eighteenth century revolutionists) had much less taste than a Slade student, less political sense than a Union speaker and less moral

balance than a prefect at a public school." It is just this touch of superiority, this inclination to patronise the Revolution from the snug comfort of an Oxford common-room, that mars what would have been otherwise an excellent production.

5. **A Short History of the Italian People.** By Janet Penrose Trevelyan. Third Edition. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 24, Bedford Street, London, W.C.), 1929.

6. **Italy.** By Lingi Villari (Earnest Benn Limited, 154, Fleet Street, London, E.C.), 1929.

7. **The Expansion of Italy.** By Lingi Villari (Faber and Faber Limited, 24, Russell Square, London), 1930.

Miss J. P. Trevelyan's *Short History of the Italian People* when it first came out in 1919 supplied a real need, for till then there was no history—from the Barbarian invasion to the present times—in the English language of a people whose past culture and achievement has contributed no less to the moulding of Europe than that of Greece or Rome. The book still remains the best on the subject and in this third, revised and enlarged edition the authoress has brought it up-to-date by giving a brief survey of the remarkable period from the triumph of Fascismo in 1922 to the Lateran Treaty in 1929.

Signor Villari—son of the well-known historian Professor Pasquale Villari and Linda Villari, an English author—in his Italy, which is a survey of the evolution of political ideas in Italy from the fall of the Napoleonic Empire to the present day, deals in considerable detail with the events and changes of the last few years. The author places the Fascist revolution against the background of events and policies which preceded it and presents it to readers not as an isolated phenomenon but in its proper perspective, as part of a general picture of contemporary Italian history.

In his new book **The Expansion of Italy**, Luigi Villari attempts to show that the efforts of the country to find an outlet for her increasing population are no menace to any nation, but are on the other hand beneficial to the cause of Western civilisation. The author gives particulars of the colonial enterprises and achievements of Italy and of the loss sustained by the mother country in the growing stream of imigration since 1913. Signor Villari explains the mental attitude of modern Italy behind her policy of overseas expansion. He say:—"The rise of Fascism transformed the attitude of the Government and public opinion towards the problem, for Italy was no longer content to be the universal provider of millions of hefty workers to fill up the gaps in countries with a declining birth-rate, to exploit their insufficiently inhabited colonial possessions, and to present them with ready-made citizens. The Fascist idea is that the Italian owes his first duty to Italy, where a large and growing population is an asset and not a handicap, and that every effort must be made to find remunerative employment for her sons, either in Italy or abroad, but that if they do go abroad they must as far as possible be kept in touch with the mother country." It is an interesting book in spite of Signor Villari's Fascistic prejudices.

8. **The Cambridge Medieval History.** Vol. VI. (The Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London), 1929.

9. **Life in the Middle Ages.** By G. C. Coulton. Vols. 1, 2 and 3. Second editions in four volumes (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London), 1928.

10. **A Baghdad Chronicle.** By Reuben Levy. (Cambridge University Press, Fetter Lane, London), 1929.

These three publications are the outcome of the admirable enterprise, in historical literature, of the Cambridge University Press. *The Cambridge Medieval History.* Vol. VI deals with "The Victory of Papacy" and with it is included an excellent portfolio of maps depicting different countries of Euorpe in the thirteenth century. Not even the Cambridge Histories, which are acknowledged classics on

the subject, provide us with such a vast mass of information supplied by experts—exact, accurate and complete. This romantic period in European history has been finely told in this book, and to add to the value of the work an exhaustive bibliography has been appended to help further investigation. The Cambridge University Press has filled up a real gap in historical literature by supplying us with books on modern history and Indian history which are unique in their exhaustive as well as accurate research.

The *Life in the Middle Ages* second edition in four volumes treats of clergy and laity, saints and sinners, love, battles, pageants and occasionally the small things of every day life. The large majority of the extracts were translated from six different languages for the first time by Mr. Coulton: they offer an opportunity to readers to study genuine human documents and to check the generalisations of historians by reference to first-hand facts. Most of the material originally appeared in Mr. Coulton's *Medieval Garner*, which was published in 1910. This bulky volume has now been divided into four manageable parts, arranged roughly according to subject. Volume I, which includes three new extracts, deals with "Religion, Folklore and Superstition;" the second with "Chronicles, Science and Art;" Volume III with "Men and Manners;" and Volume IV, considerably enlarged will deal with "Monks, Friars and Nuns." It is a most useful book for the student of historical research.

The impression one gets from reading any history of Baghdad during the Abasid Caliphate is that all that was worth writing about that time was strife and battle. But Mr. Levy, Lecturer in Persian at Cambridge, in *A Baghdad Chronicle* records the social history of Baghdad at that period. Though interwoven with politics also it gives a picture of the daily life of the city, its customs and manners and its typical citizens. It is a very interesting book.

(4) LATEST LEGAL LITERATURE.

History and Status of Landlord and Tenants in the United Provinces. By S. N. A. Jafri. (The Pioneer Press, Allahabad), 1931.

Mr. S. N. A. Jafri, Bar.-at-Law—late Publicity Officer of the Agra and Oudh Government—has produced a notable book, which is of especial interest just at present, in view of the serious agrarian situation in those provinces. The author is fully qualified by reason of his attainments and general proficiency for the task he has undertaken and he has brought to bear on it considerable knowledge and a rich experience of rural economics and conditions. In his book, the author traces historically the rise and fall of the village communities, the development of the Zamindari system and the evolution of the tenantry, and the effect of Mohammadan rule on the revenue administration. He gives a clear description of the stages by which the land system has been improved under the present Government and deals with various legislative measures enacted for the welfare of both the landlords and the tenants. Comprehensive details of the position of the tenants have been given, nothing the gradual changes made by different tenancy law. Special emphasis has been laid on the recent changes in the laws both in Agra and Oudh, which mark an epoch in their advance towards stability. A bird's-eye-view of the tenant's life has been given showing in all important details an agriculturist's habitation, daily life, food, system of dining, household effects, recreations and the methods of cultivation. The beneficent activities of the Agricultuhe Department have been fully dealt with. There is also given a description of the provision made for education, sanitation and medical relief. The peasant's advance towards village autonomy, the effects of sanitation and his general economic position with references to the conditions in pre-British days are duly set forth. The book also gives valuable suggestions conducive to further stability of the tenantry and improvement in the general condition of villages. Thus the work is almost encyclo-

paedic, and it has references to a large number of books which indicates a thorough grasp of the subject. As such the book deserves to be in the hands of all public men interested in the welfare of the people and of Indian rural economics, and it reflects great credit on the knowledge and scholarship of the author.

Historical Trials. By (the late) Sir John MacDonell. (Watts and Co., 5-6, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.4), 1931.

This book is a reproduction of seven of the late Sir John MacDonell's lectures on historical trials, published some years back. Socrates and Joan of Arc, Bruno, Galileo, and Servetus, the knights templars and witches, enter the dock in turn, are tried and sentenced. The proceedings are described as they might have appeared to a lawyer sitting at the Counsels' table. None of the trials (describeed in this book) would have taken place if the principle of intellectual liberty had been definitely conceded. The case for freedom of thought, action, and expression has never been put more forcibly, more persuasively, than in them. This book, thus, deserves a wide circulation.

British Constitutional Law. By Dr. A. B. Keith. (Oxford University Press, Bombay and Oxford), 1931.

Dr. Keith's Introduction to British *Constitutional Law* will be of great utility to students of the subject. It is a short sketch designed to give the student a preliminary view of the doctrines which are set out in detail in the classical treatises. Local Government has been left aside, but due regard has been paid to the varied forms of Government existing in the Empire. In addition to the normal themes of constitutional law, the author has paid special attention to the issues of relations between the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. The book is a masterpiece of condensation, accuracy and soundness, and should appeal to all interested in the working of the British constitutional law.

Hindu Law. By J. R. Gharpure. Fourth edition, 1931; and *Subodhini*. Translated by J. R. Gharpure. (Principal Law College, Poona), 1931.

Principal Gharpure's *Hindu Law* has now appeared in its fourth edition. It has long since taken its place as a standard work on the subject, and it is out-and-out the best textbook for the student. In the edition, under survey, the text has been carefully revised and judiciously expanded and it is now fully abreast of the latest case law till the time of its appearance.....The other work (*Subodhini*)—a commentary on the Mitakshara —is the latest addition to Mr. Gharpure's *Collection of Hindu Law Texts*, in English translation. This series, when completed, will be a notable addition to the literature of Hindu Law.

A Short History of the Indian Bar. By Pande Nawal Kishore Sahay (Advocate, High Court, Patna), 1931.

Pande Nawal Kishore Sahay's *Short History of the Indian Bar* is a pioneer work and distinctly breaks new ground in Anglo-Indian legal literature. It brings together in a compact and handy form a large amount of useful and interesting data scattered about in old books and reports and not easily accessible to the average student of the subject. In digesting carefully and systematically the subject matter of his book, the author has displayed a commendable spirit of research, which deserves appreciation. The *Short History of the Indian Bar* is highly interesting and should appeal to a very wide circle in the legal world.

Fifteen Years' Digest (1916-31). 3 Vols. ("Indian Cases," Office, Lahore), 1931.

The "Indian Cases" *Fifteen Years' Digest* is a literally weighty collection in three large and rather unportable volumes—containing as many as six thousand and six hundred columns! But the compilers have done their work exceedingly well and the *Digest* will be very helpful alike to legal practitioners and also to the executive and judicial officers.

There can be no doubt that it is the most comprehensive digest for the period it covers, which (curiously) extends over that of the existence of the Patna High Court. Considering its bulk and utility, the book is very cheaply priced (at present) at Rs. 14 for the set.

Law of Contempt of Court and Defamation as it affects the Press. By (the late) D. B. Binning, Bar.-at-Law (Times of India Press, Bombay), 1931.

The late Mr. D. B. Binning's lectures (delivered to staff of the *Times of India*) on the Indian law relating to the press, fully deserved collection and preservation in a permanent form. They are the work of a master of the subject and are lucid and sound. The book is a pioneer work and deserves a cordial welcome alike at the hands of lawyers and journalists.

(5) CURRENT SCIENTIFIC WORKS.

1. **Two Thousand Years of Science.** By R. J. Harvey-Gibson. (A. and C. Black, Ltd., 4, 5 and 6, Soho Square, London, W.), 1929.
2. **Modern Science.** By J. A. Thomson. (Methuen and Co., Ltd., 36, Essex Street, London, W. C.), 1929.
3. **Aryabhatiya of Aryabhata.** Translated by Walton Eugene Clarke. (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Illinois, U. S. A.), 1930.
4. **Science in the Home.** By W. B. Little. (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., 39-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W. C.), 1930.
5. **Short Stories in Science.** By J. G. Crowther. (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 68-74, Carter Lane, London), 1929.

Professor Harvey-Gibson's *Two Thousand Years of Science* is a general sketch of the growth of science from early times down to the present day, in a volume of reasonable size. Though there are many publications dealing with recent progress in the different branches of science, there has not been for many years a resume of the whole subject in a form suitable for general reading. The author, himself a distinguished scientist, has made the book popular in the best sense, by his clear writing and his fascinating accounts of the great inventors and discoverers, without sacrificing anything of its accurate and authentic nature. He gives in a readable form the broad outlines of science and its history which should be of great help to the youth after leaving school.

Professor J. A. Thompson is a scientist of repute and, therefore, his book *Modern Science* needs no commendation. The aim of the book under notice is to give a general idea of the way in which modern science looks out on the world: to show how the various sciences are disclosing the order of things. The illustrations of scientific progress are selected from all the great order of facts—from Astronomy to Anthropology. The book should be of very great help to the senior students for whom it is intended.

American enterprise in the domain of Indian Science and literature has done some splendid work. Walter Eugene Clarke's translation and notes on *Aryabhatiya of Aryabhata* is the latest contribution. Aryabhata's work, which was composed in 499 A.D., is probably the oldest preserved text from the third or scientific period of Indian Astronomy, and is the earliest preserved Indian mathematical work. It is therefore of considerable importance in the history of astronomy and mathematics. This is the first attempt at a complete translation, and as such is of extreme value to those who cannot approach it in the original language.

Science in the Home, by W. B. Little, shows how science is, in modern times, assisting the home—*e.g.*, in supplying water, gas, electricity, ways for cleaning. This is a neatly bound book in clear type with profuse illustrations to help in performing the experiments given which can be done with the aid of simple apparatus. It gives an excellent

introductory knowledge for the study of cookery, laundry work and housewifery in general.

Mr. J. G. Crowther in his *Science for You* started a scheme to provide the public with readable accounts of recent scientific research. In the book under review, *Short Stories in Science* he continues this scheme. The range of subjects is wide and interesting.

6. **The Conclusions of Modern Science.** By Walter Grierson. (George Newnes, Ltd., 8-11, Southampton Street, London, W. C.), 1930.

7. **Science Religion and Human Nature.** By J. S. Huxley. (Watts and Co., 5 and 6, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C.), 1930.

8. **Religion as a Bar to Progress.** By Charle T. Gorham. (Watts and Co., 5 and 6, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C.), 1930.

The Conclusions of Modern Science, by Walter Grierson (the Enquiring Layman), is an exposition of the conclusions of modern scientific knowledge with regard to the life of man. It has been specially kept free from technical phraseology which so bewilders the average man when approaching scientific works. Mr. Grierson is much interested in the Modernist movement in Christianity and that bias has—in spite of assertions to the contrary—crept into his enquiry and conclusions in summing up the service performed by science in the evolution of humanity. It is a book, nonetheless, of great interest and is extremely readable.

Science, Religion and Human Nature, a lecture delivered by Prof. J. S. Huxley, is now issued in book form. Even though his fame is handicapped by the great name he bears—that of his grand-father—he has made himself acknowledged as one of the greatest living scientists whose human interests remain—unlike those of other specialists—unmarred by being absorbed in one science. This brochure is worthy of its source.

Mr. Gorham sets out to prove that Christian religion, which has been supposed by some to have been of service to mankind, has in reality been harmful to it. In his *Religion as a Bar to Progress*, the author attempts to show that the development of various sciences and subjects has been hindered by the Christian religion.

9. **The Riddle of Sex.** By Dr. J. Tenenbaum. (George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 68-74, Carter Lane, London, E.C.), 1930.

10. **Marriage and Morals.** By Bertrand Russell. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London), 1929.

11. **The Evolution of Modern Marriage.** By F. Muller-Lyer. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 40, Museum Street, London), 1920.

12. **The Conquest of Life.** By Dr. S. Voronoff. (Brentano's, 31, Gower Street, London, W.C.), 1928.

13. **Sleep.** By Dr. D. A. Laird and C. G. Muller. (Williams and Norgate, Ltd., 38, Great Ormond Street, London, W.C.), 1930.

Dr. J. Tenenbaum has with much courage and frankness discussed the subject of sex and what is more important sex-technique in his Riddle of Sex. A question of more vital consequence to human well-being, health and evolution, both physical and intellectual, can hardly be conceived, and yet till lately it was a subject not only neglected but tabooed and placed beyond the pale of decency. Dr. Tenenbaum has covered in the book under review a vast ground. He deals with questions like: Should sexual experience before marriage be encouraged? Is marriage necessary to health? When should sex education begin? Is birth control a menace or a hope? Are there secret causes for the conflicts that lead to divorce? Is there a sexual cause for nervous instability, unhappiness, or a sense of inferiority? Dr. Tenenbaum has had experience in many fields besides that of medical practice, and this adds greatly to the value of his work. The book differs from similar books on the

subject in giving a minimum of theory and a maximum of direct physiological and psychological information. We have no hesitation in saying that it is in many ways the sanest, completest, and most practical book on Sex that has yet been published. It is of immense value to every man and woman.

It has been pointed out—we think with some success—that marriage as a legal institution performs no useful function, except—while society and its laws are constituted as at present—in the interests of children.

Mr. Bertrand Russell in his *Marriage and Morals* traces the existing sexual ethics to two sources: the desire to make sure of paternity and the belief that sex, except after certain precautions, is sinful; there is a discussion of the changes being brought about by contraceptives and by the increasing share of the State in the upbringing of children. Childless relationship, he contends, should be exempted from the control of law and public opinion. This book deals with marriage, past, present, and future, showing the interconnection of biological, economic, and religious factors in sexual ethics. It is a closely reasoned and fascinating study of an exciting subject told by Mr. Bertrand Russel in his peculiarly choice phraseology.

Dr. F. Muller-Lyer concludes his book on *The Evolution of Modern Marriage* with the words: "With growing civilization the primitive (biological) purely animal sex instincts will be over-laid with an ever richer imaginative life; and the sexual life will consequently be endowed with ever-increasing spirituality." He comes to this conclusion after taking the reader through the study of man's love relations from the primitive times to the present day. He discusses the question of the evolution of marriage from many points of view. The real value of the book is the evidence upon which the author has based his conclusion. Dr. Muller-Lyer has sifted his evidence very carefully and has a well prepared case to put before his readers. Miss Isabella C. Wigglesworth has done good service by translating this book for the benefit of English readers thirteen years after its first publication.

The quest of the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life was not the monopoly of the medieval and early centuries. The methods have changed but the quest continues.

Dr. Vornonoff's own story of his discoveries in the prolongation of life and the vital powers of man, written to be read by the layman, is thus of universal interest. *The Conquest of Life* is the first book for popular consumption on the author's amazing discoveries. It tells in fascinating fashion his marvellous results with the grafting of monkey glands on men. Beginning with a lucid explanation of the functions of the various stimulative glands—thyroid, parathyroid, suprarenal and pituitary—Dr. Voronoff leads the reader gradually into the recital of his experiments on animals. The results he obtained are described; and then the almost unbelievable effects upon men are delineated. It is a narrative of surpassing interest as full of surprises as a mystery story and as gripping as some of them.

In their book *Sleep* Dr. Laird and Mr. Muller answer the questions: Why do we sleep? What has sleep to compensate for? And what are the benefits of sleep? They have analysed the phenomenon of sleep and present many new facts which have been verified by experiments. The subject matter, the language and the format of the book all combine to make it attractive and readable.

(6) SOME RECENT BOOKS ON RELIGION

1. **The Chung-Yung.** Translated by Leonard A. Lyall and King Chien-Kun. (Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 39, Paternoster Row, London), 1927.
2. **Behold The Man.** By Professor Dwijadas Datta. (The Author, Kandirparh, Comilla), 1930.
3. **The New Nuctemeron of Apollonius.** Conveyed through Marjorie Livingstone. (Rider and Co., Paternoster House, Paternoster Row, London), 1930.

The *Chung-Yung* was written by Tzu-ssu the grandson of Confucius to put on record the teachings of his grandfather. This is one of those rare works of the Chinese Classics which escaped burning in 213-210 B.C. at the hands of the Emperor who built the Great Wall, who hoped to put an end to book learning. The book contains explanations of rites performed in olden times by the Emperors of China, and also canons of good form.

Professor Dwijadas Datta in his *Behold the Man* deals with the life and work of Keshub Chandra Sen who, along with Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore, was responsible for the organisation known as the Brahmo Samaj. The author begins by discussing the question as to who was the real founder of the Brahmo Samaj. He points out that Raja Ram Mohan Roy never founded the Samaj, though his trust endowment was the seed out of which the institution grew. The Maharshi founded the Brahmo Samaj and installed Keshub as the Acharya of the Adi Samaj. The origin and development of the schism in the Brahmo Samaj are also described and the author eulogises Keshub Chandra Sen for not answering the baseless criticisms of the separated of the Samaj because they were directed against him personally. The author also seeks in this book to remove the misrepresentations which, according to him, Pandit Shiva Nath Shastri has embodied in his *History of the Brahmo Samaj*, about Keshub Chandra Sen.

The writer of *The New Nuctemeron*—the twelve hours of Apollonius of Tyana—Marjorie Livingstone claims that the script was produced by her under the direct inspiration of Apollonius who was a contemporary of Jesus Christ. The script asserts that the ancient philosophies were revelations of the Divine wisdom of which the Incarnation of Christ was the crowning phenomenon, revealing Him who had been worshipped as the unknown God. Whatever the truth about the occult authorship of the book, it is certainly a remarkable performance for an English lady in the twentieth century.

4. **The Inner Side of Church Worship.** By Geoffrey Hodson. (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras), 1930.
5. **The Flame of Youth. By C. Jinarajadasa.** (Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras), 1931.
6. **The Religion of Jesus.** By T. Kagawa. (The Associated Press, Calcutta).
7. **The Kingdom of Faith.** By Cedric Dover. (Allahabad Law Journal Press, 5, Prayag Street, Allahabad), 1931.

The Inner Side of the Church Worship by Geoffrey Hodson is an attempt to vindicate the Roman Catholic Church which claims to be a Divine Society, and calls occult research to aid its arguments. The author himself is a clairvoyant Catholic. The subject has been approached, we are glad to find, in a catholic spirit.

Another new publication of the Theosophical Society is *The Flame of Youth* by Mr. Jinarajadasa, which is a fervent appeal to young men to grasp the significance of youth. He has placed before the readers the ideals of Sport at the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, the Kshatriya ideal of self-sacrifice and the noble precepts of the world's religious masters. It is a useful book that will make splendid reading for the young.

The name of Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan is well known in Christian circles. He has truly tried to live the life of Christ and in the result he has become a remarkable personality in many walks of life—religious, economic, social and educational—and his personality and character weild a great influence upon his nation. He believes in the teaching of Christ that the purpose of life is to "Become perfect as your Father in heaven is perfect." His latest book *The Religion of Jesus* needs little to commend it.

The Kingdom of Faith is an engaging book written by Cedric Dover, a writer and scientist whose sincerity and style has been widely acknowledged. In it the author boldly attacks the influence of religion on human affairs and directs attention to the need for revised values of some of the most fundamental matters concerned in human progress. It is an attack on hypocrisy, a plea for sanity and responsibility. Even if one does not agree with the writer, it is a spirited book and, therefore, worth reading. The ten essays included in it are Foundations, A Young Man's Credo, The Influence of Religion, Religion and Modern Life, Miracles, Religious Education, To-day and To-morrow, Religion and Sex, Eugenics and G. K. Chesterton, and the Folly of War.

(7) CURRENT GUIDE-BOOKS AND TOURISTS' HANDBOOKS.

How To Be Happy (1) **In Paris** (2) and **In Berlin**, by John Chancellor, (3) **In London**, by Victor Macclure, (4) **On the Riviera**, by R. Elston (5) **In France** (Seaside Resorts) by G. Bosworth, and (6) **In Switzerland** by F. McDermott (L. W. Arrowsmith Ltd., 6, Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W. C. 1), 1926-31.

Messrs. Arrowsmith deserve credit on their enterprise in inaugurating a new series (not of guide-books, but of tourist literature of great excellence) called *How To Be Happy* in the various cities or countries of the world. The first batch comprises the books enumerated above. Each of these delightful little volumes tells things never told so well before. With it the visitor (to Paris or London or Berlin, or the Riviera or Switzerland or the seaside resorts of France) will know where to go and where not to go, what he can afford and what he cannot, what is worth seeing and what is not. The books are intended for the visitors who go to enjoy themselves and tell where they will profit and where taken advantage of. They guide you to all that is worth seeing and warn you about the cost, recommend hotels, quote prices, point out the dangers of the city each of them deals with, lift the veils from the doings and goings-on at the places of amusement, give you an insight into the romance of the underworld (where it exists), and above all, put you in the way of having full value for money spent. The series is a notable addition to tourist literature and will form valuable supplements to guide-books and hand-books for travellers, as it is in the furnishing of practical information, that the distinctive feature of these books lies. Prices are given, hotels are listed and every possible help is given to those who seek new ground for a happy holiday. We have much pleasure in commending to tourists in Europe this excellent series of travel-manuals, which should be kept handy by all desirous of enjoying a well-earned holiday. Some of them have already appeared in revised editions, notably the volume on Paris, which in its carefully overhauled edition is thoroughly abreast of the latest changes and gives several excellent tips for economical enjoyment in that gay city.

Round The World Traveller: By D. E. Lorenz, Ph. D. (Fleming H. Revell Company, London), 1929.

Dr. D. E. Lorenz—well known as the author of *The New Mediterranean Traveller*—has embodied in his *Round the World Traveller* a comprehensive conspectus of practical information relating to world-travel. The sixth (1929) edition, under review, is embellished with eight well-drawn maps, and sixty original illustrations, while the letter-press, which is both interesting and instructive, gives highly useful information of great advantage to the tourist out to "do" the great cities of the many countries of the world. Here are fascinating accounts of the history, government, international relations, religions and customs of the various countries visited, and the discussion of vital questions (such as the relation of Japan to Pacific problems, the

spread of Gandhism in India, Philippine Independence, etc.,) serve to make this excellent hand-book incomparable for what the travel lover wants to know. The various countries dealt with are Cuba, Panama, Hawaii, Japan, Korea, China, the Philippines, Java, Singapore, Burma, India, Ceylon, the Suez Canal, and Egypt. In regard to each of them the book gives all the necessary information regarding salient sights, health precautions, hotels, conveyances, moneys, bibliography and condensed outlines of facts and figures in an attractive form. Dr. Lorenz's book will be indispensable to the world-traveller, who should be careful to keep it handy throughout his travels.

The Pocket Guide to Japan: (Japan Tourist Bureau, Tokyo, Japan), 1931.

Though not an attempt to compete with such exhaustive works as Murray's *Hand-book of Japan* or Terry's *Japanese Empire, The Pocket Guide to Japan*—which is kept up to date by frequent revisions—is sufficiently comprehensive for the purposes of the average traveller in the country it deals with. It offers not only descriptions of the various cities and their scenes and sights, but also practical information on matters of special interest to the tourist. But that is not all. The book presents condensed but attractive sketches of the geography and climatology of Japan and its varied scenic and other attractions, as also accounts of Japanese amusements and sports, festivals and social functions, products and manufactures, as also outlines of history, government organization, overseas territories, travel facilities and a useful select bibliography of literature (in English) relating to Japan. The attractions and utility of the letter-press are materially enhanced by the book being embellished with numerous well-executed illustrations and fourteen well-drawn maps, including one of the Japanese railways. Altogether, *The Pocket Guide to Japan* is not only a highly useful but a meritoriously compendious hand-book of the many attractions of "the land of the rising sun."

Where to Live Round London. 2 vols.: Northern Side and Southern Side. (The Homeland Association Ltd., 37-8, Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, London, W. C. 2), 1931.

The Homeland Association guide-books are well known for their excellence in depicting the scenes and sights of the various places, cities and counties of Britain. The latest addition to the series is *Where to Live Round London*, in two volumes—one devoted to the northern side and the other to the southern. Jointly they cover the whole area of "Greater London" and will be found to be not only highly useful but indispensable by seekers after suitable house accommodation in the suburbs of London.

Ulster. (Ulster Tourist Development Association, Belfast, Ireland), 1931.

Ulster is "the official publication" of the Ulster Tourist Development Association, at Belfast. It is exceedingly well put together—being handy, compact, detailed and embellished with numerous well-executed illustrations and well-drawn maps. It reflects very great credit on the Association responsible for its production, as it will be found to be informative and practical by all visitors to the State of Ulster, which still politically appertains to Britain, and remains outside the boundaries of the Irish Free State.

Cook's Handbook to the Rhine and the Black Forest, and Cook's Handbook to Paris. By Roy Elston (Thomas Cook and Son, Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London), 1931.

Mr. Roy Elston's new edition of *Cook's Handbook to the Rhine and the Black Forest* is fully descriptive of the Rhine country from Cologne to Mainze and of the Black Forest, as also of the industrial areas of the lower Rhine and the Ruhr basins. The book is comprehensive and sound, and it is an excellent addition to the series of Cook's

famous handbooks for travellers. The same author's *Cook's Handbook to Paris*, though nominally a new edition, is an entirely new book. The descriptive matter has been almost all rewritten, thirteen new maps and plans (by Bartholomew) have been added, and altogether the book contains 224 pages of description and useful and practical information. Both the books are excellent and will be of great utility to visitors.

II.

Mount Abu. By H. D. Nanavati (Solicitor, Bombay). Second edition. 1931.

We welcome the second edition of Mr. H. D. Nanavati's excellent guide, called *Mount Abu*, which gives an interesting account of that hill station in Rajputana (a well-known summer resort) famous for its Dilwara temples. Mr. Nanavati's handy volume offers a graphic sketch of the hill station and its scenes and sights, and a detailed account of the splendid temples, which are justly celebrated for their exquisite and minute carving in marble. To the Jains, Mount Abu is perhaps the most sacred place of pilgrimage, but the book (which is well got up) should appeal to all visitors to Mount Abu.

Guide to Amber. By B. L. Dhamma. (The "Times of India" Press, Bombay). 1931.

In his *Guide to Amber*, the author (Mr. B. L. Dhamma of the Archaeological Survey of India) presents an excellent descriptive sketch of the ancient and deserted but the once splendid capital of the State of Jaipur, in Rajputana. A short Introduction gives practical information, followed by descriptions of the still superb monuments and shrines of Amber, which (in a sense) is even more interesting than the modern city of Jaipur. The book should prove of interest and utility to visitors to the State of Jaipur.

Mahabalipuram or "the Seven Pagodas." By Mrs. Fyson. (Messrs. Higginbothams, Mount Road, Madras), 1931.

There are many guides to Mahabalipuram—or "the Seven Pagodas," as it is popularly designated—but the latest by Mrs. Fyson is nonetheless welcome. The authoress is known in Madras as an artist and is thus specially qualified to describe the sculptures at Mahabalipuram. Her book is well got up, amply illustrated and cheaply priced (at Rs. 1-8), and is withal not only accurate but highly interesting. It should appeal to all visitors to Southern India, who—whatever else they may fail to see—cannot afford to miss the wonders of "the Seven Pagodas."

A Tour in the Mysore State. By Constance E. Parsons. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1931.

After having dealt with—in her two previous works on Mysore and Seringapatam—those two famous cities in the State, Miss Parsons has now turned her attention to the Mysore dominions as a whole. Her treatment of the subject is appreciative and sympathetic, and is marked by knowledge of local history and conditions. The book while, in the main, descriptive is also practical and gives full details and particulars which a tourist will require in the course of his travels in Mysore.

Things Seen in Kashmir. By Dr. Ernest F. Neve. (Seeley, Service and Co., Ltd., 196, Shaftesbury Avenue, London), 1931.

Dr. Ernest Neve—whose little book called *Things Seen In Kashmir* has just been added to the publisher's the "Things Seen" Series—is perhaps the greatest living authority on the Happy (but at present rather "unhappy") Valley. It is not a guide-book in the sense in which we understand that term, as there is scarcely any practical information in it, for the behoof of the Kashmir traveller. But though not a guide-book, it is an almost ideal and highly interesting supplement to guide-books to Kashmir, as it is a graphic description and a vivid delineation of the various aspects of the scenes and sights of Kashmir—its beautiful lakes and rivers, its glorious mountains and splendid *margs* and its picturesque (though rather dirty) cities. No traveller to Kashmir can afford to neglect Dr. Neve's hand-book, which is from the pen of a master of the subject.

(8) LATEST WORKS OF REFERENCE.

Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa, 1929-30. (Director of Census, Pretoria, South Africa), 1931.

The *Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*, is a most valuable compendium of statistical data and facts and figures relating to the South African Commonwealth and adjoining British Protectorates, and is a model book of reference. The new issue supplies information—mostly of a statistical character—on history and description of the various states and colonies, constitution and government, laws, population, vital statistics, public health and hospitals, education, labour and industrial development, prices and cost of living, social condition, administration of justice, police and protection, electorate, "native affairs," land survey, tenure and occupation, irrigation and water conservative, agriculture and fisheries, mines, manufactures, commerce, harbours and shipping, railways and land transportation, posts, telegraphs and telephones, finance and local government. Thus the *Official Year-Book* is a monument of industry and is distinguished from its predecessors by various changes, necessitated mainly by the increased scope of the valuable information condensed and rendered accessible. Altogether *The Official Year-Book of the Union of South Africa*—which includes in its cope also Basutoland, Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland—is a work of reference of which the Government of that Dominion may well be proud. It reflects the highest credit on the editor, on the organization of the statistical department, as also on the resources of the Government Press at Pretoria.

A Guide to Historical Literature: Edited by H. R. Shipman, S. B. Fay, A. H. Shearer, and W. H. Allison. (Macmillian and Co., London), 1931.

The Committee on Bibliography of the American Historical Association has compiled and edited this selected, classified, and critical bibliography of the whole field of history. This truly remarkable work, which runs to 1,250 closely-printed pages, gives not only the titles of innumerable books carefully arranged under periods and countries, but also brief comments on them. It professes only "to furnish a carefully chosen list of available books" to English readers, but, though not exhaustive, it covers the ground thoroughly and its index is a model of efficiency. The War literature is well summarized, with references to critical reviews. The selection of titles and the criticism of the books represent the judgments of competent specialists, who have co-operated with the editors. Though the work has been prepared at the suggestion of the American Library Association, to meet the demands of librarians and of the general reader, special attention has also been given to the needs of the historical student, for whose use additional titles and classes of books have been included, thus rendering it of great utility to him. The *Guide* devotes special attention to the great cultural nations in the periods of their greatest importance. Besides the usual works on political history, writings on diplomatic, military, constitutional, economic, social and religious history are also included. There are also carefully selected lists of biographies, and, altogether, this *Guide to Historical Literature* is bound to occupy, for long, the position of an authoritative and standard work on the subject.

The Quickest Key for Crosswords. (Frederick Warne and Co., Ltd., Chandos Street, London, E. C.).

Mr. H. W. Hill's *The Quickest Key for Crosswords* appears now in its third enlarged edition, and it will be undoubtedly highly useful to those interested in the pastime of solving cross-word puzzles. That the booklet should have passed through three editions, in six years, is a conclusive testimony alike to its utility and popularity. In its new and extended form—in which its scope, range of words and general information have been appreciably increased—it is bound to continue as the standard reference work on the subject it deals with.

II.

The Madras States Directory. (The Pearl Press, Cochin), 1931.

We welcome the fifth annual edition of *The Madras States Directory* for 1931 which is a pictorial reference book of statistical, historical and commercial information regarding the five Madras States of Travancore, Cochin, Pudukottai, Sandur and Barganapalle. In these days when the future of the Indian States is engaging considerable attention, the usefulness of a publication of this kind, giving fairly exhaustive information regarding the Madras States, some of which are in the forefront in point of their high level of culture and progressive administration, can hardly be exaggerated. The *Directory* reflects great credit on the publishers that they have been able to compile such a comprehensive work, devoting a separate section to each State. It is well illustrated. There is a "Who's Who" section wherein biographical sketches of prominent men and women are given, interspersed with fine half-tone reproductions. Much valuable information is given relating to the trade and commerce of these States. The get-up and the illustrations leave nothing to be desired, and the publication deserves the patronage of the public in the States. *The Madras States Directory* is a notable Indian enterprise and deserves encouragement, and the fifth edition, under notice, is a great improvement on its previous issues.

The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory, 1931. (Directories and Agencies, Ltd., Madras), 1931.

The Asylum Press Almanac and Directory —is the oldest publication of its class and kind, the current edition being the one hundred and thirty-first. For Southern India it gives the fullest information about almost all matters of public interest. The work is carefully revised, from year to year, and although no work or reference—least of all, a directory—can ever be thoroughly up to date, nevertheless this hardy annual is as much abreast of the latest changes as it is possible for books of its class to be. It is an indispensable work of reference in Southern India.

Guide to Indian Studies: Volumes I and II: By M. C. Mohan and A. N. Kashyapa. (Ram Lal Suri and Sons. Anarkali, Lahore), 1931.

The *Guide to Indian Studies* is a useful book of reference. The first volume deals with engineering and industrial education and sets out, province by province, the institutions which afford training in Engineering and in the industries of tanning, weaving, hosiery, dyeing and calico printing and in the manufactures of cordite, of soap, of harness and saddlery and of metal and wood utensils. The syllabuses of the several institutions, the duration of the courses, and other details are all given in full. In the chapter on civil aviation the book gives particulars of the course of training for pilots; and in the chapter of cinema industry the syllabuses of the New York institute of photography, besides lists of foreign studios in India and Indian film companies. In the second volume, similar details are given about institutions where students are taught modern methods of agriculture, dairying and horticulture, poultry raising, banking, commerce, forestry, law and medicine, veterinary science, teaching and military training. Altogether a capital reference work.

Guide to Small Scale Industries: Edited by M. C. Mohan, B.A. (Ram Lal Suri and Sons, Anarkali, Lahore), 1931.

This is the first book of its kind published in India that tries to solve the acutest problem of the day—unemployment—and to find out profitable industrial occupations for our educated youth. The list of industries, trades and professions dealt with in this book is almost exhaustive. Not only that but each trade is dealt with under the following headings: (1) prospects of the trade in India; (2) capital required to be invested; (3) (a) necessary training and apprenticeship and places for such in India and foreign countries; (b)

qualifications required; (4) economics of the trade; (5) dealers of requisite machinery and accessories; (6) books and journals dealing with the trade; and (7) chances of handling it as a spare hour occupation. It would thus be seen that this highly useful book covers an extensive ground and will be found of the greatest utility to all seekers after lucrative avocations.

Imperial Gazetteer of India Atlas. New Edition. (Oxford University Press, Bombay), 1931.

It was so far back as 1909 when the first (and till now the last) edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India Atlas* was issued, as the twenty-sixth and concluding volume of the series. Advantage has now been taken of the publication of the new (1931) edition to bring the maps thoroughly up to date and abreast of the latest changes in the provincial boundaries. In its present form, the atlas is by far the best of those available, dealing specially with India. It is strange, however, that amongst maps of important cities, there is none of Patna. This omission should be supplied in a later edition.

Laurie's Household Encyclopaedia. (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., Cobham House, 24 and 26, Water Lane, London, E.C. 4), 1931.

Laurie's Household Encyclopaedia is a handy all-in-one book of household reference, and comprises a complete, up-to-date book of cookery and household management, an exhaustive medical and toilet directory, a guide to etiquette and gardening, and hints and recipes for every day and everything. It is alphabetically arranged and simply and clearly explained. Though intended primarily for British householders, there is much in it that will be of great interest and utility to Europeans and Europeanized Indians in this country, and should have a large circulation as a compendious one-volume reference work.

Handbook of Historical Terms. By J. Howells and T. J. Edwards. (Philip Allan and Co., Ltd., Great Russell Street, London), 1931.

It is an excellent little work of reference—Messrs. Howells and Edwards's *Handbook of Historical Terms*. The terms are grouped under various broad divisions—International, Constitutional, Political, Economic and Religious—each of which is sub-divided. The explanations are lucid and illuminating, and the book will serve as a useful manual of reference to students, and it will form an elucidative supplement to text-books on sociology.

(9) ANTHOLOGIES, COLLECTIONS, REPRINTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Dr. Bimala Charan Law's *Buddhistic Studies* (Thacker, Spink and Co., Calcutta) is an excellent collection of thoughtful papers on Buddhism and Jainism, written by many renowned scholars of Asia and Europe. It is full of new materials and is well-documented. Social, economical, religious and philosophical aspects of Buddhism and Jainism, have been well treated of in this bulky volume. Students of the history of Ceylon will find this work very useful. The book, as a whole, is a valuable and useful compendium of essays on various aspects of Buddhism and Jainism, and will be of great interest to scholars and students of both these religions.

The Song of the Lord: The Bhagavadgita (John Murray, 50 Albemarle Street, London) is the latest issue in the "Wisdom of the East Series" and comprises an excellent prose translation of the Bhagavadgita. The translation has been prepared with the special object of solving the difficulties of the English reader in comprehending Eastern symbolism, and contains an interesting introductory chapter on the origin and philosophical significance of the work. The edition is in a handy pocket size, and should appeal to a large circle of cultured readers interested in the study of Indian philosophy.

Mr. Dermot Morrah's *If It Happened Yesterday* (George Newnes, Ltd., Southampton Street, Strand, London) is said to be "extracts from the Apocrypha of the *Daily Mail*." It brings together—reprinted from the London Journal—a collection of highly interesting sketches of historical episodes, modelled upon the style of current-day journalistic reports of special correspondents of leading newspapers. They present history in a new form and make exciting reading, for young students of British history.

Mr. Eric Gillett's *Books and Writers* (Malaya Publishing House, Ltd., Singapore, Straits Settlements) are a collection of essays reprinted from the *Straits Times*. The author —judging from his style and treatment—is possessed of a sound knowledge of modern English literature, and is not only cultured and well read, but has developed a distinctive taste. His exceedingly well-written essays are highly interesting, and should appeal to students of English literature.

Everyman's Bible is an excellent anthology, selected by Dean Inge (Longmans, Green and Co., 53, Nicol Road, Bombay). It comprises almost all the noblest passages, in what is regarded by the Christians as the greatest book in the world, grouped together under vital subjects. There is an illuminating introduction by the compiler, which has rendered the anthology both "informing and inflaming."

Twentieth Century Addresses, edited by Professor Dickinson and Dewan Chand Sharma (Macmillan and Co., Calcutta) are well put together and excellently annotated. They will be of great interest and utility to our college students.

(10) ON THE EDITOR'S TABLE : MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

The cult of vegetarianism is spreading fast in the West and during the last few years some important works have been issued in English. Of these, the two most instructive are *Vegetable Cookery* by Elizabeth Lucas (William Heinemann, Ltd., London) and *The Book of Vegetable Cookery* by Erroll Sherson (Frederick Warne and Co., Ltd., Bedford Street, Strand, London). The former is a comprehensive work and all aspects of vegetables—from their growth to eating—are dealt with in it, considered both as an accompaniment and as a dish by themselves, while the recipes are couched in language of exceptional clarity. Mr. Erroll Sherson, the author of the other book, was long resident in India, where he first took up the study of vegetable cookery. The aim of this volume is to introduce many preparations of vegetable food suitable to be served with fish, meat or poultry, or as a separate course. It deals exhaustively with all the well-known vegetables, giving not only the usual methods of cooking them but many unusual recipes as well; and it also deals with a number of vegetables and fruits little known (or perhaps altogether unknown) to the great majority of vegetarians. There are also sections dealing with sauces to accompany separate courses of vegetables, vegetable soup, vegetable savouries, and, perhaps most important of all, vegetable salads, which are hardly ever mixed properly. Altogether his work is encyclopaedic in scope and lucid in exposition.

Writing For A Living—By E. M. Gill (C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd., 18, Henrietta Street, London, W.C.)—will be of great utility to students of the art of writing. The literature of journalism and authorship is enriched by the publication of this excellent work, which covers, within the short compass of 156 pages, a very large ground, co-extensive with the "practical beginnings for journalist and author." It is divided into two parts—the first dealing with journalism as a career, and the second with the art and business of authorship, both in the fields of fiction and poetry. The aim of the book is to provide sound practical advice to those who are at the beginning of their literary career, and the author has been highly successful in achieving the object in view. Though the number of books on

journalism and authorship is large, yet *Writing For A Living* will be found highly useful by that large section of literary or journalistic aspirants, who are at the threshold of their careers, and we safely commend it to them as a helpful handbook of sound practical information.

The Tit-Bits Jubilee Book (George Newnes Ltd., Southampton Street, Strand, London) is an excellent little commemoration volume of the record of the great national weekly of Britain, which will appeal to all admirers of *Tit-Bits*. It brings together in a handy volume a great deal of information which readers of *Tit-Bits* would undoubtedly revel in, and which will interest a large circle of readers.

That the Hon'ble J. W. Best's *Indian Shikar Notes* should have now attained a third edition —since its first appearance in 1920—is a conclusive testimony alike to its utility to and popularity amongst *shikaries* in this country. Its success is quite intelligible. Unlike other guide-books of its class, it is very much less descriptive and very much more practical. Its scope is large, the information (it so lucidly conveys) is sound, and no pains have been spared to make it practical and useful. It is about the best work of its class and kind and should make a wide appeal to sportsmen in India. Though primarily intended for the Central Provinces, its subject-matter is of interest to sportsmen throughout India.

Mr. K. Iswar Dutt—Assistant Editor of the *Leader*—is justly better known among admirers of literary taste and style than amongst the perpetrators of journalese. He made his mark some time back as a writer of a series of highly interesting personal sketches of some prominent Indians—which have since been brought together in a volume. It has now been followed by another collection of essays called *And All That*, which is commended to the reader by Dr. Radhakrishnan, in a foreword. We agree with the famous scientist that Mr. Dutt's sketches, in the brochure under notice, are marked by some of the best qualities of high-class writing, and should interest a large circle of readers interested in literary excellence. Mr. Iswar Dutt is still young and we have every reason to hope that—if only he sticks to a literary career and does not allow himself to be swallowed by the editorial "we"—he will go far. We shall watch his career with a sympathetic interest. *And All That* makes highly interesting reading.

Dr. Delisle Burns has long since established a high reputation as a writer on Western Sociology, and his latest work called *Modern Civilization on Trial* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London) is a highly stimulating study of the subject, it deals with, in its latest phases. The social effects of recent inventions such as the cinema and radio, as well as mass-production, the new science and new forms in art, are characteristic of the modern world. The author shows that the modernization of the West involves new relationships between the West and the primitive peoples, the West and Asia, America and Europe. It also involves changes in government, of which dictatorship is one sign, and international co-operation another. Democracy is promoted by new methods in education, and standardization is balanced by experimentalism. All these highly interesting topics are skilfully discussed by the author, in the book under notice, and his treatment of them is sound and instructive. The book should, therefore, appeal to a wide circle of readers. It is stimulating, suggestive and thought-provoking and deserves close attention.

Rendering into verse the poems of any language into another with any degree of success is an almost impossible task—to translate classical poetry into a modern language is even more so. The satires of R. Persius Flaccus combine these difficulties and add some of their own. Connington's prose translation still remains unsuperseded but considering the task set himself by Jonathan Tates of rendering into English Verse *The*

Satires of R. Persius Flaccus (Messrs. Basil Blackwell, 40, Broad Street, Oxford), is by no means an inconsiderable achievement.

English Publishers are bringing out various Collections of Great Short Stories from different languages and of different countries; the demand for these induced the publishers (D. D. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Hornby Road, Bombay) to bring out a series dealing with Indian Stories. The first volume in this Series contains stories from Sanskrit literature entitled Great Short Stories from *Panchatantra and Hitopadesha.* These stories have been translated by the celebrated author Mr. A. S P. Ayyar, M.A. (Oxon), I.C.S., who also contributes an interesting and lengthy introduction to this work. Mr. Ayyar's works have been highly commended by the leading English and Indian Journals for their lucidity of style and rich wit and humour. The translater hopes to contribute in this new Series of Great Short Sories of India several volumes from Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam literatures.

Professor P. P. S. Sastri of the Presidency College, Madras, has rendered distinct service to the cultural world—not only Indian but universal—by editing the southern recension of the *Mahabharata* (Vol. I Adi Parvan—Part I). The northern and southern recensions have definite points of difference and for this reason a critical editing of the southern one—till now unavailable—was necessary. The editor has done his task admirably in translating the original palm-leaf manuscript. It is a great contribution to Hindu Lore.

Messrs. Thacker Spink and Co., have with their usual enterprise brought out new editions of Tweed's *Cow Keeping in India* thoroughly revised and brought up to date by Mr. S. N. Sinha, and *Tropical Hygiene* for Europeans and Indians by the late Sir Pardey Lukis and Colonel R. J. Black, revised and enlarged by Lt.-Col. A. D. Stewart. Both the books are almost classics on the subject they deal with and are well-known works. The former published first in 1890 and now in its fifth edition, still remains, for the layman, the most useful and comprehensive, as also the least technical book on the subject. The latter with its most careful and thorough revision, as was necessary for a science in rapid development, is—even if it did not bear Lukis's name—a book that ought to be, as it is, in every household. We heartily welcome these books of such public utility brought up to date and made available to the public.

There is no use denying the fact that the two greatest figures in the world—since Lenin is dead—are Gandhi and Mussolini. Any literature about them is interesting, some of absorbing interest. These world-personalities exert such intimate interest that it is difficult for an author to deal with them in the calm judicious style of a disinterested and unconcerned critic. But Mr. P. N. Ray in his *Mussolini and the Cult of Italian Youth* (R. Chatterjee, 120-2, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) has somehow managed the improbable and given us a sober picture of the Italian superman.

Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* has held against all comers from the date of its first publication in May 1861. It was audaciously and successfully brought up to date with the addition of a fifth supplementary book, and Messrs. Macmillan's (St. Martin's Street, London) latest edition of the book is what we but expect from these famous publishers—body, print and binding all perfect.

Lafcadio Hearn and his works need no commendatory introductions to our readers, nor does the *Travellers' Library* (Messrs. Jonathan Cape, 30, Bedford Square, London) about which we have often had occasion to write in terms of great appreciation. The latest volume to be added to the series is *Kokoro.* The heart, the inner meaning that is the significance of the Japanese word of the title. And it is the heart and inner meaning of Japan that Lafcadio Hearn has in this volume recorded in his clear, musical prose. This collection of papers includes the picturesque, the meditative, the philosophical. It is varied,

but it forms a unified whole. Hearn could render with equal felicity his impressions of the everyday Japan around him, and the out-of-the-way beauty of old popular ballads. This is another admirable selection to slip into the pocket when starting on a voyage.

In his *History of Smoking* (George Harrap and Co., Ltd., 39-41, Parker Street, Kingsway, London, W.C.2), the author has given us a historical sketch of the origin, the early struggles, and the ultimate triumph of the tobacco plant. As a plant of healing, tobacco —which originated in Central America—was introduced into Europe by the Spanish and Portuguese explorers returning from the New World, and its reputation as a panacea for every ill spread rapidly, largely owing to the influence of Jean Nicot, the French Ambassador to Portugal. But it was in England that tobacco was first smoked in the modern sense of the world. The author of the book, Count Corti, describes in detail how the smoking habit triumphed in spite of the efforts of James I, Charles I, and Cromwell to suppress it. On the Continent the opposition was far more violent—Pope, Emperors and the Tsar fulminated equally against smokers, who were punished with imprisonment and excommunication, while the Sultan of Turkey slew them by the hundred. In the 18th century, however, the tobacco question was raised to the region of high finance by reason of the revenue that Governments found they could raise by taxing it. The author tells of the coming of the pipe and the cigarette, and his last two chapters are devoted to smoking in its more social aspects. He ends by revealing the attitude adopted toward smoking by various famous people, with some amusing anecdotes, and the book (as a whole) is highly interesting.

Mrs. Sarangadhar Das—an American lady of Swiss origin—has produced in her book, called *A Marriage to India* (Hutchinson and Co., 34-6, Paternoster Row, London, E.C.4), an interesting work. When the young artist Frieda Hauswirth married Sarangadhar Das —an Oriya student in America—and went to live with him at their plantation at Brahm Kunda (Spring of the Lord), in an Orissa State, she little realized the tremendous gulf she would have to bridge not merely in linking herself with a husband of an alien race, but also fitting her life to customs and to a culture totally different from her own. Tried by the ordeal of experience, many of her easy assumptions and much of her blind idealization vanished, but in their place came a new and even more sympathetic understanding of Mother India and of the problems faced alike by India's sons. During her life in India, she lived in many Indian homes and came to know intimately Sir Jagadish Bose, Lala Lajpat Rai, and many others, and met repeatedly Mahatma Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore and his nephews, the great painters. Her encounters with these personages are fully described in this volume. The account of Mrs. Das' experiences is unique, in that here for the first time an American girl who became the wife of a Hindu, discusses frankly the intimate problems she faced. The book is thus of great sociological interest.

Persons in the Public Eye

THE RIGHT HON'BLE RAMSAY MACDONALD.

For now the fourth time in his adventurous career, James Ramsay MacDonald, the late leader of the British Labour Party, has entered Downing Street as Prime Minister. In 1924 he was, frankly, the freshman of Whitehall, unwilling to attempt and unable to carry out a positive policy. To-day, it is evidently his intention to write his own record, even if it be an epitaph, on the page of history. On this occasion MacDonald controls the largest party at Westminster. The personnel at his back is incomparably stronger than any forces hitherto at his disposal. Much must depend, however, on the personality of the Prime Minister himself. Is MacDonald, or is he not, the man to make the most of a situation so delicate and uncertain? In the United States, an electoral decision settles the question for a term of years. Not so in Britain. The British general election is merely the beginning of a struggle. Let us wait and see.

Ramsay MacDonald was born in 1866 in the family of a farm servant. He became a pupil teacher till he migrated to London, where he had bitter experiences. While he got a job as private secretary, he was much interested in the study of biology. Afterwards he joined the Fabian society. He helped to found the Independent Labour Party, and became the Chairman and Leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party. He is now considered a very successful journalist and is the author of numerous books on socialist theory, politics, and travel. He was formerly editor of the *Socialist Review*. His publications include two well-known books of Indian interest—*The Awakening of India* and *The Government of India*. His Indian experience is based on his membership in 1912-14 of the Royal Commission on Indian Public Services, and a private tour before.

II.

Like Lloyd George, Ramsay MacDonald started as a Liberal. But in Lloyd Geore's case, the liberalism of Wales was wise enough to give the young man a change. In Scotland, however (where capital, though Liberal, was cold to Labour) MacDonald and his friends sought for seats in vain. They were driven to the conclusion that their only chance of a career was to organise a party of their own. It has been an astonishing achievement. MacDonald was never a horny-handed son of toil. He belonged to no trade union. Indeed, the general strike of 1926 showed how impotent he was, even after serving as Prime Minister, to influence organized labour on matters essentially industrial. In fact, it was the failure of the strike and the consequent reduction in trade union membership that brought MacDonald, as a parliamentarian, again to the forefront. MacDonald had to weave his web of power, and as an organizer, adroit and persistent, he has not needed to take any lessons. At conferences, resolutions might be proposed. He disposed of them. It is literally the fact that he conquered, not at the point of the bayonet but on points of order; and it has been this long training in diplomacy that fitted him to be one of the most competent Foreign Secretaries ever seen in Whitehall. It is thus that we must interpret MacDonald's socialism. It is quite true that he has compared Karl Marx with Jesus Christ. But he has translated systematic socialism from revolution to evolution and what struck the Czardom of Russia as a destroying comet has emerged in Britain as the Fabian nebulae of the late Lord Haldane. Thirty years ago a staunch Liberal of the old school, Sir William Harcourt, remarked: "We are all of us socialists nowadays;" and eighty years ago we find Gladstone calmly corresponding with

Palmerstone, as Prime Minister, over railway nationalization! That is the sense in which to-day MacDonald is the socialist leader of the Conservatives.

Being Prime Minister, MacDonald delivers speeches which, doubtless, mean more to the world than his speeches used to do. But he says less; nor has he acquired the Gladstonian faculty of saying nothing well. On the contrary, his dialectical tautologies are at times Balfourian in their calculated impenetrability. He is busy. He gets tired. His speeches are apt to be merely a means to an end. But about his decisions there is no doubt. In August 1914, on the eve of inevitable war, he was offered a seat in the Asquith Cabinet. He did not say much, nor say it well, but what he did say was a refusal, and everyone knew what that meant. He was branded as pro-German. As Prime Minister, he recognized Russsia and came to an agreement with the United States. That is action, and a very important action. Also, his refusal, hitherto, to make peace with the Liberals, whatever may be thought of its wisdom, is at least a definite attitude.

III

The only question here is whether, in his decisions, MacDonald has changed. In 1914, he would not join a government in order to conduct a war. But if he were in a government already, and faced by a similar emergency, would he resign? In opposition and as a private member, Lloyd George was as unpopular a pro-Boer during the South African War as MacDonald was unpopular as a pro-German. But in office, he became as burning a patriot as Chatham himself. Over India and Egypt, MacDonald (as Prime Minister) has stood firm as a rock for the British Empire; and during the crisis in China, some years ago, it is an open secret that according to his view Labour in office would have had to send troops, as did the Conservatives, in order to defend British lives and property. As an administrator, MacDonald is a diplomatist, not a legislator. In the details of negotiations and treaties, he revels, but not in clauses of bills and budgets. Finance, therefore, he leaves to others. Transparently honest and genial, MacDonald is one of the most prominent persons in the public eye, not only in Britain but throughout the civilized world. His close connection with the first Round Table Conference of last year, and the second one, of the present year, has naturally brought him into prominent relief in relation to India and the Indian problems. His closing speeches at the plenary sessions of the Conference, both last year and in the current year, followed by his speeches in Parliament on the subject, have made his name familiar to a very large section of politically-minded Indians, who (we feel sure) will read this character-sketch of his with very great interest.

THE RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL, M.P.

(By Mr. J. Chinna Durai, Bar.-at-Law)

Who is that man in that beautiful garden in workman's attire with his shirt sleeves tucked up, with a brick in his left hand and a trowel in his right—and standing beside a wall which his masonry skill has so carefully raised? Of course a "mason"—you would say—but that he is certainly not. He is a "Jack of all trades"—a Member of Parliament—a British politician of the first rank—a typical John Bull—with all the grit of a Napolean or Nelson—and one of the most interesting figures in the world to-day. In a word he is no other than the Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P., engaged in one of his favourite hobbies. It is this extraordinary man that Mr. Gandhi was to meet, not as pugilist—although he would be justified in doing, as Churchill's views clash terribly with his own and Churchill called him "names"—but as a peace-maker who is out to convince and convert the unconvincible Churchill to his own cherised hopes and views regarding India. The meeting between these two men must have been most interesting indeed, not only so far as they are both themselves concerned—but also from the point of

view of the world. It must have been a grim fight—Gandhi and Churchill each mustering against the other his full retinue of horse, foot and artillery. As to who will win, time alone will decide—and for all I can see, history is going to repeat itself, and the "war" is going to be a "hundred years war!" Apart from the remoteness of the result—so far as I can see, "Victory 'or' defeat" is going to be indecisive—and it is impossible for it to be otherwise, as both Gandhi and Churchill are staunch sticklers for principle. About Mr. Gandhi, all there is to be known of him, the average Indian already does know—but Mr. Churchill is not "common property" yet in this country, and except for his outspoken sayings against India and Mr. Gandhi—and particularly that oft-quoted expression of his describing Mr. Gandhi as the "half naked seditious fakir" the average Indian does not know very much of him—and the purpose of this article is to sketch his career as briefly as possible.

Imagine "Bonzo" and you have imagined Churchill to some extent. I know it is most unusual and rude to describe persons in such a blunt fashion, but when you realize that Churchill did not hesitate to call Mr. Gandhi a "half naked seditious fakir," I do not see the need for standing on ceremony. Of course, mere "Bonzo" will not convey the right idea. Churchill is certainly more than that. He is 57 years of age, about 5 feet 6 inches in height, clean shaven, with a round and plump face, big head, with a slight bald, shrewd eyes, rather thick-built, and walks with a slight slant, reminiscent of that striking pose of Bonaparte. When he is dressed in his parliamentary attire—black coat, striped trousers and top hat, he automatically assumes an importance which makes the other parliamentarians by his side look rather insignificant, and you will see all eyes riveted on him and people telling one another in whispers "That is Winston." You will notice they call him by his Christian name and the explanation lies in this that he is a favourite of the people —irrespective of the views he holds—or the party he belongs to, and he commands respect from the Conservatives, Liberals, Labourites—Independents and Communists alike. The writer remembers an occasion—a dinner given in his honour in that ancient Hall of the Middle Temple—when Churchill smiled, and bowed his head to his admirers—such a "smile" and "bow," so sweet and frank that revealed at once his character and mind. And if I am any judge of character, I would say that he is a perfectly safe person to deal with. In the House of Commons, he is a force second only to Mr. Lloyd George. He is a fearless debater and an orator of first class magnitude. His parleys with Mr. Snowden were a delight to watch and very few can equal him in quick wit and repartees. He can drive home his point with stinging and stunning effect, and he is not the least perturbed, no matter how hostile and boisterous his audience may be.

Churchill did not become great yesterday. "Greatness" is in his veins. His grandfather was that famous sixth duke of Marlborough. His father, Lord Randolph Churchill, was from 1849 to 1895 a great parliamentarian. He made himself famous by denouncing the "old gang" of his own party, and was Gladstone's most severe critic. He held office as the Chancellor of Exchequer and ultimately became the leader of the House of Commons. Winston Churchill is a chip of the old block. He was born in 1874 and has seen life in all its various aspects. As a soldier he went through the Spanish campaign in Cuba and was with the British force during the Indian Frontier troubles of 1897-1898. He also served in the Sudan campaign, and during the Boer War encountered many dramatic adventures, and the excellent letters he wrote to the press revealed his innate talents for journalism. During more recent years, he has been a prominent figure in Parliament and worked heartily for the Conservatives until Mr. Chamberlain brought out his fiscal proposal, when he declared against them in the most emphatic

manner, and eventually joined the Liberal ranks. From 1905 to 1908 he was Under-Secretary for the Colonies. In 1908 he was made President of the Board of Trade and losing his seat at Manchester was returned for Dundee, and in the same year became the Home Secretary. From 1911 to 1915 he was the First Lord of the Admiralty and in 1915 he was the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He also served at the front for a time. He was Minister of Munitions in 1917, Minister of War from 1918 to 1921, Minister of Air from 1919 to 1921, Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1921 and Chancellor of the Exchequer from November 1924, till the advent of the last Labour Government. He seems to believe in the truth of the dictum embodied in the famous line "one crowded hour of glory is worth an age without a name." If Mr. Gandhi can only convince this man and the likes of him in Britain of the righteousness of India's cause, it will be a victory for him and for India more decisive than Waterloo.

MR. ARDESHIR FRAMJI KHABARDAR

(By Mr. K. M. Munshi)

Bombay has lately celebrated the golden jubilee of the well-known Gujarati poet, Ardeshir Framji Khabardar.

Kavi Khabardar is one of the two greatest living poets in modern Gujrati, the other being Kavi Nanalal. In elegance of diction and in chastity of style, in his mastery over the technique of the Gujarati verse and Sanskritic resources, he is inferior to no other author in prose or verse in the language. In spite of two generations of sceptics, he has proved that a Parsee is Gujarati first and Gujarati last.

The poet was born on the 6th of November, 1881 at Daman. He was educated in the New High School, Bombay, and in 1907 went to Madras for business. For long he carried on a cycle and motor business, from which he retired last year. During a chequered business career, and in spite of bad health, his love of literature continues to be a dominant factor in his life. He has published many volumes of verse passing in early years under the influence of old-world poets like Dalpatram and Malabari. He soon found his own strength in a new technique and nobler strains of poetry. His best works are "Kalika" (The Bud), a long poem containing a sustained apostrophe to the lady-love and "Darshanika" published a month ago, being another long poem containing meditative musings on life's problems. The former is admittedly inspired by an intimate study of the love-songs in the world's literature, and is perhaps the finest single love-poem in the language. Though it lacks in intensity and fire, and does not possess the attractive glow of Kavi Nanalal's facile rhetoric, it has a subtle caressing charm, a wealth of imagery and vividness of colour not found in any other work in the language. In the poem, he has exhibited a sure eye for essentials and worked at a pictorial effect with great dexterity and skill.

His latest work "Darshanika" (The Visions of Life) is a different type of poem. In 6,000 lines of the noble verse "Zulana" which Narsimha Mehta five centuries ago, made classical, the poet has set out his attitude towards human life and its problems. The poem was inspired by the death of the poet's beloved daughter, and exhibits a resigned mood of a quiet deliberate study and self-restrained nature. The poem has considerable intellectual power and delicate refinement and is an attempt to express a compromise between the old-world beliefs and modern scientific ideas. In this work, the poet has shown that in receptivity of new influences he has no rival. But, like Tennyson, he is the poet of discipline and not of tidal impulses. In this he presents a contrast with his great contemporary Kavi Nanalal who is only stirred to his depths by the high impossible things of life. But Kavi Khabardar has a wider range of sentiments, sometimes a more delicate touch, and at some places a sense of self-restraint almost classical. Throughout his poems runs a passionate love for Gujarat and its language, and he has written many songs on Gujarat which have almost passed into folk literature.

The Necrology of the Months

DR. HARA PRASAD SASTRI: A GREAT INDOLOGIST

Indian scholarship has received a severe blow by the death of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., C.I.E., who has passed away, in Calcutta, at a ripe age. Pre-eminent in Sanscrit learning he engaged himself in researches in several branches of indology, which have considerably advanced the cause of oriental learning. He brought to light many unknown works from the archives of the best collections of manuscripts including the Darbar Library of Nepal, where he commanded a respect, which was not vouchsafed to any other scholar. His eminence in learning was recognised by his university by admitting to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy *honoris causa*. In Europe he was honoured, a decade ago, by being made an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, which reserves only thirty places of this class for the best scholars of the world. Before this only Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar from among the Indians had enjoyed this honour. In fact, Dr. Haraprasad Sastri occupied the same place in the east of India, as did Dr. Bhandarkar in the west.

The death of Mahamahopadhyaya Harprasad Sastri is a serious loss to Indologists. Though, from internal literary evidence such shrewd orientalists as Colebrook, Weber, Jacobi, Kern and Thibaut were led to descry a Hellenic setting in the makeup of Indian astrology, the sole credit belongs to the late Dr. Haraprasad Sastri for having unearthed an astrological manuscript in Sanscrit, in Newari script, from the library of the Nepal Durbar, in the eighties of the last century, which showed definitely that there were Greek potentates in India, about the beginning of the Christian era, who found time to write treatise in Sanscrit embodying, in digest-form, the teachings of Greek astrology.

A weighty and fruitful suggestion of his was that the numerous Buddhist missionaries sent out by Asoka to visit Hellenestic centres of Europe and Asia, returned home, fully leavened by Greek astrology. These missionaries were men of calibre, and their studies in a foreign art, at its living sources, tended to widen the vogue of it still further than in the days of Chandragupta. Another cue of his centred round the question of the standardisation of Hindu astronomy. According to him the founding of the Saka era is only another name for such a standardisation and whoever the actual founder, he brought to bear on the task the active interest of royal direction and patronage; so much so that wherever Hindu astronomy was taught, it became the fashion to reckon by the Seka era. In the opinion of Dr. Haraprasad Sastri, astronomy and the allied sciences received considerable impetus from the Saka rulers as these rulers themselves had a passion for such studies. His these in respect of both astronomy and astrology have been amply validated by the investigations of Kaye. But the thread of investigation which Dr. Haraprasad Sastri let fall, when he had barely commenced the exploration of the Nepal Sanscrit manuscript, on the untimely death of Bendall about a quarter of a century back, yet lies where it fell. There is no doubt that, when the manuscript is released from the Nepal Durbar library, and aptly edited and Englished, it should prove a valuable find to both the Sanscritist and the Classicist, interested in the embryology of Indi-Greek astrology. At his encylopaedic range of the subjects, which are intimately associated with the recurrent issue of reports on, and annotated lists of manuscripts acquired on behalf of the Asiastic Society of Bengal, he was a past-master, and it will be difficult to fill with like distinctions, the void created by his death, for many long years to come.

The Fall of Bali: A Poem*

By Nagendra Nath Gupta

Bali, the King, of the race of the giants,
Waxed mighty in war and seized the kingdom
Of the gods, who hied to Vishnu, the wise,
The invincible, for help in their plight.

He, the chief of the Triad, the helper of the universe,
Gave patient ear to the woes of the gods;
Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, told
(The crimson shame mounting to his temples),
How the godly host had fled before the dazzling
Puissance of Bali without the clash of battle.

To the gods spake Vishnu in words of wondrous calm,
'Ye have been vanquished by the splendour
'Of Bali without measuring his might.
'Not by war but by wile shall he be humbled,
'Bide ye in hope and be of good cheer.'
And the gods, taking heart of grace, departed.

King Bali was bountiful as he was brave,
And he gave of his abundance with royal grace,
Nor Brahmin nor beggar sought him in vain.
The royal treasure was poured out by stintless hands
And the poor blessed the King for his lavish bounty.

To the King as he sat in royal estate
Came a tiny, little manikin, a strange youth,
Diminutive of height and small of limbs.
His matted locks fell from his shapely head,

* The letter *a* in the name Bali is to be pronounced like the *u* in the word *but*.

The sacred thread showed him a Brahmin born.
Albeit a dwarf he was clothed with native majesty
And his bright eyes shone like twin stars.

Up rose Bali with bowed head and folded hands;
"Hail, Sir Brahmin!' quoth the King, 'welcome,
'O noble youth! How shall I serve thy need?
'What wouldst thou? Ask and it shall be given unto thee.'

'Sir King,' said the midget in a voice that
Sounded like music of compelling power;
'I have heard of thy royal bounty and I crave a boon;
'Grant me land that I can cover in three steps.'

Much marvelled King Bali to hear this prayer;
Was the lad little of wit as well as of limb?
'Child,' said the King, 'ask for an island kingdom
'And it shall be thine. How will it profit thee
'To hold a little bit of land? I rule over
'The three worlds and seek thou of my grace
'What thou wilt, nor turn to another for help.'

'I ask no more and no less, O King,'
Answered the youthful pigmy in even tones;
'I seek land that I can measure with three steps;
'Mine be the profit and thine the merit.'

Sukra, the wise preceptor, bent to the King's ear
And spake low, 'Beware, O King, for this dwarf
'Is not what he seems; he is the Lord Vishnu
'Incarnate as a puny pigmy, withhold thy boon
'Lest thou help thine own undoing.'

With kingly dignity answered the King:
'Prahlad, the truthful, the prince of steadfast faith,
'Was my grandsire and I hold to my word.
'Let come what may, the Brahmin gets his boon.
'Come, young Sir, measure thy steps and take thy land.'

In a flash came the miracle, and, lo,
The pigmy grew till his head struck the stars
And towered high above the starry host!
The universe was mirrored in his limbs,
And gods and men stared in speechless awe.
In a single stride he covered the whole earth
And the second took in the wide range of heaven;
Neither earth nor heaven had space for the third step.

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From the high empyrean fell the Lord's voice
On the King's ear: 'Thou art forsworn,
'For thou gavest me land measured
'By my three steps; I have taken but two strides
'And there is neither land nor space left in earth or heaven.
'Thou promised more than was thine to give
'And thou art false to thy plighted word.'
Of a royal and fearless race came Bali;
Undismayed he bent his head and said,
'Nay, Lord, my plighted word holds good;
'Take thou the third stride and place
'Thy foot upon my bowed head. So thou
'wilt have thy will and I shall be content.'



Bereft of his wide domain King Bali
Was appointed Lord of the nether regions,
And the gods came into their own again.

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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